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THE COMPLETE WORKS

In Verse and Prose

OF

ANDREW MARVELL

M.P.

FOR THE FIRST TIME FULLY COLLECTED AND COLLATED
WITH THE ORIGINAL AND EARLY EDITIONS, AND CONSIDERABLY
ENLARGED WITH HITHERTO INEDITED PROSE AND POEMS,
AND A TRANSLATION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN POETRY: AND
IN THE QUARTO FORM AN ORIGINAL PORTRAIT ON STEEL, AND OTHER
PORTRAITS, FACSIMILES, AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

EDITED, WITH MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION, ESSAY, AND NOTES

BY THE

REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART,

ST. GEORGE'S, BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II. PROSE.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION.

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THE

COMPLETE WORKS OF ANDREW MARVELL

M.P.

- I. ESSAY ON THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MARVELL.
 - II. CORRESPONDENCE: LETTERS CCCLXIX AND OTHERS ILLUSTRATIVE
WITH CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS, ETC.
 - III. NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS.
-

ILLUSTRATIONS IN QUARTO (VOL. II.)

PORTRAIT (ON STEEL) OF BISHOP CROFT, FROM AN AUTHENTIC
ORIGINAL, NEVER BEFORE ENGRAVED. FACING TITLE-PAGE.



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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
JOHN EARL RUSSELL,
VENERABLE IN 'OLD AGE,'
BUT WITH AS ALERT AN INTELLECT, AND AS YOUNG
A HEART AT 83 AS AT 19:

I DEDICATE
BY EXPRESS AND PLEASANTLY-PUT PERMISSION
THIS FIRST COMPLETE EDITION OF
THE PROSE WORKS OF MARVELL;
WITH PROFOUND REGARD,

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.



P R E F A C E.

HAVING in 1872 given in my Fuller Worthies' Library, the complete POEMS of Marvell (pp. lxii, 479), I undertook similarly to reproduce his entire PROSE, and so to complete his Works in Verse and Prose, with all necessary apparatus. Toward the Prose, in 1873 I furnished 'The Rehearsal Transposed' being Vol. II. of the Prose and Vol. III. of the Works (pp. 580.) I have now very great satisfaction in completing my task of love with Vols. I. and III. of the Prose and Vol. II. and IV. of the Works (separate title-pages being supplied according as it may be wished to bind the Verse and Prose collectively or independently.*)

The labour and pecuniary expenditure called for in the Prose (and indeed in the Verse also) have far exceeded the original calculations and any possible return; the former because of the well-nigh absolute absence of annotation as of a critical text from preceding Editions; the latter through the very large additions to the Correspondence, &c., &c. I shall not grudge either, if my editions of these very matterful Works win deepened study of them and be accepted as their Author's best monument.

The Notes introductory to each portion of the Works will be found to give such information as it was deemed needful to supply; while in the Essay of the present volume, additional details and teachings of the Life and Writings are submitted. The entire

* Further—as Vol. III of the Works is miscalled Vol. I, and for sake of uniformity of date cancel-title-pages are inserted in Vol. IV for it.

text is based on a critical and careful collation of the original and early editions. The Correspondence previously published and now first printed, has been in each separate letter and document compared by myself with the autograph MSS. at Hull and elsewhere. The hastiest examination of our text with that of Captain Thompson, and all others, will satisfy that collation and revision were urgently required. I don't wish to say more against Capt. Thompson, or to record specifically his manifold mistakes; for with all his blundering he meant well and did service to Marvell.

Three prose-tractates included by Thompson in Marvell's Works I have necessarily excluded as being most certainly not his, viz.:

(a) *Parliamenti Angliae Declaratio*: in qua res nuperum gestae, et decretum de statu Angliae regio in liberam rempublicam vertendo, asseruntur. Londini: apud Franciscum Tytonium, Mensis Mart. 22^o. Anno 1648.

(b) *A Sensible Question and an Usefull Answer*; contained in an Exchange of a Letter between a Parliament-Man in Cornwall and a Bencher of the Temple. 1676.

(c) *A seasonable Argument to persuade all the Grand Juries in England to petition for a New Parliament* 1677. (Verse: *Mem.-Intr.* pp. lv.-vi.)

The date of (a) '*Parliamenti Angliae Declaratio*' &c., 1648, apart from other evidence, shews it could not have been drawn up by Marvell, who publicly declared in his '*Rehearsal Transposed*' that he had nothing whatever to do with public affairs until 1657. And yet Capt. Thompson interpolates, into the title-page this: "By Andrew Marvell, who drew up the

State Papers under Milton's Inspection.' (Vol. III., p. 525.) Marvell was not associated with Milton until—at earliest—1657. In (b) "A Sensible Question," &c., similarly, "By Andrew Marvell," is interpolated without the shadow of authority. The original edition is in my possession and is anonymous. The Writer of it is exactly what he describes himself to be, a Lawyer, and the entire composition is legal and has no single characteristic of Marvell. (c) "A seasonable Argument," &c., is likewise anonymous, and neither extrinsically nor intrinsically is there one iota of evidence that Marvell was its Author. It is an undigested and illiterate series of Notes on Members of Parliament and other prominent names; and Capt Thompson was culpably careless in assigning it to Marvell. The "Seasonable Argument," &c. may be compared with the Lansdowne MS., No. 805, published by Sir Harris Nicolas, under the title of "Flagellum Parliamentarium" (1827, 8vo., pp. xii., 36). I too hastily placed this 'Flagellum' among the Works of Marvell (Verse: Mem.-Intr.: p. lv). A personal examination of the Manuscript very soon convinced me that not one letter of it was in Marvell's handwriting; while there is nothing in or on the MS. itself to reveal the Writer. In itself it has none of the Marvellian touches; and cannot be given to him.

The fact that our edition, notwithstanding the withdrawal of above, contains nearly double the matter of Capt. Thompson's three quartos may serve to show that no pains has been spared to make our collection complete.* The Notes and

* e.g. Capt. Thompson's Letters to the Corporation of Hull number cclvi., and the private letters add about twenty. Our collection numbers, it will be seen, three hundred and sixty-nine, or upwards of one hundred letters and other MSS. for the first time printed.

Illustrations at the close of the respective volumes may speak for themselves, though it may be permitted me to state that points hitherto left obscure are therein elucidated, In the Essay on the Life and Writings I redeem my promise of a fuller statement of the Facts of his public Life as distinguished from his poetic and literary than in the Memorial-Introduction, albeit the connecting comments on the Letters and the many new papers therewith, enable me to be briefer than otherwise I might have been. To all wishing to master the History of Marvell's period, the Correspondence as now chronologically arranged and annotated is earnestly commended. More on this in the Essay.

I have now my usual pleasant duty to discharge of returning heartfelt thanks to various friends who have helped me in my work on Marvell. I arrange such as demand special and emphatic acknowledgment alphabetically, viz :—

Samuel Addington, Esq., London (for Letter ccxxv.)

W. C. Boulter, Esq., F.S.A., Solicitor, Hull.

Colonel Chester, Bermondsey, London.

F. W. Cosens, Esq., Queen's Gate, London.

John Forster, Esq., Palace Gate, Kensington, London
(who favoured me with Letter ccxviii.)

David Laing, Esq., LL.D., Edinburgh.

Clement R. Markham, Esq., F.S.A., Eccleston Square,
London.

Dr. Brinsley Nicholson, Woodlands Road, Redhill
(who in season and out of season, as throughout,
has assisted in every way.)

G. Christopher Roberts, Esq., Town Clerk, Hull.

E. S. Wilson, Esq., F.S.A., Hull.

W. Aldis Wright, Esq., M.A., Trinity College,
Cambridge.

Sir Sydney Waterlow, M.P., Highgate, London.
Rev. Richard Wilton, M.A., Londesborough Rectory.

In connection with the Hull Corporation and Trinity House MSS. I owe especial thanks to Mr. Roberts and Mr. Wilson (as *supra*) and for the most cordial co-operation of all the *employés* in the two offices, particularly Mr. James Harrison in the former and Mr. E. M. Haseltine in the latter. A somewhat onerous and irksome task was greatly lightened by their willingness.

For permission to have engraved the hitherto unengraved sweet and gentle Face of BR. CROFT, I am under special obligation to the Rev. F. T. Havergall, M.A., Hereford, and for the truly grand portrait of JOHN HOWE to Thomas Tegg, Esq., Publisher, London. These two venerable men were so splendidly 'defended' by Marvell as to make them peculiarly interesting and acceptable adornments of our quartos.

In conclusion I am quite aware that in so extensive an undertaking as this of Marvell's complete Works those who come after me will find the usual inevitable errors of omission and commission. But perhaps it will be borne in mind that practically I have had nearly everything to do as an Editor, while I venture to hope that any who have worked kindredly, will discern ample proofs that I have done the thing thoroughly and *con amore*, with integrity and realness of research and thought.

Anything further requiring to be said may be looked for in their own places.

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

Park View, Blackburn, Lancashire,
January 15th, 1875.



ESSAY ON THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MARVELL.

IN our Memorial-Introduction (Vol. I p. liii.) I reserved "for another opportunity in relation to the 'Pleasures of Hope' indulged by us of bringing out his entire Prose" a wider and more critical estimate of the public Life and prose-authorship of Marvell than was deemed expedient in an introduction to his Verse. The 'Pleasures of Hope' being now fulfilled, I propose in the present Essay to consider these with adequate fulness. The outward Facts are given in the Memorial-Introduction much more completely and with more authentic detail than before; but various points were simply touched on. These Four things seem to call for deeper study and fuller elucidation, viz.:—

- I. HIS SATIRES IN VERSE AND PROSE.
- II. HIS SERVICES AS A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, AND OTHERWISE.
- III. HIS PLACE IN HISTORY AND LITERATURE. ~~XXX~~ V
- IV. HIS LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH—WITH NEW DETAILS.

These successively:

I. *His Satires in Verse and Prose.* His Satires bulk so largely in Marvell's Writings and Life and are in the Verse of such a type, that a fundamental mis-estimate of him will be formed, unless the conditions and *motif* of their production be understood. For example—and it is selected out of several—in 'The Saturday Review,' in an elaborate paper

on Marvell based upon our collection of his Poems (26th April, 1873,) wherein very high praise is awarded to our "zealous labours" and "editorial success," the critic, (the late W. D. CHRISTIE, Esq., as on interrogation he himself informed me) shews extreme ignorance or forgetfulness of the facts in the life and life-work of Marvell and a consequent perverse misconstruction of both; and as this is symptomatic of a not uncommon ignorance and royalist-traditionary prejudice,—kindred with the traditionary treatment of Cromwell until Carlyle vindicated him 'for all time,'—I deem it well to discuss the matter in the very outset.

Mr. Christie sums up his verdict on Marvell thus: "We gladly believe that it must have been a most ineffable relief to him to exchange malicious satire and debasing thoughts, for the study of his loved classics, and the composition of *that sweet poetry* which has made him famous in after-time." This, in the face of the unquestionable fact that the "sweet poetry which has made him famous in after-time," belongs exclusively to the earlier period of his life, equally with "the study of his loved classics," is astonishing. The most cursory perusal of the Memorial-Introduction before the critic, as the most hasty noting of the dates and circumstances of his 'sweet poetry' would have shown that nearly all the poetry that can be called 'sweet' was the product of that idyll of his life, his tutor-residence with 'The Great Fairfax.' His 'Poems of the Country,' and 'Poems of Imagination and Love,' and most of his 'Poems on Friendship,' and most too of even his 'State-Poems'—as his Poems are classified—PRECEDE by fifteen to ten years his Satires. So that it is demonstrable he could not turn as an 'ineffable relief' from his Satires to his 'sweet poetry.' Contrariwise—and I

ask that this be pondered—Marvell DELIBERATELY SACRIFICED HIS NATURAL LIKINGS AND SPECIFIC GIFT AS A POET, TO THE CALL UPON HIM AS A STATESMAN AND A PATRIOT, TO LASH THE VICES, AND THE SORROWFUL PROSPERITY OF HIGH-SEATED WRONG-DOER. This is not a matter of argument but of fact. But Mr. Christie's ignorance or forgetfulness becomes an offence when starting from this palpable misunderstanding and misconception, he arraigns the *motif* of Marvell. The eye sees very much what it brings, especially if there be a pair of green or yellow spectacles astride the nose; and the 'Saturday Reviler'—to adopt the irremoveable name given it by no less a man than JOHN BRIGHT—having made up his mind that the Satires of Marvell were "malicious" and "rampant with scurrility," and their thoughts "debasings," pronounces not the Satires simply, but the man as a whole to have been 'malicious' and 'debased.' More of this with the exact words in full—anon. But *ad rem* I would have all who love the memory of Andrew Marvell, and who do not care to have a great historic name smirched by a jaundiced and narrow intellect, to get at the conditions—as I have named them—under which these Satires were written and published. It were sufficient to recal that the mass of them belong to the worst term of the worst reign England ever has been cursed with—the first decade or thereby of 'The Restoration,' when the second Charles transmuted his palaces into styes, and when men whom only the *glamour* of a partizan history has ennobled and glorified, pandered to his bestialisms, and connived at and prospered through a harlotry and corruption which might have gone bodily in the delineation of them, into Dante's 'Hell.' The more we get behind

the scenes—scenes in which Marvell was not spectator merely, but actor—the more one is satisfied that well-nigh everywhere within the circle of royalty and the government, uncleanness, bribery, falsehood, perversion of justice, ran riot. It is consequently audacious beyond what one minds to characterize, to keep back, or slur over indisputable Facts; and this being so, I must protest in the name of common sense and decency against Mr. Christie siding with the satirized and denouncing the clean-handed Satirist, as though he were, forsooth, better informed at this late day than Marvell. The ‘malice’ is affirmed and reaffirmed, but not in jot or tittle proved or attempted to be proved. But fortunately for those to whom the name of Marvell is venerable and dear, the Reviewer waxes eloquent (after a sort) in defence of as infamous a young *haridan*—if the sad stern name be allowable—as ever polluted the Court of England—the Duchess of York, daughter of *the* Clarendon; and of kindred. I give the entire passage that there may be no suspicion of ‘cooking’—a counter-charge which I must make in the sequel:—“We do not quarrel with Mr. Grosart for publishing all Marvell’s poems, or all believed to be his, whether disfigured or not by indecencies, for Marvell is an English classic and celebrity, and posterity, to judge him truly, must have all before them.” “I will not castrate John Dryden,” was Sir Walter Scott’s defiant announcement when he undertook his edition of Dryden’s works. But it is well to warn fathers of families that the political poems imputed to Marvell contain extreme grossness and unmitigated filth. The virulent personality of these poems is another great blot in Marvell’s character. His political animosity against the Duke

5 objects to strong Crit
of m.'s Satires

of York carried him into unmanly and loathesome war against the Duchess. Anne Hyde, who in youthful weakness had yielded to the Duke's dishonourable overtures, and whom he had married by compulsion wholesomely exercised on him, was by general testimony an amiable, and ever after her early fault, a virtuous woman, much to be pitied for her husband's indiscriminate and unconcealed amours, and bearing her unhappiness with calm dignity. The sinning Duke aggravated against his poor wife the innocent attentions of two gentlemen of their household—Henry Sydney and Henry Jermyn—who probably pitied the Duchess, and in whose sympathetic courtesies she might be excused for finding some solace of her woes. Marvell, with the utmost unmanliness, rips up her early history, charges her over and over again with profligacy, and over and over again accuses her, against authority and against probability, of poisoning one of her husband's mistresses, Lady Denham. No well-conditioned man can do less than grieve over this style of anonymous satire. One of the most likely of these political poems to be really Marvell's is "The Last Instructions to a Painter," written in 1667. It contains a description of the Duchess of York, of which the two following lines, bad enough, are a true sample; most of the rest it is not possible for us to print:—

Paint her with oyster lips and breath of fame,
Wide mouth that 'sparagus might well proclaim.

Marvell then charges her with the foulest vices. Crimes, misdemeanours, and vices are constantly charged in the coarsest language against high officials and members of Parliament; this could only be done anonymously."

It is manifest that any Critic who permits himself such license of accusation and such Billingsgate of phrase, places himself out of Court in so far as indulgence is concerned. It is all very well to mount such stilts of 'high moral indignation' and from thence seem to over-top a great man and a great memory; but when these are knocked beneath their mounter, down he topples to his own level; and I have no hesitation in affirming that no 'well-conditioned man' (accepting the Saturday Reviewer's own word) could thus calumniate Andrew Marvell and turn the Saturday Review into 'The Saturday Reviler.'

I must state DELIBERATELY that the 'extreme grossness' and the 'unmitigated filth' charged against Marvell as a Satirist, are of the substance of the lives fearlessly portrayed and burninglly rebuked, however (so-called) 'great' the names were. If "Ann Hyde" (Duchess of York) and those "high officials and members of Parliament," for whose reputation this critic of the 19th century is so tender, did outface the sun with their 'extreme grossness' and 'unmitigated filth,' the satire-photograph must inevitably reflect these; and it is monstrous to blame the (moral) photographer. It may be convenient as certainly it is dexterously diplomatic, to explain away the abandoned youth of 'Anne Hyde' by euphemistically calling it 'youthful weakness,' and to asseverate that her notorious *liasons* were mere receiving of the 'innocent attentions of two gentlemen.' Why, outside of Marvell's Satires altogether, it were easy to adduce by the score, the precise type of exposure and condemnation in Marvell. The abominable lives affronted the day, and it is to make History a lie and contemporary testimony an offence, to seek at this

time o'day to so pervert or neutralize them. Pepys, Evelyn, the tractates of the day with which Marvell had nothing whatever to do, furnish "line upon line" to make good every charge of his Satires, and to vindicate their necessity. So that if 'fathers of families' are to be preached to and 'warned' about 'the extreme grossness' and the 'unmitigated filth' of these political poems, we who know the integrity of the great Satirist, must proclaim that these are of the things themselves, not of the Satires, and that the warning is mis-directed from the 'extreme grossness' and 'unmitigated filth' of the men and women who were guilty to him who, at whatever cost, would lash such prodigiousness of sinning against every law of God and man, and that 'if by any means' the national conscience might be aroused and such high-throned criminals be hooted from all decent society. This, with covert stab, says the Saturday Reviewer, "could only be done anonymously;" and I retort, it was not for an *anonymous* slanderer, in an *anonymous* review, to be so fatuous as to make his insinuation ridiculous. I have not a word to say against the anonymous—though I put my own name to what I write—but anyone who knows the merest common-places of the period, knows that to be anonymous or semi-anonymous under the reign of Charles II. in exposing such wrong-doers was a necessity, if the thing was to be done at all; for the Press was under the gag of the Licensor, and the Licensor was Sir Roger L'Estrange and his Masters, the very men and women (if it be not a bull to include the latter) whose crimes and misdemeanours Marvell worked into his Satires. As for Ann Hyde and the rest of the dissolute and 'light' women of these Satires, the Moralist can recognize no sex in his condemnation.

If women will un-womanize and men un-man themselves, they must be prepared to be painted to the life; and no true protraiture of such unclean lives was possible without there going into the portrayal that 'extreme grossness' and 'unmitigated filth' which this Reviewer warns 'fathers of families' against. Of 'malice' it is an outrage to accuse Andrew Marvell: while 'unmanliness' is simply preposterous. In the game of politics, Marvell had no stakes; had nothing to seek and nothing to win or lose by the fluctuations political. But he loved his country, had tenderness of forgiveness even toward his far-fallen King, longed to cleanse the Augean stable of the Court and Society, and to clarify the atmosphere of the House of Commons; and with all brave-hearted self-forgetfulness and singleness of eye and aim sent forth his sound-conscienced Satires.

I thus vindicate the Satires of Marvell on the broad facts of History and of the Biography of the period, because a somewhat considerable knowledge thereof, from special lines of historic and biographic research, warrants me to declare that these Satires so far from exaggerating, fall short of the 'loathsomeness' of the original,—the base, bad putrid lives denounced. Nevertheless it is due to myself to expose a flagrant *suppressio veri* on the part of this 'high-moral' Reviewer. He snips off these few words of mine, as my characterisation of the Satires of Marvell: "Mr. Grosart describes the satires and political poems as 'noble, profound, prescient, wise as witty, witty as wise, penetrating and burning. We cannot go with him here,'" and so argues on it. This is all the more shameless and crafty, in that the small quotation is thus prefaced: "The biographer who sees nothing to blame, everything indeed apparently

to worship, in the filth and scurrility of his satires, and will admit no truth in Bishop Parker's invective, is afflicted with the *lues Boswelliana* in a very aggravated form. Mr. Grosart describes, &c.," (as *supra*.) After this it will scarcely be credited—and yet any one may verify it for himself,—that side by side with the miserable shred of criticism quoted, is the following context as my verdict on the Satires: "I am not prepared to defend all that is in the Satires. There is coarseness, there is fierceness, there is mercilessness—as, for example, against Clarendon (and yet Agar Ellis's 'Historical Legends' 1827, leave dark spots still)—there is disregard of others in the vehement resolve to smite crushingly down high-seated offenders. Marvell, as a Satirist, was not beyond the influences of his age. Engaged in conflict with the brutal and the vile, the false and the treacherous, he is himself occasionally brutal and indiscriminate. Yet in the wickedest Satire you have the unmistakable insignia of a true and noble soul, fighting for true, noble, patriotic ends, and impelled by a lofty motive." (Mem-Intr.: p. lxxv) Comment can't be necessary. To the Reviewer's prurient references to the account of Lady Castlemaine, and of Colonel Birch, and Clarendon, and the Speaker Turner, I would only ask those who turn to them, to keep a firm grasp of the matters-of-fact. These were the things Marvell knew and believed to be true, and which after-research confirms, almost literally. The "filthy indecency" belonged I must reiterate to the doers, and the condemnation to them not to the fearless Satirist.

It is the more urgent that I should thus vindicate the verse-Satires of Marvell, in that passing from them Mr. Christie darkens his portraiture still more. It is

difficult to find language intense and passionate enough whereby to express one's sense of the mendacious profligacy and levity of accusation in these further statements and inferences. They are as follows: "We have no sympathy with Bishop Parker, his vindictive and virulent enemy, but there is some justice in his foul language. The Bishop calls Marvell also a "drunken buffoon;" there is truth here also. His admiring friend Aubrey says of him that "he kept bottles of wine at his lodgings, and many times he would drink liberally by himself, to refresh his spirit, and exalt his muse." It is idle and worse, to ignore the truth; Marvell's faults must not be denied or cloaked." Again: "Allow Marvell his faults, that he wrote anonymous libels, and drank intemperately in secret; still he was a brilliant scholar and had great attainments, and was in poverty an honest incorruptible man." And so 'liberally' is changed into 'intemperately,' and 'by himself' into 'in secret,' and the gossip of all-recording and credulous John Aubrey exalted into judicial testimony! Anything more dishonest than this juggling with words and catching at straws, in order to damage a hitherto stainless name, is scarcely to be matched outside of the vilest Restoration pamphleteer and partizan. The Bishop Parker who in his rage so called his adversary a "drunken buffoon," was a man whose daily life was an opprobrium; and his only answer to specific accusations of immorality and other vices, was to call names. Aubrey *was* the "admiring friend" of Marvell, and Mr. Christie puts a construction upon his tittle-tattle ludicrously un-warranted, and (*meo judicio*) a thousand miles from the garrulous chronicler's intention. No doubt the hard-working Member of Parliament as

was the manner of the times, had 'even in his poverty,' a few 'bottles of wine' and the Hull ale, sent him 'liberally' and quaintly by his constituents. But every testimony of such obscurities as JOHN MILTON, and the accomplished EARL OF CARLISLE, and "troops of friends" of the best and noblest of England, and every tradition of his upright, incorruptible, pure public and private life, turns these charges into travesty and slander. And yet the same Reviewer has the audacity to state: "We have not loved to dwell on Marvell's faults and shortcomings." I have to state he is abominably ingenious in imagining evil, and in 'dwelling' upon his own imaginations. I know from himself that the Saturday Reviewer was also my contemporaneous Reviewer in 'The Spectator,' in identically the same strain against Marvell; so that he sought two opportunities to 'dwell' on Marvell's "faults and shortcomings," changing his medium to pass off his solitary attack as two independent estimates. Specifically I hesitate not to avouch that a construction which in 'The Spectator' he puts upon a passage, italicized by him that it may not be missed, is unauthorised as it is 'loathsome.' I make bold to say that to not another living Englishman, would such a construction have occurred. It is a vile mis-reading of words that carry no such meaning within them.

So much for Marvell as a Verse-Satirist. Of his 'satire,' and wit, and humour, and brilliant raillery there will be occasion to speak onward; but it may here be remarked that the same high-toned principle and patriotism animate 'The Rehearsal Transposed,' 'Mr. Smirke,' and the Defence of John Howe. Of 'malice' or spite, or personal hatreds Andrew Marvell was incapable. It is of the very last moment that

the ignorant as supercilious, persistent as blundering representations of Mr. Christie in the 'Saturday Review' and 'Spectator' should be understood to be FALSE out and out. Everything else, praise or dispraise of myself as Editor, are as small dust in the balances, beside this fundamental mistaking of a great and good man. As one who holds dear the memory of England's Worthies, I have felt constrained to repel, as a personal wrong, the infamy and impertinence of traducing so white and beautiful a Life in a foul age. I right heartily rejoiced in the chivalrous 'Haste to the Rescue' of those who knew the late John Stuart Mill when assailed by Mr. Hayward. The 'Letters' of Mr. Christie are a manly and righteous 'Defence' substantially. But it would take many Mr. Mills and a thousand Mr. Christies to make one Andrew Marvell; and probably an after-age will abate not a little from the glorifying laudations of Mr. Mill's 'gigantic intellect,' and pronounce it keen, shrewd, alert, rather than large, or original, or homogeneous; whereas the Poetry of Marvell has not gathered to-day half of its renown, and abides unique in our best Literature, and his Life, under very different conditions, so noble and pure as to make Mr. Mill's in the contrast ignoble and stained and fragmentary. It must be borne in mind accordingly, that to me two centuries' distance makes no difference; that I have written as of a friend slandered; and that I have felt the falsehood and the outrage of the charges and misinterpretations of his Satires and Life as a personal injury. The roll of England's genuine Worthies is not so long as to afford the erasure of even one, and emphatically such an one as Andrew Marvell. His 'good name' is a national possession and glory; and a thousand

times shame on the Englishman who has impotently sought to rob us of it! Even a Barberini vase (the 'Portland') when shattered was restored by cunning skill, and any lucky accident may un-earth its equal. But once stain the name and fame of a great and true man, and not England only but the world is the poorer. And so as HARTLEY COLERIDGE did, I place over-against Marvell's life-story, Milton's grand words:

—————"Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
Unshaken, uneduc'd, untterrify'd
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal—
Nor number, nor example, with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
Though single."

Vain any 'Saturday Reviler's' effort to empty out
WORDSWORTH's imperishable praise;

"Great men have been amongst us; hands that penn'd
And tongues that utter'd wisdom, BETTER NONE:
The later Sydney, MARVELL, Harrington."

II. *His services as a Member of Parliament, and otherwise.* It is not so very long ago since Debates in Parliament were permitted to be published. Even in Dr. Johnson's time such Speeches as were 'reported' had to be published furtively and under all manner of curious disguises. So that even had Marvell taken a prominent 'speaking' part in 'the House' it is unlikely that we should have had his Speeches. But he was not either a frequent or a notable Speaker in Parliament. His pen not his tongue—as in so many commanding instances—was his superior instrument; which reminds of Bp. Burnet's character of Laurence Hyde, second son of *the* Clarendon: "He is a man of far greater parts than the eldest. He has a very good pen, but speaks

not gracefully" (*s.n.*) Nevertheless the Parliamentary History of Cobbett and the like, enable us to get at certain fragmentary records of such short Speeches as Marvell did make. As they are suggestive and interesting in various ways, I think it well to reproduce them herein successively. So far as the Parliamentary History shews, Marvell is not so much as mentioned as a Speaker until 1667, or nearly ten years after he had entered 'the House.' In this year (19 Charles II.) in the debate on the "Proceedings relative to the impeachment of the Earl of Clarendon" (Nov. 5th) following Sir Thomas Littleton, Serjeant Maynard, Sir Edward Herbert, John Vaughan, Laurence Hyde, Sir Heneage Finch and Sir Richard Temple, "Mr. Marvell" is thus reported: "Mr. Marvell would have the faults hunt the persons: would not have a sudden impeachment by reason of the greatness of the person or danger of escape, Lord Clarendon not being likely to ride away post" (IV. pp. 376-7.) In Grey's Debates there is added to this "Witnesses of that quality not to be had," i.e. such as previous speakers had named. Again, on November 11th (1667) on the 'Impeachment' it is said "Mr. Marvell charged Mr. Seymour with saying in his accusation [of Clarendon] That the king was insufficient for government, which is now omitted in the Charge, and desires he may declare where he had it" (*Ibid* p. 385.) Grey thus gives it: "Mr. Marvell moves that whoever brought in the article of 'the king's being unfit for government' would publish the person that gave him that information." Once more, on February 14th, 1667-8, though overlooked by Cobbett in his Parliamentary History, there is the following: On a report by Sir Robert Brook from the Committee appointed to inquire into the mis-

carriages of the war, and on the particular point of the want of intelligence, "Mr. Marvell, reflecting on Lord Arlington, somewhat transportedly said, we have had Bristols and Cecils secretaries, and by them knew the King of Spain's junto and letters of the Pope's Cabinet; and now such a strange state of things! The money allowed for intelligence so small, the intelligence was accordingly. A libidinous desire in men for places makes them think themselves fit for them. The place of Secretary ill-gotten when bought with £10,000 and a Barony. He was called to explain himself, but said the thing was so plain it needed it not."

Advancing to March 27th, 1677-8, in a memorable debate on Popery springing out of the Bill "for securing the Protestant Religion, by educating the children of the royal family therein"—a Bill mercilessly lashed in the "Growth of Popery"—the longest 'report' of any speech by Marvell occurs, and it is exceedingly characteristic, having the turns of Cromwell's own vehement addresses:

Mr. Marvell wonders to see this bill so ready to be committed, that the consequence may be no likelihood of the king's consent. But it is an ill thing, and let us be rid of it as soon as we can. He could have wished it had perished at the first reading rather than have been revived by a second. He is sorry the matter has occasioned so much mirth. He thinks there was never so solemn and sad an occasion, as this bill before you; but he is glad the House is returned into that temper, which the gravity of the matter requires. The bill seems very unseasonable; the beginning is of two things not of mature consideration. First, it supposes 'the death' of the king. It might have had a more modest word to have disguised it from the imagination ('Demise.') Secondly, it supposes 'that possibly the crown may devolve on a Popish government;' which ought not to have been supposed easily or readily. God be thanked for the king's age and constitution of body! The king is not in a declining age; and if we are to

intermeddle in things of this consequence, we are not to look into it so early, as if it was the king's last will and testament. The law makes it treason, 'to imagine the death of the king that is'—A word more in it—The true and proper sense is not to imagine the king's death—His age may confirm you in no danger suddenly of the consequences of the bill, but as for that of a 'Popish Successor,' he hopes it is a matter remote in the event, and would not precipitate that evil, no, not in a supposition. For some reason, without doubt, the matter has been thought of in the House of Lords, and next to the king living, he would cast as little umbrage on the successor, as might be. There is none yet in sight, but whose minds are in the hands of God, 'Who turns them like the rivers of water.' Whilst there is time there is life, and whilst life, time for information, and the nearer the prospect to the crown, information of judgment will be much easier. When God 'takes him on high and shows him the glory of the world,' and tells him, 'All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me,' he thinks these will be no temptation. Those who change for conscience-sake will have so much self-denial, that the crown will not make them alter the thing. It is unseasonable; it may be proper some other time, but not now. This bill is a great invasion on prerogative: to whom ever God shall dispose the kingdom, it is entire to the king. He does not love to reflect on the persons of those who represent the Protestant religion—(the bishops.) But it is said, 'This invasion is not made by the prelates; they were but passive in it.' But he will not speak of such reverend persons, with anything of severe reflection, but will only suppose this power of the bishops given to any other order of men; to nine physicians, and they administer the Test to the king. Having altered the property of the persons, to speak with a little more freedom, he knows no body of men, if the Parliament please, but may do it as well as they. The College of Physicians have a charter from the king, and are his sworn servants; let these come to the king to administer the Oath. It is a pretty experiment. Just a trial, whether the loadstone will attract the iron, or the iron the loadstone. Who can think that any body of men, that must depend upon the king, &c.? Which way, think you, it draws? We have seen (and we hope we shall never see it again) in Henry viii.'s Edw. vi.'s queen Mary's, and queen Eliz.'s time, all sorts ready to turn, one, one way, and another, another. It is appointed by the bill, 'that the bishops should wait upon the king at Whitehall, &c.,'

He thinks not but Physicians may be thought by a Popish king, as proper a cure for his soul, as bishops. The chevalier de Menevicette, physician to the Great Turk, was by him made Patriarch of Antioch. He thinks this power not fit to be lodged in any sort of persons whatsoever. Whatever prince God gives us, we must trust him. Let us not, in prevention of future things so remote, take that immoderate care in this bill. Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof. Here is pricking of bishops, as if pricking sheriffs. If the king does not, they must. Here bishops make bishops; (as inherent a right to the crown as any think possible.) He desires, that, during this king's reign, we may apply ourselves to preserve the people in the Protestant Religion, not only in the profession of it, but that men may live up to it, in morality and virtue of religion, and then you establish men against the temptation of Popery, and a prince that may be popishly affected. If we do not practice upon ourselves, all these Oaths and Tests are of no use: they are but phantoms. The bill has a very good title, and a good intention, but nothing but the title is urged to be of the least validity. This puts him in mind of a private bill; you would not countenance the pretence of 'no people to make compact for themselves.' It is said, 'the bishops promoted not the bill, but they were under fear, in the Lords House.' Promotions make some men much better, and it is power that makes Popery: So great a power assembled upon such a body of men! The bill he spoke of, pretended, that the dean and chapter of Durham would have benefit by a ballast shore to be erected at Yarrow-Sleake, on Newcastle side. Says one, 'it will narrow the river.' Says another, 'it will widen it.' It was then said, 'that gentlemen love not to play tricks with navigation,' much less should the nation play tricks with religion. But whether this bill will prevent Popery, or not, this will secure the promotions of the bishops; it will make them certain. He is not used to speak here, and therefore speaks with abruptness. Closes all with his motion that the bill may have the same fate others have moved for, 'not to be committed.' [pp. 855-7.]

Grey's record of this Speech agrees. It is not noticed in the Parliamentary History that on March 28th, the Speaker alluded to the preceding speech of Marvell thus: "And no man believes but that if the gentleman [Marvell] spoke irreverently of 'the physicians' he

would have done the same of the bishops." This explains what Marvell says the next day (March 29th) about the Speaker's having cast a severe reflection on him when he was out of the House. In the discussion which followed on Marvell's blow given in fun or earnest to Sir Philip Harcourt—next to be noticed—this little speech of the Speaker is omitted in the Parliamentary History: "He is sorry to think Marvell took it as a reflection upon him."

The last appearance of Marvell as a Speaker in 'the House' is in a singular Incident, thus told in the Parliamentary History:*

Debate on Mr. Andrew Marvell's striking Sir Philip Harcourt. March 29. Mr. Marvell, coming up the House to his place, stumbling at sir Philip Harcourt's foot, in recovering himself, seemed to give sir Philip a box on the ear. The Speaker acquainting the House, 'That he saw a box on the ear given, and it was his duty to inform the House of it,' this debate ensued.

Mr. Marvell. What passed was through great acquaintance, and familiarity betwixt us. He never gave him an affront, nor intended him any. But the Speaker cast a severe reflection upon him yesterday, when he was out of the House, and he hopes that, as the Speaker keeps us in order, he will keep himself in order for the future.

Sir John Ernley. What the Speaker said yesterday, was in Marvell's vindication. If these two gentlemen are friends already, he would not make them friends, and would let the matter go no farther.

Sir Job. Charlton is sorry a thing of this nature has happened, and no more sense of it. You in the Chair, and a stroke struck! Marvell deserves for his reflection on you, Mr. Speaker, to be called in question. You cannot do right to the House, unless you question it; and moves to have Marvell sent to the Tower.

* Incidentally the 'debate' of this incident reveals that the place-men and courtiers of 'the House' were eager to take up any 'evil report' against Marvell, willing if afraid 'to strike.' Doubtless it was to such gossip-rumours or 'little storyes' he referred in his letter of June 20th, 1661 (page 74.)

The *Speaker*. I saw a blow on one side, and a stroke on the other.

Sir *Philip Harcourt*. Marvell had some kind of a stumble, and mine was only a thrust; and the thing was accidental.

Sir *H. Goodrick*. The persons have declared the thing to be accidental, but if done in jest, not fit to have been done here. He believes it to be an accident, and hopes that the House believes so too.

Mr. Sec. *Williamson*. This does not appear, that the action for that time was in some heat. He cannot excuse Marvell who made a very severe reflection on the Speaker, and since it is so required, whether you have done your duty, he would have Marvell withdraw, that you may consider of it.

Col. *Sandys*. Marvell has given you trouble, and instead of excusing himself, reflects upon the Speaker: a strange confidence, if not an impudence!

Mr. *Marvell*. Has so great a respect to the privilege, order and decency, of the House, that he is content to be a sacrifice for it. As to the casualty that happened, he saw a seat, empty, and going to sit in it, his friend put him by, in a jocular manner, and what he did was of the same nature. So much familiarity has ever been between them, that there was no heat in the thing. He is sorry he gave an offence to the House. He seldom spoke to the House, and if he commit an error, in the manner of his speech, being not so well tuned, he hopes it is not an offence. Whether out, or in the House, he has a respect to the Speaker. But he has been informed, that the Speaker resumed something he had said, with reflection. He did not think fit to complain of Mr. Seymour to Mr. Speaker. He believes, that is not reflective. He desires to comport himself with all respect to the House. This passage with Harcourt was a perfect casualty, and if you think fit, he will withdraw, and sacrifice himself to the censure of the House.

Sir *Henry Capel*. The blow given Harcourt was with his hat; the Speaker cast his eye upon both of them, and both respected him. He would not aggravate the thing. Marvell submits, and he would have you leave the thing as it is.

Sir *Robert Holmes* saw the whole action. Marvell flung about three or four times with his hat, and then gave Harcourt a box on the ear.

Sir *Henry Capel* desires, now that his honour is concerned, that Holmes may explain, whether he saw not Marvell with his hat only give Harcourt the stroke 'at that time.' Possibly, 'at another time' it might be.

The Speaker. Both Holmes and Capel are in the right. But Marvell struck Harcourt so home, that his fist, as well as his hat, hit him.

Sir *R. Howard* hopes that the House will not have Harcourt say, he received a blow, when he has not. He thinks what has been said by them both sufficient.

Mr. *Garroway* hopes, that, by the debate, we shall not make the thing greater than it is. Would have them both reprimanded for it.

Mr. Sec. *Williamson* submits the honour of the House to the House. Would have them make friends, and give that necessary assurance to the House, and he, for his part, remains satisfied.

Sir *Thoe. Meres*. By our long sitting together, we lose, by our familiarity and acquaintance, the decencies of the House. He had seen 500 in the House, and people very orderly; not so much as to read a letter, or set up a foot. One could scarce know any body in the House, but him that spoke. He would have the Speaker declare that order ought to be kept; but as to that gentleman (Marvell) to rest satisfied." [pp. 858-9.]

It will be observed that more than once Marvell mentions that he rarely addressed 'the House.' Not in his Speeches therefore are we to look for 'services' rendered by him as a Member of Parliament, but in his Correspondence. In the very remarkable series of Letters as now first printed chronologically and completely abundant proofs will be found of Marvell's constant attendance and vigilant attention while 'at home.' I do not know that there is extant such a body of Letters from any Member of Parliament to his constituents. Independent of details on the measures of Parliament nowhere else given, there are graphic narrative, vivid portraiture, trenchant criticism and fine humour, in many of the Letters; while his love of country, his integrity of principle, his independence, his assiduity in 'committees,' his ubiquity of zeal in serving, and his intimate and

potential relations with the foremost of his contemporaries, come out again and again.*

In common with, as it would seem, very many of their co-members, Marvell and Ramsden and Gilby received payment from Hull as Representatives; and it is of interest to cull the following entries from the Bench-Books at Hull on these payments, the more so as it has been erroneously stated that Marvell stood alone and was the last 'paid' member of Parliament, whereas payment was the rule until a good while after him.

1661 Apl. 1. Colonel Anthony	} Elected Burgesses of Parliament.
Gilby and Mr.	
Andrew Marvell	

Coll. Gilby 294 voyces.

Mr. Andrew Marvell 240 voyces.

Mr. John Ramsden 122 voyces.

Mr. Edward Barnard 195 voyces.

Coll. Gilby appears at first to have declined to receive payment as member. The following facts are recorded—

1661 Augt. 29. £28 paid Coll. Gilby.

„ „ „ £28 paid Mr. Marvell for Knights pence, being for their fee as Burgesses of Parliament 6s. 8d. a day for 84 days, the length of the last Parliament.

1661 Oct 7. Coll. Gilby returns back to the Bench £28 for Knights pence for serving as Burgess of Parliament (the same being tendered to him but was not accepted) but it appears that on subsequent occasions he accepted the usual allowance made to the Town's representatives.

* Cf. the present Volume, *en passant*, pp. 96, 312, 335.

1661 Nov 7. Piece of Plate to be bought for Coll. Gilby's Lady for her husband's respect for this Town.

1663 Aug 27. Ordered payment

Knights Pence—Coll. Gilby 53 13 4 at 6/8 pr. day.

Mr. Marvell 36 13 4 Do

Sept 3. Money taken out of Chest to pay same.

1664. June 16. Coll. Gilby to be paid £23 6 8 for his attendance at Parliament.

1670 Ap 21. £37 6 8 Paid to A. Marvell Esq. for attendance at Parliament.

Coll. Gilby's money to be paid him when he comes to make demand of it.

1671 May 25. £50 taken out of the Chest, Mr. Mayor to send it to Coll. Gilby for his charges for attending Parliament, the 2 last.

£40 to be sent to Mr. Marvell for Do. (188 days)

1673. £17 13 4 to be paid to Coll. Gilby

17 13 4 to Andrew Marvell Esqr. for attendance at Parliament.

1676 Aug 23. £26 Ordered to be paid unto Coll. Gilbie & Andrew Marvell Esq. the Town Burgesses of Parliament for 39 days a piece.

1677 May 10. £40 14 0 Ordered to be paid between Coll. Gilby & Mr. Marvell for their attendance in this Session of Parliament 61 days apiece.

The affectionate relations between Marvell and his 'Borough' are pleasantly illustrated in the Correspondence, and shew how satisfactory were his 'services,' e.g. When Lord Bellasis, during his absence in Holland, sought to have another representative chosen, intelligence was quickly sent him thither. His letters in answer are touched with admirable irony—and yet not very deep-cutting, for he seems to have retained respect for and from Lord Bellasis.* The

* See p.p. 85—87.

attempt to 'remove' him is only another tribute to his felt influence in 'the House.' His absences in Holland and elsewhere remain unexplained. It is probable that in some way or other he was employed in business; for he was no lord of 'broad acres,' no heir of fortune.†

The Trinity House correspondence—wholly printed for the first time—reveals his business capacity, his passion for work, his mainfold interviewing of men in authority and his familiar and kindly intercourse with historical names. The Embassy to Russia, and Sweden and Denmark, as now fully regiven, bears out the recognition of him not by Lord Carlisle merely, but by the King himself. His 'permitted absence' by 'the House' for so long a term is likewise notable. His readiness, promptitude, resources of scholarship and judgment are abundantly illustrated in the Embassy.‡ Nowhere is there more valuable biographic material than in this old narrative.||

I am not aware of a contemporary Member of Parliament who rendered so sustainedly public 'service' or who might be more fittingly taken as the *beau ideal* of a faithful representative.

III. His place in History and in Literature. For long, English 'History,' (so-called) consisted of the annals of Kings and Courts, and the exploits of War. Even to-day the 'dignity' of History is so very dignified, that anything beneath royalty is, as a rule,

† See Letter XXXVIII, 'March 12, 1683.' The date-place 'Vianen' has hitherto been taken to be in Holland. Query—Vianan in Spain? It will be remembered that in his poems, &c. Marvell has reminiscences of Spain. † See p. p. 96—162. || G. M. are the initials attached to the Preface of this Book. The publisher had shortly before issued another, entitled "A Guide too Constables, Church Wardens, &c., by George Meriton." Perhaps this was G.M. but I have failed to recover anything concerning him.

summarily dealt with ; and hence the hidden springs of the most potential and most creative elements of national life and opinion, are to a large extent neglected. I refer not simply to the forgetfulness of the masses of the 'commonalty' or 'common people,' (of our English Bible) but equally to the failure to take into account the formative and onward-bearing influence of individual men and books whose very names slip out of memory. That is to say, there is a select class of men and books of a remarkable type, whose influence while real and permanent is imperfectly recorded. Their high and noble lives, their beneficent personal charm, their social and private persuasiveness to good, their prescient advocacy of principles that rest on the absolute, and their bringing forth to the light of day and to the test of intellect and conscience, beliefs apt to be either sectarianized or dishonoured, pass into the thought and emotion, the every-day existence and practical conduct of their own and succeeding generations ; but they themselves are but inadequately remembered and do not get into 'History.' It is with this class of men and books much as it is with the precursor of the ultimate embodyer of a long process of observation, and speculative and scientific thinking and research. The ultimate invention gathers into itself a thousand preceding facts and conclusions and hints, and the earlier abide unheard of, albeit, their brains and eyes, and their cunning observation, really furnished the substance of the ultimate invention. Similarly in 'The Rehearsal Transpros'd,' and 'Mr. Smirke' and the 'Defence' of John Hewe, and the 'Growth of Popery,' Andrew Marvell in 'evil days' stood forward in behalf of principles of civil and religious liberty, that were

being traduced and trampled on, and of 'men of God' in the truest sense, who were assailed for maintaining principles of profoundest truth and priceless worth. With all the light and bright qualities of wit, and humour, and raillery, and repartee deepening into sarcasm and blazing into rebuke, there is in these books strong practical common-sense, upright, inflexible justice, and a solemn, indeed awful apprehension of the everlastingness of the issues involved. Let any one capable, read—if he can give the necessary patience—the 'Ecclesiastical Politie,' and cognate writings of Bishop Parker, and the 'Preface' of Bp. Bramwall as answered by Marvell, and compare the ignorance and dogmatism, the abjectness and immorality of the standing-grounds occupied by them in their (imagined) vindication of Church and State 'authority,' with the large thought and wide reading and observation, the catholicity and greatness of judgment and opinion, and the reverent acceptance of what "is written" in the Holy Scriptures in Marvell's books, and realize the healthiness of present public opinion and legislation regarded broadly, and he will have small difficulty in tracing back to 'The Rehearsal Transpros'd' and 'Mr. Smirke' and 'Defence' of John Howe, and the 'Growth of Popery,' a source from which has gone the ennobling and transforming power that has secured to us our national liberties of speech and act, against which reaction is as impossible as of the sea against its tidal laws. I claim therefore for the Prose of Andrew Marvell, a too little recognised place in History, as one of the pioneers of literature, civil and religious freedom; and as himself one of the elect few to whom England owes it, that her living Laureate could truthfully write these 'household words':

It is the Land that freemen till,
 That sober-suited Freedom chose;
 The Land where, girt with friends or foes,
 A man may speak the thing he will.
 A Land of settled government,
 A Land of just and old renown;
 Where freedom broadens slowly down
 From precedent to precedent.

The student of the Prose of these volumes will be rewarded for all possible time that he may sequester for the mastery of it. He will come on coruscations of a grave 'wit' that is really unique and be moved to irrepressible laughter over grotesquely realistic portraiture of men and things, and be taken captive with ingenious adaptations of a perhaps desultory yet most open-eyed reading; e.g. the fecundity of 'resemblances' in 'Mr. Bayes' of 'The Rehearsal' is extraordinary;* but underlying all or rather informing all as the soul the body, will be found argumentative 'defences' of principles that are eternal. I had thought of giving quotations *pro* and *con* in confirmation of what I have said and to have somewhat fully examined Bp. Parker's Writings, but it will be better that the Reader turn to the books themselves, the more especially as Marvell quotes so fully and so honestly from the works he answers. In a sentence—the principles maintained in this Prose are for intellectual and spiritual liberty of inquiry as against submission to ecclesiastical dogma; for the welfare of the nation as against the aggrandizement of a section and a party; for charity and brotherhood as against bigotry and separation; for integrity and purity as against 'spoiling' and corruption; and for reality of the Christian life and

* Consult Arber's reprint. I regret I cannot dwell on the relation of 'The Rehearsal Transposed' to the Comedy.

the simplicity of the Gospel as against mere 'profession.' Granted that in the notorious even infamous Bishop Samuel Parker and others he had no 'foemen, worthy of his steel.' None the less were these authoritative at the time and none the less the call and the sanction of Marvell's vindications.*

* With reference to certain details in the books of Marvell, &c. promised elsewhere, my exhausted space will only allow of these few things. (a.) Vol. III., p. 527, original title-page of 'The Rehearsal Transpros'd.' Cf. Memorial-Introduction, Vol. I. pp. liii.-iv. The 'First Part' was anonymous and is without the curious imprint of the '2d edition.' I note that in the Grenville Library copy of the 2d edition there are contemporary MS. notes of names, &c. These confirm my own Notes and Illustrations, e.g. page 8, B and L: in margin 'Perkenhead L'strange; page 36 'as a modern lady:' in margin 'The D. of Newcastle:' and so throughout. I give here one note on an overlooked word: p. 28, 'we find ourselves bilk'd in our expectation:' in margin 'bilk'd ye diminutive of bulk.' (b) *Ibid.*, 'counterfeit impression.' Cf. Memorial-Introduct., Vol. I., p. liv. It is really as carelessly printed as Ponder affirms. Ponder was similarly troubled with 'counterfeit' editions of the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' (c) *Ibid.*, Bp. Bramhall's Vindication. Consult Watt and Alibone s.n. So with other title-pages for which there is no room herein. Bramhall was not without ability. Parker abused his name for his own honour. Born 1593; died 1663. (d) *Ibid.*, Marvell's quotations and Parker's. A very hasty examination will shew that the former is inflexibly honest, the latter dexterously and consciously dishonest wherever it serves his (present) purpose. (e) *Ibid.*, p. 28, 'A Preface.' See Watt and Alibone s.n. (f) *Ibid.*, p. 529: Dr. Owen. See Goold's edn. of Owen's Works s.n. (g) *Ibid.*, p. 562. Various answers to the 'Rehearsal Transpros'd.' 'Hicringill' with all his coarseness in his 'Gregory Greybeard' has salt of wit. The others consist mainly of abuse. These title-pages may suffice as specimens: (a) Gregory, Father Greybeard, with his Vizard off: or News from the Cabal in some Reflexions upon a Pamphlet entituled The Rehearsal Transpros'd (after the fashion that now obtains) in a Letter to our old Friend R. L. from E. H. 1673. (b) S'too him Bayes: or Some Observations upon the Humour of Writing Rehearsals' Transpros'd. Oxon. 1673. (c) A Common-place-Book out of the Rehearsal Transpros'd, digested under these several heads: his Logick, Chronology, Wit, Geography, Anatomy, History, Loyalty, with useful Notes. 1673. (d) Rosemarie and Bayes, &c. 1673 See Watt, Lowndes, &c. for Bp. Parker's Writings—which I should much have liked to criticise but can't here. (h) *Ibid.*, p. 571. Sibthorpe. See all the Church-Historians. His notorious sermon made an epoch—of its sorry kind. (i) *Ibid.* p. 577. Elizabeth Hampton. See all the Sketches of Parker's Life. He was in the outset a violent 'Sectary' and Dissenter, and his Churchmanship was as venal as his life was loose and discreditable. He found a kind early friend in Hampton, though he turned his back upon her as he did on his own parents. (j) The Popples, II., frequ. William Popple elected Chamberlain 1621; Sheriff 1626; Alderman 1637; Mayor 1638. Edward Popple elected Chamberlain 1653; Sheriff 1658; Alderman 1663; and fined £150 for not accepting office. Edmund married Andrew Marvell's sister. He was a Warden of the Trinity House.

Another element of historical INFLUENCE in the Prose is Marvell's fine praise of contemporaries in many respects differing from him. It is extremely satisfying to come on the unreserved and unhesitant recognition of John Hales (Vol. III., p. 126.), Benjamin Stillingfleet (Vol. II, p. 567: Vol. III., pp. 471-1-578), *the* Hooker (Vol. III., p. 484), as well as of the co-equal Nonconformists—Baxter and Howe and Owen and others.* A 'loyal son' of the Church of England—as fully proved in the Memorial-Introduction (Vol. I., pp. xli.-ii.), Marvell had yet heart spacious enough to hold all good men; and if o' times he is passionate in his defence of the Nonconformists, it is so because they were so brutally treated and so ignorantly misrepresented. Wherever he chances to notice a contemporary, he has a

* Of Bp. Croft, so splendidly defended in 'Mr. Smirke,' I would give these data: He was descended from one of the most ancient and honourable families in the county of Hereford. He was the 3rd son of Sir Herbert Croft, of Croft Castle: born Oct. 18th, 1603, at Great Milton, near Oxford. He was sent to the University of Oxford so soon as 1616. His father then joined the Church of Rome, becoming a lay-brother of the Benedictine Monastery at Douay. Young Herbert Croft followed his father's perversion. He was brought back to the Church of England through the teaching of Morton, Bp. of Durham, and at the desire of Laud, went a second time to Oxford, where he became a student in Christ Church. In 1639, he attended the Earl of Northumberland as chaplain during his expedition to Scotland, and on the 1st of August of this year, he became a Prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral. In 1640, he proceeded to the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was employed by the King upon various occasions in those dangerous and difficult times, sometimes at the hazard of his life. In 1640, he became Prebendary of Worcester and Canon of Windsor. In 1644, he was presented to the deanery of Hereford. On the decease of his two elder brothers he inherited the family estates. During the 'Troubles' he was obliged to retire from Herefordshire (Cf. Walker's "Sufferings.") On the death of Bp. Monk, he was presented to the See of Hereford, Dec. 29th, 1661, which he never would exchange for others pressed upon him. He died May 18th 1691, leaving behind him a fragrant memory. The portrait, which has been engraved for the first time (in our 4o.) and is the only one ever engraved, belongs to Mrs. Evans, Moreton Court, near Hereford, to whom I am deeply indebted for her permission so to engrave. It is an uncommonly sweet and saintly face. Cf. Letters Vol. II., 480 and onward. (Communication incorporating original and all available authorities from Rev. F. T. Havergall, to me.) Of John Howe it is not needful to speak. The engraved portrait is a magnificent one (in the 4o.)

pleasant word. One reads with hushed breath the brave vindication of John Milton (Vol. III., pp. 498-500), and is gladdened with the generous 'aside' for Butler (Vol. III., pp. 35, 493-4.) His 'pitifulness' toward Charles Ist., as imperishably worked into the 'Horatian Ode' (Vol. I., p.p. 163-4), is very noticeable; scarcely less his magnanimous hopefulness toward Charles IInd., as over and over comes out in his Correspondence. He was no 'red' Republican. Like Richard Baxter, he loved our 'ancient monarchy,' while he mourned over the unworthy occupants of the august throne.†

Of Marvell's place in Literature as a Poet I have already pronounced my judgement critically (Vol I p.p. 18-20.) I believe that the more his Poetry is 'pondered,' the more will its trueness and originality and fineness be FELT. With every abatement he is a genuine Maker. His Prose may profitably be returned on at this day. As noted in the beginning of the present section, his Writings were contendings for endangered Truth; and it would seem as though ultramontaniam were about to compel the free Protestantism of England and America, and other 'Reformation'-accepting countries, to re-assert their

† As stated in note in Vol. III., p. 560 (in p. 325), Marvell had no great liking evidently for Sir William Davenant. The 'hidden reference' therein promised to be pointed out, is therefore the more interesting. The passage is in the poem 'Upon Appleton House' (ll., 455-6):

Such, in the painted world, appear'd,
Davenant, with th' universal heard.

The allusion is to Gondibert, c. vi., pp. 59-60: where Astragon's Temple is described, and in which, among other things, are paintings of the six days of creation.

This voice
Adds to this world one *Fiat*, as the last:
Then strait an universal Herd appears;
First gazing on each other in the shade;
Wondring with levell'd eyes, and lifted cares;
Then play, whilst yet their Tyrant is unmade.

The 'tyrant' is man, whose creation is next given in st. 61. (Dr. Brinsley Nicholson, letter to me.)

hard-won liberties. In any such conflict the 'Growth of Popery' and other books of Marvell will furnish keen-edged weapons. As literature, they are vital as ever; as 'defences' or 'apologies,' (in the etymological sense) they are imperishable. I claim for the author of the 'Horatian Ode' of 'Eyes and Tears,' 'The Nymph complaining for the death of her Fawn,' 'The Garden,' 'Ametas and Thestylis making Hay-ropes,' 'On a Drop of Dew,' 'Bermudas,' 'The Gallery,' 'To his coy Mistress,' and kindred and of the Wit and Wisdom of 'The Rehearsal Transposed, and 'Mr. Smirke,' a high and abiding personality in our best and most enduring Literature.

IV. *His last illness and death.* Since my Memorial-Introduction was printed, and Vol I. ('Poems') issued, a curious discovery has been made in a forgotten medical work, that is of rare interest concerning the death of our Worthy, and which removes—as I ventured to decide beforehand—the (groundless) 'suspicion' of his having been treacherously poisoned. (Mem-Intro: I. pli.) I know not that I can better put the thing before the Reader than by reprinting the communication of it to the *Athenæum* (March 7th, 1874) as follows:

THE DEATH OF ANDREW MARVELL.

54, Harley Street, February, 1874.

THE course of my medical studies led me to consult Morton's 'Pyretologia,' a few days ago. In that book I found a full account of the sickness and death of Andrew Marvell. The facts put on record by Morton are not known to any of Marvell's biographers. In Mr. Dove's 'Life of Andrew Marvell: London: 1832,' we have as follows:—"He died on the 16th August, 1678, aged fifty-eight years, not without strong suspicions (as his constitution was entire and vigorous) of having suffered under the effect of poison. And this is the story of the biographers. Mr. Grosart, in the first volume of his edition of Marvell (1872), has not been able to add anything to the

meagre details of his predecessors, excepting that he corrects the date of Marvell's death, which happened on August 18, and not on August 16.

The title of Morton's treatise is 'Πυρετολογία seu Exeritationes de Morbis Universalibus Acutis. Authore Richardo Morton, Med. D. Regii Collegii Medicor. Lond. Socio et Censore. Londini, 1692.' At page 96, he speaks of the evil effects of opiates given in certain stages of intermittent fever. And he proceeds to illustrate his doctrine thus:—"Hoc pacto celeberrimus ille vir Andreas Mervill cum magno Reipub. (præsertim literariæ) detrimento (ex ignorantia Medici senis atque superciliosi, cui in more erat contra *Corticem Peruvianum*, quasi communem pestem, immaniter ubique debacchari) e vivis ante diem sublatus fuit. Siquidem, postquam absque evidenti aliquâ Indicatione, in intervallo, post tertium paroxysmum Febris Tertianæ legitimæ, præparationis gratiâ (uti omnia methodicè fieri viderentur) sanguis ab *Ægro* ætate provento, post enematis rejectionem, liberè extractus fuisset, et in subsequenti intervallo, Alvus decocto amaro subducta, & paulo ante tertium paroxysmum *Emeticum* propinatum; Hoc modo stratâ viâ, sub initium paroxysmi subsecuturi exhibebatur magnum *Febrifugum*, haustus seil. ex *Aquâ Theriacali*, &c. *Æger* stragulis opertus, vel potius sepultus jussu medici, ad somnum & sudores sese componebat; ut saltem *Algorem* et *Horrorem* primum insultum paroxysmi comitari solitos evitaret, & brevi, somno profundissimo & sudoribus colliquativis correptus, spatio horarum xxjv, tempore paroxysmi, Apoplecticè periit, Qui tamen ex unciâ unâ *Corticis Peruviani* ritè ministratâ (uti ego medico hanc historiam fronte satis perfrictâ narranti excandescens regerebam) spatio xxjv. horarum Orci & morbi fauces facile evasisset. Ob talem praxin Mulierculæ reprehendendæ sunt, & acriter corripiendæ, multò magis Medici & Philosophi, quos oportet nihil Empiricè, nihil absque urgente ratione, multò minùs contra rationem & manifestam Indicationem præscribere."

Perhaps you may be willing that a physician should translate Morton's medical Latin into modern English. If so, take it as follows: "In this manner was that most famous man Andrew Marvell carried off from amongst the living before his time, to the great loss of the republic, and especially the republic of letters; through the ignorance of an old conceited doctor, who was in the habit on all occasions of raving excessively against Peruvian bark, as if it were a common plague. Howbeit, without any clear indication, in the interval

after a third fit of regular tertian ague, and by way of preparation (so that all things might seem to be done most methodically), blood was copiously drawn from the patient, who was advanced in years." [Here follow more details of treatment, which I pass over.] "The way having been made ready after this fashion, at the beginning of the next fit, a great febrifuge was given, a draught, that is to say, of Venice treacle, etc. By the doctor's orders, the patient was covered up close with blankets, say rather, was buried under them; and composed himself to sleep and sweat, so that he might escape the cold shivers which are wont to accompany the onset of the ague-fit. He was seized with the deepest sleep and colliquative sweats, and in the short space of twenty-four hours from the time of the ague-fit, he died comatose. He died, who, had a single ounce of Peruvian bark been properly given, might easily have escaped, in twenty-four hours, from the jaws of the grave and the disease: and so burning with anger, I informed the doctor, when he told me this story without any sense of shame. If old women are to be sharply rebuked for such practice, how much more physicians and philosophers, whom it behoves to prescribe nothing empirically, nothing without urgent reason, much less against reason and clear indication."

This seems to me to be a deeply interesting addition to our store of facts respecting a true Englishman. Marvell was not poisoned, but was only killed by a man who obstinately adhered to the worst traditions of the Middle Ages. Fortunately for the old conceited doctor we do not know his name: we can fancy the scorn with which he would treat a fellow-doctor living in Pall Mall at the time, Sydenham by name. The prophetic insight of Morton no doubt has not escaped you. Marvell's reputation is great in the republic, but greatest in the republic of letters. The patriotic member for Hull is not yet forgotten; but he who wrote the Song of the Bermuda emigrants, and an Horatian ode on the return of Cromwell from Ireland, can never die.

SAMUEL GEE, M.D.,

Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London.

Perhaps Dr. Gee would have done well to have explained that a *theriac* contained opium. It had evidently been administered incautiously.

Two entries from the Bench-Books at Hull may accompany these details. (a) *Last interview with the*

Corporation : “ On Monday, 29 July, 1678 : This day the Court being mett, Andrew Marvell, Esq., one of the Burgesses of Parliament for this Borough, came into court, and the court and Mr. Marvell held several discourses about the Town’s affairs. (b)

Funeral : “ On Thursday, the 26th day of September, 1678 : In consideration of the kindnesse the Town and Borough had for Andrew Marvell, Esq., one of the Burgesses of P’liament for the same Borough (lately deceased), and for his great meritts from the Corporation, It is this day Ordered by the Court that fifty pounds be paid out of the Town’s Chest towards the discharge of his funerals and to p’petuate his memory by a Grave stone.” Finally, I give from Capt. Thompson’s Life (Vol. III. 491-2), the Epitaph which the Town of Hull caused to be placed beside the ‘stone,’ but which the Royalists tore down. It thus ran:—

NEAR UNTO THIS PLACE

LIETH THE BODY OF ANDREW MARVELL, ESQ.

A MAN SO ENDOWED BY NATURE,
 SO IMPROVED BY EDUCATION, STUDY, AND TRAVEL,
 SO CONSUMMATED BY PRACTICE AND EXPERIENCE,
 THAT JOINING THE MOST PECULIAR GRACES OF WIT,
 AND LEARNING,
 WITH A SINGULAR PENETRATION AND STRENGTH OF
 JUDGEMENT,
 AND EXERCISING ALL THESE IN THE WHOLE COURSE
 OF HIS LIFE
 WITH AN UNALTERABLE STEADINESS IN THE WAYS
 OF VIRTUE,
 HE BECAME THE ORNAMENT AND EXAMPLE OF HIS
 AGE ;
 BELOV’D BY GOOD MEN, FEAR’D BY BAD, ADMIR’D
 BY ALL ;

THO' IMITATED, ALAS ! BY FEW, AND SCARCE
FULLY PARALLELED BY ANY.

BUT A TOMBSTONE CAN NEITHER CONTAIN HIS CHARACTER,
NOR IS MARBLE NECESSARY TO TRANSMIT IT TO
POSTERITY ;

IT WILL BE ALWAYS LEGIBLE IN HIS INIMITABLE
WRITINGS.

HE SERVED THE TOWN OF KINGSTON UPON HULL
ABOVE TWENTY YEARS
SUCCESSIVELY IN PARLIAMENT, AND THAT, WITH
SUCH WISDOM,
DEXTERITY, INTEGRITY AND COURAGE, AS BECOMES
A TRUE PATRIOT.

HE DIED THE 18TH OF AUGUST, 1678, IN THE
FIFTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

So endeth such further commentary on the Life and Writings of ANDREW MARVELL, as I have thought it needful to make. And now I would have my Readers turn again and again to his portrait, as given in our quarto (Vol. I.) and as further given largely and grandly and worthily in the private-plate being issued by me with these volumes. I know only one Face of an Englishman comparable with it, and I adapt to Marvell what is said of his—John Milton's—by one who has only mocked and tantalized the expectations of those who know him by the fewness and inadequateness of his public and printed utterances—greatly-admired and lovable WILLIAM GRAHAM, of Liverpool, in his eloquent Lecture “John Milton”—“And now we stand and look upon that face, so beautiful in youth, so noble and touching in age. In a moment all that clouded or brightened it passes before us. The quiet scenes of youthful Winestead and ‘the Garden’ at Hull ;

the morning and evenings of Italy, and Spain, and France, and Holland; the troubled events of the Rebellion and the Commonwealth; the figures of Hampden and Cromwell,—those have met it in times gone by; and the enthusiasm and inspiration of genius, the disappointments and sadness of grief,—these have purified the features and furrowed its brow. It is of the finest Faces in English history. Looking at it steadily, how firm yet feminine are the lips; how dreamy and deep the eyes; how wide and serene the brow, with the bleached locks, once brown, parted off from it." (p.p, 61-2.)

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.



CORRESPONDENCE
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE
OF
ANDREW MARVELL, M.P.:
WITH
ELUCIDATIONS,
AND INCORPORATING OTHER MSS., ETC., ETC.

THE LIFE OF JOHN B. HARRIS
BY J. B. HARRIS

NO.

THE LIFE OF JOHN B. HARRIS

THE LIFE OF JOHN B. HARRIS

THE LIFE OF JOHN B. HARRIS



CORRESPONDENCE.



AS our Memorial-Introduction (in Vol. I.) shews and the Essay in the present Volume, there is no light from Letters or other documents or records on the Life of Marvell—save the biographic facts given in the Memorial-Introduction and Essay—earlier than 1653. Thither reference may be made for all preceding 1653. In 1653, following on his tutor-ship away down in pleasant ‘Appleton House’ or ‘Nunappleton’ of MARY FAIRFAX, daughter of the ‘Great Lord Fairfax’—the idyll of his somewhat stormy life—he is found acting in the like capacity to ‘Master Dutton, nephew of Oliver Cromwell’—at least so the Biographers designate him, albeit there seems obscurity on the relationship. One Letter alone of this noticeable engagement and period has come down. Elsewhere I have said something of this Letter and already printed it (Vol. I. pp xlii-iii). It inevitably takes its place here also in the Correspondence. One sighs that amid the surplusage of Cromwell Letters brought together by CARLYLE there is no least ‘Note’ from The Protector to our Marvell. Here is our first Letter,—on names and other things in which a few words will follow:

Letter I. To OLIVER CROMWELL.

‘Windsor, July 28, 1653.’

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCE,

“IT might perhaps seem fit for me to seek out words to give your Excellence thanks for myself. But indeed the only civility which it is proper for me to practise with so eminent a person, is to obey

you, and to performe honestly the worke that you have set me about. Therefore I shall use the time that your Lordship is pleas'd to allow me for writing, onely to that purpose for which you have given me it; that is, to render you an account of Mr. Dutton. I have taken care to examine him several times in the presence of Mr. Oxenbridge, as those who weigh and tell over money before some witnesse ere they take charge of it; for I thought that there might be possibly some lightnesse in the coyn, or errour in the telling, which hereafter I should be bound to make good. Therefore Mr. Oxenbridge is the best to make your Excellency an impartial relation thereof; I shall onely say, that I shall strive according to my best understanding (that is, according to those rules your Lordship hath given me) to encrease whatsoever talent he may have already. Truly he is of a gentle and waxen disposition; and, God be prais'd, I cannot say that he hath brought with him any evil impression; and I shall hope to set nothing upon his spirit but what may be of a good sculpture. He hath in him two things which make youth most easy to be manag'd; modesty, which is the bridle to vice, and emulation, which is the spurr to virtue. And the care which your Excellence is pleased to take of him, is no small encouragement, and shall be so represented to him; but above all, I shall labour to make him sensible of his duty to God: for then we begin to serve faithfully, when we consider He is our master. And in this both he and I ow infinitely to your Lordship for having placed us in so godly a family as that of Mr. Oxenbridge, whose doctrine and example are like a book and a map, not only instructing the eare, but demonstrating to the ey which way we ought to travell. And Mrs. Oxen-

bridge hath a great tendernessee over him also in all other things. She has look'd so well to him, that he hath already much mended his complexion; and now she is ording his chamber, that he may delight to be in it as often as his studys require. For the rest, most of this time hitherto, hath been spent in acquainting ourselves with him; and truly he is very chearfull, and I hope thinks us to be good company. I shall upon occasion henceforward informe your Excellence of any particularities in our little affairs; for so I esteem it to be my duty. I have no more at present, but to give thanks to God for your Lordship, and to beg grace of Him that I may approve myself,

Your Excellency's

Most humble and faithfull Servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

On what this 'Master' (=Mr.) Dutton became, or what became of him, History is dumb. Explorations in manifold likely places have yielded nothing. Of the Oxenbridges much but not too much, has been written in Wood's 'Athenæ'—atrabilious and blundering,—in Mather's 'Magnalia,'—in Brook's 'Lives of the Puritans'—in Emerson's 'History of the First Church in Boston' and laying all under contribution, in Dr. W. B. Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit" (Vol. I. pp 170-1). The unstudied 'testimony' of Marvell to the 'godly family of Mr. Oxenbridge' as one 'whose doctrine and example are like a book and a map, not only instructing the ear but demonstrating to the eye, which way we ought to travell' accords with the subsequent story of John Oxenbridge, who after attendance at Oxford and Cambridge in the usual course became in 1633 'a preacher of the Gospel' and not long thereafter 'went to Bermuda' and took a church there; returned to England in 1641-2; became minister of a congregation in Beverley; afterwards resident in Eton (of which he was 'a Fellow'): in 1662 was of the Two Thousand 'ejected' being then settled in Berwick on Tweed: proceeded thereupon to Surinam: remained there until 1667: in 1667 is found in the Barbadoes: in 1669 in 'New England' where he became

Pastor of the 'First Church of Boston' (10th April, 1670): died 28th December, 1674. There are innumerable descendants all over the United States.

Anthony a-Wood speaks evilly and ignorantly of this noble man's nobler wife Mrs. Oxenbridge who was buried under a 'stately monument' in Eton Chapel. The monument is long gone; but the inscription has been preserved by Le Neve and others. It was of Marvell's composition; and even at this late day is worth reading, as thus:

In Eton College Chapel, Bucks, on a black marble
near Lupton's Chapel.

Juxta hoc Marmor breve Mortalitatis speculum, Exuviae jacent JANAE OXENBRIGIAE, quae nobili, si id dixisse attinet, paterno BUTLEIORUM, materno CLAVERINGIORUM, genere orta, JOHANNI OXENBRIGIO Collegii Ætonensis socio nupsit; prosperorum deinceps et adversorum Consors ei fidelissima; Quem Religionis causâ oberrantem, usq; ad incertam BERMUDAE insulam secuta, nec marè vastum, nec tempestates horridas exhorruit; sed delicato corpore quos non labores exantlavit, quae non obivit itinera? Tantum Mariti potuit Amor, sed magis Dei. Tandem cum redeuntē Conscientiarum Libertate in Patriam Redux, magnam partem *Angliae* cum Marito pervagata (qui laetus undequaq; de novo disseminâset Evangelium) ipsa maximum Ministerii sui decus et antiquâ Modestiâ eandem animarum capturam domi quam ille foris exercens, hic tandem, Divino nutu, cum illo consedit.

Pietatis erga Deum, Charitatis erga proximos, Conjugalis et Materni affectus, omnium virtutum Christianarum exemplum degebat inimitabile, donec quinq; annorum Hydrope laborans per lenta incrementa ultra Humani Corporis modum intumuit; Anima interim spei plena, Fidei ingens, stagnanti humorum diluvio tranquille vehebatur, et tandem post

77 peregrinationis Annos, 23, Aprilis Anno 1653, evolavit ad Coelos tanquam Columba ex Arca Corporis. Cujus semper dulci, semper amarae memoriae moerens maritus posuit: Flentibus juxta quatuor liberis, DANIELLE, BATHSHUA, ELIZABETHA, MARIA.

Francisca quoq; ejusdem JOHANNIS OXENBRIDGE UXOR, FRANCISCAE et HEZEKIAE WOODWARD unica filia, Christi, et inde Parentum, Mariti, Pauperum amantissima, nec minus etiam amata, obiit; primo tamen Connubij (25 Aetatis) anno nondum expleto, in ipso THEODORAE animulae suae partu, animam Deo enixa; Posuit superstes Maritus altero lapide morti* proprius. [*Sic in MS.

MS. Woodward: [John Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana 1718: No. 49 pp. 18-19.]

THUS TRANSLATED:

Near this Marble, Mortality's short-lived Mirror, lie the remains of Jane Oxenbridge, who, sprung from a noble stock, if that is worth mentioning,—on the father's side from the Butlers, on the mother's from the Claverings,—became the wife of John Oxenbridge, Fellow of Eton College; thenceforward the right faithful partner of his prosperity and adversity: Whom she followed when he became an exile on account of Religion even to Bermuda's shadowy isle; nor shrank in fear from ocean nor vast and awful storms; but, with her delicate body, what labours did she not exhaust, what journeys did she not encounter? At length, with returning liberty of conscience, restored to her Fatherland, she traversed a great part of England with her Husband, (who would gladly have scattered anew the seeds of the Gospel all over the Land), she herself the greatest glory of his Ministry, and with primitive modesty plying the same successful pursuit for souls at home as he abroad; at length, by Divine direction, settled with him in this place.

Of piety towards God, of charity towards her neighbours, of wifely and motherly affection, and of all Christian virtues, she displayed a matchless example; until suffering from dropsy for five years, by gradual increase she became swollen beyond the measure of the human frame. Her soul, meanwhile, full

of hope, mighty in faith, was carried peacefully over the stagnant flood of watery humours, and at length after 77 years of wandering, on 23rd of April, in the year 1653, escaped to the skies like a dove from the Ark of the Body. To whose ever sweet but ever bitter memory her mourning husband erected this monument, his four children weeping beside him, Daniel, Bathsheba, Elizabeth, and Mary.

Also Frances, Wife of the same John Oxenbridge, only daughter of Frances and Hezekiah Woodward,—of Christ, and after that of her Parents, her Husband, the Poor, a devoted lover; and not less, moreover, beloved: She died, however, when the first year of her wedded life, the 25th of her age, was not yet completed, breathing forth with pangs her own soul to God, in the very birth of her Theodora's little soul. Her surviving husband placed (this) on a second stone—to death nearer now himself. (Last sentence is unfinished and obscure).

Our next Letter is from JOHN MILTON to PRESIDENT BRADSHAW, which was sent by Marvell. Whether Milton and Marvell met in Italy, as some have supposed, or whether they were introduced through the Fairfaxes, does not now appear. But in 1651-2 (early) they knew each other, and the 'old man, eloquent,' in his pathetic blindness, was evidently 'drawn' to the younger. One 'witness' remains in this Letter. Finding that 'Mr. Marville'—a not infrequent spelling—once, at least, by Marvell himself: and elsewhere the name occurs as 'Morville' and 'Marvall': (Typographer and Genealogist, i. 479; iii 211) was going to visit 'President Bradshawe' at Eton, Milton sent this letter by him recommending him as a fit person to be employed by the State, more particularly to assist himself in the duties of Latin Secretary. Or, is the true interpretation that Marvell was sent to the President express by Milton on public business, *i.e.*, to act for him? This seems to be suggested by 'some occasion of business' of Milton's letter and 'our despatch' of Marvell's later, which would appear to indicate business brought by Marvell for Milton before Bradshawe. That he was thus employed once or twice privately by Milton, does not contradict Marvell's assertion that until 1657 he had nothing to do (as a public servant) with public affairs. This Letter of Milton gives us glimpses of Marvell's occupation in immediately preceding years, and again demands reprint here:—

JOHN MILTON TO THE 'HONOURABLE THE LORD
[PRESIDENT] BRADSHAWE.'

'Feb. 21, 1652.'

MY LORD,

BUT that it would be an interruption to the public, wherein your studies are perpetually employed, I should now and then venture to supply thus my enforced absence with a line or two, though it were only of businesse, and that would be noe slight one, to make my due acknowledgments of your many favoures; which I both doe at this time, and ever shall: and have this farder, which I thought my parte to let you know of, that there will be with you to-morrow, upon some occasion of business, a gentleman whose name is Mr. Marvile; a man whom, both by report, and the converse I have had with him, of singular desert for the State to make use of; who alsoe offers himselfe, if there be any imployment for him. His father was the Minister of Hull; and he hath spent four years abroad, in Holland, France, Italy, and Spaine, to very good purpose, as I believe, and the gaineing of those four languages; besides, he is a scholler, and well read in the Latin and Greek authors; and no doubt of an approved conversation, for he comes now lately out of the house of the Lord Fairfax, who was a Generall, where he was intrusted to give some instructions in the languages to the Lady, his daughter. If upon the death of Mr. Weckerlyn, the Councell shall think that I shall need any assistance in the performance of my place (though for my part I find no encumbrances of that which belongs to me, except it be in point of attendance at Conferences with Ambassadors, which I must

confess, in my condition, I am not fit for), it would be hard for them to find a man soe fit every way for that purpose as this gentleman; one who, I believe, in a short time, would be able to do them as much service as Mr. Ascan. This, my lord, I write sincerely, without any other end than to perform my duety to the publick, and helping them to an humble servant: laying aside those jealousies, and that emulation, which mine own condition must suggest to me, by bringing in such a coadjutor; and remaine, my lord,

Your most obliged and faithful servant,

JOHN MILTON.

Feb. 21, 1652.

(Addressed) 'To the Honourable the Lord Bradshawe.'

The 'recommendation' was remembered, and the office given later. This was in 1657, when one 'Philip Meadows,' who was 'assistant-Secretary,' was despatched on a mission to Denmark. But between 1651-2 and 1657 there was further intercourse and correspondence between Milton and Marvell. In 1654, a memorable Letter from Marvell to Milton was written, and fortunately survives. There has been blundering over this Letter. Dr. Symmons ('Life of Milton') and others, supposed it to have been an account of an interview with Cromwell; while actually it was with the 'Lord President Bradshawe.' I do not doubt that Milton did 'present' the book of which the Letter reports—the immortal 'Defensio'—to Cromwell: nor may any one suppose that the 'Protector' received it otherwise than thankfully and honouringly, let Royalists babble as they choose and even such an one as Robert Carruthers assert stupidly, 'no personal intercourse between Cromwell and Milton.' yet as matter-of-fact this particular letter relates to Bradshawe. Other letters that had preceded have apparently perished. All the more do we

rejoice over this: Milton was dissatisfied, evidently, with an earlier 'account' of the 'presentinge.'

LETTER II. ANDREW MARVELL TO JOHN MILTON.

'Eaton, June 2, 1654.'

HONOURED SIR,

I did not satisfie my self in the account I gave you of presentinge your Book to my Lord, although it seemed to me that I writ you all which the messenger's speedy returne the same night from Eaton would permit me; and I perceive that, by reason of that hast, I did not give you satisfaction neither, concerninge the delivery of your letter at the same time. Be pleased therefore to pardon me, and know that I tendered them both together. But my Lord read not the letter while I was with him, which I attributed to our despatch, and some other businesse tendinge thereto, which I therefore wished ill to so farr as it hindred an affaire much better and of greater importance, I mean that of reading your letter. And to tell you truly mine own imagination, I thought that he would not open it while I was there, because he might suspect that I, delivering it just upon my departure, might have brought in it some second proposition like to that which you had before made to him by your letter to my advantage. However, I assure myself that he has since read it, and you that he did witnesse all respect to your person, and as much satisfaction concerninge your work as could be expected from so cursory a review and so sudden an account as he could then have of it from me. Mr. Oxenbridge, at his returne from London, will I know give you thanks for his book as I do with all acknowledgement and humility for that you have sent me. I shall now studie it even to the getting of it by

heart : esteeming it, according to my poor judgment (which yet I wish it were so right in all things else) as the most compendious scale for so much to the height of the Roman Eloquence, when I consider how equally it turnes and rises with so many figures, it seems to me a Trajan's columnne, in whose winding ascent we see imboss'd the several monuments of your learned victories. And Salmatius and Mornus make up as great a triumph as that of Decebalus, whom too, for ought I know, you shall have forced, as Trajan the other, to make themselves away out of a just desperation. I have an affectionaté curiosity to know what becomes of Colonell Overton's businesse. And am exceeding glad that Mr. Skynner is got near you, the happiness which I at the same time congratulate to him and envie, there being none who doth, if I may so say, more jealously honour you then,

Honoured Sir,

Your most affectionaté humble servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Eaton, June 2nd, 1654.

(Addressed) 'For my most honoured friend,

John Milton, Esquire, Secretarye
for the Forrain affaires,

at his house in Petty France,
Westminster.

Again 'Mr. Oxenbridge'—of the former Letter—is named and as also receiving from Milton a copy of the 'Defensio.' That alone would outweigh the *ATHENAE'S* rancour. The 'Trajan's columnne' reference reminds us that Marvell had seen it in Rome. The 'Decebalus' allusion is somewhat clumsily put, the triumph having been 'over' not that 'of' him, and perhaps the tragic suicide of the valiant enemy of Trajan and of Rome was too greatly-sorrowful a thing whereby to symbolize the 'wasting' chagrin of Salmasius. Compli-

mentary remarks however in those days (as here) were what would be to us extravagance. Salmasius when Marvell wrote was dead: 'September 3, 1653.' 'Morus' (Alexander More) survived until 'Sep. 28, 1670,' and JOHN BROWN OF WHITBURN has shewn he was not the 'poor creature' Milton made him ('Life'). On 'Colonel Overton's business' see Carlyle's *Cromwell* (i. 377: iii. 332: 410 *et alibi*: 3d edn. 1850, 4 vols.) He had been 'Governor of Hull.' The 'Mr. Skynner' was doubtless that 'Cyriack Skinner' to whom Milton addressed two Sonnets; the second having in it those "household words" of his blindness:

————— "Yet I argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
Of heart or hope; but still bear up and steer
Right onward."

Appointed in 1657 'Assistant' Latin Secretary, Marvell must have taken part in the State-Papers of that year and of 1658; and thus it is historically accurate to place Milton and Marvell together, as has been done by HORACE SMITH in his "Brambletye House---a Story worth a cart-load of present-day 'sensational' Novels. We may tarry to read one scene: "At the upper end, before a desk on which were several folio volumes, two gentlemen were seated, one of whom was writing from the dictation of his companion. The latter who was rather below the middle age, wearing his light brown hair parted at the foretop and hanging down on either side of his singularly comely and majestic countenance, took not the smallest notice of them as they passed, but continued dictating. His amanuensis, a strong set figure, with a round face, cherry cheek, hazel eyes and brown hair, bowed to them, with a cheerful smile as they walked through into an inner apartment, but did not speak. These were the immortal John Milton, Latin secretary to the Protector, and the scarcely less illustrious Andrew Marvell, recently appointed his assistant; men worthy to sit enthroned in that costly Library, and to be surrounded by the great and kindred intellect of the world; men who have become the certain heirs of never-dying fame, while with one or two exceptions, the crowd of nobles and grandees that thronged the adjoining saloon, passed rapidly away into irredeemable oblivion."

En passant Captain Thompson in his edition of Marvell's Works has given to him in Vol. III. (pp 525-559) "Parliamenti Angliae Declaratio;" but its date—1648—ought to have

prevented 'this' and other like errors. Marvell's own unmistakeable words are that not until 1657 had he anything whatever to do with "publick matters" or "persons then predominant." As Cromwell died on 'September 3, 1658' our Worthy was only very shortly in the service of the Protector. Whether he held his Secretaryship under Richard Cromwell is uncertain. But this is certain that in Richard's 'Parliament' which was 'holden at Westminster, January 27, 1658,' i.e. our 1659, his name is found in Dr. Willis's 'Notitia Parliamentaria' and the 'Journals' of the House of Commons and all the authorities thus :

Kingston on Hull

JOHN RAMSDEN.

ANDREW MARVEL.

I am happy to be enabled (and for the first time) to confirm this election from the Bench-Books at Hull, as follows:—

On Monday, the tenth day of January, 1658.

This day being the first County day after that Mr. Edmund Popple, Sheriffe of this town and county, had received His Highness the Lord Protector's writt for the election of two Burgesses to serve in Parliament for this Corporation, after Mr. Sheriffe had caused His Highnesse writt to be read in the audience of the above-named Mayor and Aldermen and many of the Burgesses of this town then present, It was agreed upon by the said Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffe and Burgesses in generall that Thomas Strickland, Esq., Andrew Marvell, Esq., John Ramsden, Esq., Henry Smyth, Esq., and Sr Henry Vane, Knight, should be put upon the Leete, whereof two to be elected by poll Burgesses of Parliament for this Towne, wch being done accordingly, the aforementioned John Ramsden and Andrew Marvell, Esq., by the Major vote of the said Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses, were elected Burgesses to serve in the next Parliament for this towne of Kingston upon Hull.

We know that monarchical rather than republican and republican only as recognizing Oliver Cromwell's supreme fitness for his august 'post' though Marvell were, he was prepared to accept Richard as 'Lord Protector.' Witness the close of his splendid celebration of the dead Protector with its symbolisms of the thunder-storm that crashed through that dolorous night and the rain-bow that spanned the dawn :

'We find already what those omens mean,
Earth ne'er more glad, nor Heaven more serene.
Cease now our griefs, calm peace succeeds a war,
Rainbows to storms, Richard to Oliver.'

The name of Marvell does not appear in the List of the 'Rump' Parliament of 1659. Any Correspondence with his constituents at Hull from 1657 to 1660 ('The Restoration') has disappeared—why and how cannot now be determined. For the Parliament of 1660 John Ramsden and Andrew Marvell were again 'returned;' and again I am able to give the record in the Bench-Books at Hull.

On Monday, the 2nd of April, 1660. Memorandum that this day being the County day, Mr. John Tripp, the Sheriffe of this towne and county, did cause the writt for the electing of two Burgesses for this town, to sitt in the next Parliament, to be read, and in the presence of the forenamed Bench of Mayor and Aldermen and many other Burgesses of this Corporation, Willm. Lister, Esq., Mathew Alured, Esq., John Ramsden, Esq., Andrew Marvell, Esq., Edward Barnard, Esq., and Francis Thorpe, Esq., one of the Barons of the Exchequer, upon the cry of the Burgesses were put upon the Leete to poll for two Burgesses, and they had severall votes as forthwith:—Mr. Lister, 80; Coll. Alured, 55; Mr. Ramsden, 227; Mr. Marvell, 141; Mr. Barnard, 113; and Baron Thorpe, 35.

The Indentures being signed for the Election of Mr. Ramsden and Mr. Marvell to be the Burgesses of Parliament, to begin the 25th of April instant.

Our next Letter—first of a long Series—is dated 'Westminster, Nov. 17, 1660'—the shadows of coming events then broadening. It will be seen that somehow his 'partner' (co-representative) 'Mr. Ramsden' had not arrived in town; and hence it was only with 'halfe a penn' he wrote; that nevertheless he 'had rather expose' his 'own defects' to their 'good interpretation, then excuse thereby a totall neglect of' his 'duty and that trust divided upon' him. 'It was therefore to be a 'duty' thenceforward to write habitually to 'The right worshipfull the Mayor and the Aldermen his brethren of Kingston upon Hull.' Right faithfully and commendably was the 'trust' fulfilled over well-nigh a quarter-of-a-century. The present Letter indeed tells us that having been present 'the first day of the Parliament's sitting' he 'took care to write to Mr. Maior what work' was 'cut out.' That Letter is gone.

In entering upon these Letters to the Corporation of Hull let four small things be noted. (a) That I give in the first of them (Letter III.) the full address of the Letter—correcting herein Capt. Thompson, who mis-addresses it to ‘William Ramsden;’ but thereafter shall content myself with the heading ‘To the Same,’ except that on occasion of a new Mayor his name will be given and any departure from the usual address. (b) That similarly I give the full close of the first Letter (Letter III.) but hereafter will only note departures from this usual formula of ‘Your most affectionate friend and servant.’ (c) That as a rule the signature is ‘Andr. Marvell’ and only occasionally ‘Andrew Marvell.’ (d) That contractions such as ‘wch’ for ‘which’ and the like, are printed throughout in full, but the orthography retained in integrity, though not the abounding capitals and non-punctuation. It may likewise be recorded that the first six of the Corporation-Letters are written on gilt-edged paper, on which ‘an’ it please’ the Reader, curious lore may be found in “Notes and Queries” (4th Series s.v.); and that the seal is ordinarily a ‘stag’ or ‘deer’ (perhaps a gift from Mary Fairfax in memorial of ‘The Nymph complaining for the Death of her Fawn’); onward a head of Julius Cæsar. In the present Letter Capt. Thompson oddly prints ‘Mr. Racor’ for ‘Mr. Mayor’—one of abounding misreadings of (as a whole) singularly plainly written MSS. Finally (*in re*) there is in this Letter a flash of humour on the non-relevancy of a certain Act ‘of wives who shall refuse to cohabit with their husbands:’ a retrospective glance on the ‘infliction’ of a perpetual ‘Army;’ a groan over an unexpected ‘assessment’ of “£70,000 *per mensem*,” yet with modest recollection that he was only a ‘private member;’ a preference of the ‘Militia’ to a ‘standing Army’—when ‘a child’ he had delighted in the ‘training for the Militia;’ an announcement of the ‘Declaration of his Majesty’ being made ‘the Law in religious matters—(alas, for his ‘Most religious’ Majesty’s ‘declarations!’) and along with other ‘news’ of what was being done in the House a kind of agitated and sorrowful sense of relief in the ‘settlement’ from recent distractions and contentings in the purple light of hope through ‘The Restoration!’ Very noticeable are these words towards the end ‘though we may buy gold too deare, yet we must at any rate be glad of peace, freedome, and a good conscience.’ ‘Gold!’ In truth veriest dross and mire as swiftly soon was revealed. There are noticeable words e.g. ‘ingenuity’ is our ingenuousness: ‘casual’=chancy or chanceful. The ‘duplicates of the

poll' at the close, I suppose meant the duplicates of ratings or amounts of ratings under the Poll Bill—a matter to which there is repeated after-reference. Now for the Letter itself:

Letter III. 'For the Right Wor'pfull CHRISTOPHER RICHARDSON, Mayor, and the Aldermen his Brethren, of Kingston upon Hull.

'Nov. 17, 1660.'*

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

ALTHOUGH during the necessary absence of my partner, Mr. Ramsden, I write with but halfe a penn, and can scarce perswade myselfe to send you so imperfect an account of your own and the publick affairs, as I needs must for want of his assistance; yet I had rather expose mine own defects to your good interpretation, then excuse thereby a totall neglect of my duty, and that trust which is divided upon me. At my late absence out of Town I had taken such order that if you had commanded me any thing, I might soon haue received it, and so returned on purpose to this place to haue obeyed you. But hearing nothing of that nature howeuer, I was present the first day of the Parliament's sitting, and tooke care to write to Mr. Maior what work we had cut out. Since when, we have had litle new, but onely been making a progresse in those things I then mentioned. There is yet brought in an Act in which of all others your corporation is the least concerned: that is, where wives shall refuse

* On Richardson and the successive Correspondents of Marvell information will be found in our Notes and Illustrations at the end of this Volume. It were only to interrupt the correspondence to pause over them in the text.—So also with other points requiring notice that in our connecting 'elucidations' are left unnoticed.—G.

to cohabit with their husbands, that in such case the husband shall not be liable to pay any debts which she may run into, for clothing, diet, lodging, or other expenses. I wish with all my heart you were no more touched in a vote that we haue made for bringing in an Act of a new Assessment for six moneths, of 70000li. *per mensem*, to begin next January. The truth is, the delay ere monyes can be got in, eats up a great part of all that is levying, and that growing charge of the Army and Navy doubles upon us. And that is all that can be said for excuse of ourselues to the Country, to whom we had giuen our own hopes of no further sessment to be raised, but must now needs incurre the censure of improvidence before or prodigality now, though it becomes no private member, the resolution having passed the House, to interpose further his own judgement in a thing that can not be remedied; and it will be each man's ingenuity not to grudge an after-payment for that settlement and freedome from Armyes and Navyes, which before he would haue been glad to purchase with his whole fortune. There remain some eight Regiments to be disbanded, but those all horse in a manner, and some seaunteen shipps to be payd of, that haue laid so long upon charge in the harbour, beside fourscore shipps which are reckoned to us for this Winter guard. But after that, all things are to go upon his Majestye's own purse, out of the Tunnage and Poundage and his other revenues. But there being so great a provision made for mony, I doubt not but ere we rise, to see the whole army disbanded, and according to the Act, hope to see your Town once more ungarrisoned, in which I should be glad and happy to be instrumentall to the uttermost. For I can not but

remember, though then a child, those blessed days when the youth of your own town were trained for your militia, and did methought, become their arms much better than any soldiers that I haue seen there since. And it will not be amisse if you please (now that we are about a new Act of regulating the Militia, that it may be as a standing strength, but not as ill as a perpetuall Army to the Nation) to signify to me any thing in that matter that were according to your ancient custome and desirable for you. For though I can promise litle, yet I intend all things for your service. The Act for review of the Poll bill proceeds, and that for making this Declaration of his Majesty a Law in religious matters. Order likewise is giuen for drawing up all the votes made during our last sitting, in the businesse of Sales of Bishops' and Deans' and Chapters' lands into an Act, which I should be glad to see passd. The purchasers the other day offerd the house 600,000li. in ready mony, and to make the Bishops &c. revenue as good or better then before. But the House thought it not fit or seasonable to hearken to it. We are so much the more concernd to see that great interest of the purchasers satisfyed and quieted, at least in that way which our own votes haue propounded. On Munday next we are to return to the consideration of apportioning 100,000li. per annum upon all the lands in the nation, in lieu of the Court of Wards. The debate among the Countyes, each thinking it self over-rated, makes the successe of that businesse something casuall, and truly I shall not assist it much for my part, for it is litle reason that your Town should contribute in that charge. The Excise bill for longer continuance (I wish it proue not too long)

will come in also next weeke. And I foresee we shall be called upon shortly to effect our vote made the former sitting, of raising his Majestie's revenue to 1,200,000*li.* per Annum. I do not love to write so much of this mony news. But I think you haue observed that Parliaments have been always made use of to that purpose, and though we may buy gold too deare, yet we must at any rate be glad of Peace, Freedom, and a good Conscience. Mr. Maior tells me, your duplicates of the Poll are coming up. I shall go with them to the Exchequer and make your excuse, if any be requisite. My long silence hath made me now trespassed on the other hand in a long letter, but I doubt not of your good construction of so much familiarity and trouble from

Gentlemen,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDR: MARVELL.

Westminster, Nov. 17, 1660.

Three days later, another Letter goes to the Corporation, one having apparently arrived from it to 'Mr. Marvell' by a forgotten 'Mr. Winchester'—in nowise needing search for. The 'Lord Chiefe Baron,' into whose hands the letter (in duplicate) was given, to his contentment, was no less than SIR MATTHEW HALE, who, having been a Judge of the Common Pleas since 1654, was constituted Chief Baron of the Exchequer 7th November, 1660—only about two weeks prior to Marvell's waiting on him. One likes to know that Hale and Marvell met. It may be added that, promoted to the Chief-Justice-ship of the King's Bench (18th May, 1671) he continued to give lustre to the office of a 'Judge.' He died on Christmas day, 1676, having resigned his post the preceding 21st February. Few names of the century more merit the old praise '*venerabile et clarum.*' The 'Princess Henrietta' daughter of Charles I. (born 16th June, 1644) as was 'credibly reported,' was married 31st March, 1661, to Philip, Duke of Anjou, afterwards Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV. She died 30th June, 1670. The 'duplicate' spoken of was

doubtless the same mentioned in the previous letter, the L. Ch. Baron, being L. C. of the Exchequer. The word 'offer'd' means 'proposed.'

Letter IV. To the SAME.

'Nov. 20. 1660.'

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING received yours by Mr. Winchester, I accordingly went this morning and gave your duplicate into the hands of the Lord Chiefe Baron, and he remained fully satisfied of your diligence in that businesse: so that you need not be any more thoughtfull upon that account. Yesterday the House was in debate concerning the proportions that were brought in for laying 100,000*li.* perpetuall upon all the lands in the severall Countyes of England in lieu of the Court of Wards, but came to no resolution therein; adjourning the debate at large concerning any other way of compensation till to-morrow. But it seemed by the then debate, that by reason of this new six-months assessment, the House would not judge it seasonable to put this new land-rate upon the people, and inclined rather to settle the 100,000*li.* out of the Excise of Ale and Beere. Some offerd, as it is more just, that onely the lands *in capite*, which receive the benefit, should be taxed with the revenue; and others were even content, or believed it must come to that, that the Court of Wards should continue. The issue is uncertain. A Bill was to-day carried up to the Lords for calling in the arrears of the last twelve months, and six months assessment. An Impeachment was orderd to be carried up to the Lords against one Drake, a merchant in London, for writing a seditious book, called The Long Parliament

revived, and attempting to prove that it is not yet legally dissolved. The Queen is next moneth for France, and the princess Henrietta, her daughter, to be married, as 'tis credibly reported, to the Duke of Anjou, the French king's brother, I haue no more at present but to remaine,

Gentlemen, &c.

Westminster, Nov. 20, 1660.

'Lord Bellasis' to whom in the next Letter we are introduced and whom we will often come across hereafter, was John, Lord Bellasis, second son of Thomas, Viscount Fauconberg, who was created Lord Belasyes of Worlabby, co. Lincoln. He was an officer of distinction on the King's side during the Civil Wars. He was afterwards Governor of Tangier and now of Hull and Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners. Being a Roman Catholic the Test Act deprived him in 1672 of all his appointments—as will appear—but James II. in 1684 made him First Commissioner of the Treasury. He died in 1689. (Pepys *s n. frequenter*).

The 'Coronation' of the King is looming in the near-distance, of the splendor of which in its celebration everywhere, dazed Samuel Pepys wrote: "Now, after all this, I can say that besides the pleasure of the sight of these glorious things, I may now shut my eyes against any other objects, nor for the future trouble myself to see things of state and shoue, as being sure never to see the like again in this world." (Diary and Correspondence, Vol. I. p. 180: ed. 1854). From the references in this Letter it would seem that under Cromwell the soldiers of the garrison were allowed to exercise their trades and that the Hull tradespeople had through Marvell complained of this. See more on this curious point in our Notes and Illustrations, as *supra*. So too on 'Knights Service,' 'Mr. Wilson's business,' 'Drake,' &c.

Letter V. TO THE SAME.

'Nov. 22, 1660.'

GENTLEMEN,

I haue been to-day with my Lord Bellasis to deliuer your letter, which with the Petition of the Taylors inclosed he read, and with much readiness

and courtesy promised this night by the Post to giue the most effectuall orders to Colonell Gilby that he should fullfill all things as you desire therein as farre as will consist with the Act of Parliament concerning Soldiers exercising trades, and particularly witnessed to me his own resolution as much as might be to intertain no Soldiers that should haue any trade but that of their soldiery. I receiued to day another letter of yours of the 17th directed to my self and Mr. Ramsden, who is not yet arrived, in Mr. Wilson's business. He hath been with me, and seems to build much upon my advise. I counselled him before I had yours, in any case not to thinke any more of Hezle but if he could (as he said he had some hopes) to make for Leeds upon Mr. Stiles his acceptance of Hezle. I shall be very tender and sensible of your interest therein and shall afford him no assistance, but on the contrary, in any thing reflecting upon your proceedings. But as farre as I can understand him, and I shall now be the more watchfull ouer him, he hath wholly laid by any such thoughts, and his whole designe is now upon Leeds. Yesterday, after a long debate upon the compensation for the Court of Wards, 'twas resolved that for the Tenures of Lands *in capite*, Knights Service, Court of Wards, and all the emoluments thereof, and for taking away of Purveyance, the king should haue in perpetuity one moiety of the excise of Beere and Ale. The other moiety was not then disposed of, but 'tis likely will come into the yearly reuenue of 1,200,000li, which must be settled. To-day we were upon the act of Militia, which is refer'd to a committee of the whole House on Saturday next. To-day also at a conference with the Lords, his Majesty's pleasure was signified to us, that in respect of the approach of Christmasse

and his Majestie's coronation to be prepared for shortly after, this Parliament should be dissolved the 20th of the next moneth. By how much our time is shorter I shall the more daily and diligently give you advice of all that passes.

I remain, &c.

Westm : Nov. 22, 1660.

The business of the House is still reported: 'a very good Bill' for 'erecting and augmenting vicarages;' which was destined long to tantalize its beneficiaries but the present praise of which harmonizes with 'Mr. Snirke, or the 'Divine in Mode' of later years; large 'money' gifts to 'his Majesty' with 'unanimity' in recompense of 'his Majesty's gracious Declarations and Acts of grace to the kingdom;' another promise of the 'Declaration' becoming Law 'in religious matters'—an often recurring phantom of justice. 'Dr. Reynolds' *did* become 'Bishop of Norwich' and his is still a living and saintly memory, albeit RICHARD BAXTER and Calamy and others who refused the like dignities pressed on them were the nobler and manlier. Reynolds lived till January 16, 1676. His Works—theological, and earlier metaphysical—have been collected, but lack potentiality.

Letter VI. TO THE SAME.

'November 27, 1660.'

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE my last to you the House hath been for the most part busied in carrying on and maturing those bills which I formerly signified to you to be under consideration. Today upon the recommitment, I made my second Report of that very good Bill for erecting and augmenting Vicarages out of all impropriations belonging to Arch Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters or any other Ecclesiasticall person or corporation, to 80li. *per annum*, where the impropriation amounts to 120li. and where lesse, to one moiety of the profits of such impropriations. And the

Bill, upon reading the amendments, was ordered to be ingrossed. After that the House fell upon the making out of the King's revenue to 1,200,000*li.* a yeare, and haue voted that the other moiety of the Excise of Beere and Ale shall be giuen to his Majesty for life, to make up the full of the said 1,200,000*li.* a yeare. And that the members of the Privy Counsell acquaint his Majesty from the House with their unanimity herein, in gratitude for his Majesty's gracious Declarations and Acts of grace to the kingdome. The Customs are estimated toward 500,000*li.* per Annum in this revenue. His Lands and Fee-farms 250,000*li.* The Excise of Beer and Ale 300,000*li.* The rest arises out of the Post Office, Wine Licences, Stanneries Courts, Probates of Wills, Post-fines, Forests, and other rights of the Crown. The Excise of Forain Commodities is to be continued apart untill satisfaction of publick debts and ingagements secured upon the Excise. To-morrow the Bill for enacting his Majestye's Declaration in religious matters is to haue its first reading. It is said that on Sunday next Doctor Reynolds shall be created Bishop of Norwich. This is all of present news.

I remain, &c.

Westm : Nov. 27, 1660.

I beseech you let me hear whether my partner, Mr. Ramsden, be likely to come up or no, for he is not yet arrived. Mr. Wilson pursues his designe for Leeds. Mr. Winchester hath been very carefull in the businesses you imployed him in here.

Task-work as these many Letters might seem, the conscience-ruled 'Representative' declares them to be 'much refreshment' even 'after the long sittings.' The 'Declaration' that was to become Law 'in religious matters' vanishes and 'his Majestye's

goodnesse' henceforth was to be their only reliance. What "*Pleasures of Imagination*" even an Andrew Marvell could indulge in! And yet this sentence carried omen in it: "'Tis good to know where we are and the best and the worst." Be it remembered that Marvell's censure applies to the House of Commons as well as to the King in the matter of the loss of the Declaration as law. The Bill to make the Earl of Arundel 'Duke of Norfolk' was required because of attainder. This was Thomas Howard who succeeded his father Henry Frederick earl of Arundell in 1652 and was 'restored' to the Dukedom of Norfolk by Act of Parliament 29th December, 1660. He died in 1677. By 'recusant' is meant Roman Catholic. The word 'transporting' means 'beyond seas' i.e. exporting.

Letter VII. TO THE SAME.

'November 29, 1660.'

GENTLEMEN,

'TIS much refreshment to me after our long sittings, daily to giue you account what we do. And though all we do can not be pleasing to our selues or others, yet I hope the most part will be to the satisfaction of your desires, the rest, of your curiosity. For 'tis good to know where we are, and the best and worst. Yesterday the Bill of the King's Declaration in Religious Matters was read the first time; but upon the question for a second reading, 'twas carried 183 against 157 in the negatiue, so there is an end of that Bill, and for those excellent things therein. We must henceforth rely onely upon his Majesty's goodnesse, who, I must needs say, hath hitherto been more ready to give than we to receiue. The Bill for observation of the Sabbath, another against profane Swearing, were this day carried up to the Lords for their concurrence; to-morrow likewise will be carryed up that against transporting Wooll, Wooll-fells, Fullers Earth, and all Scowring clay; making it felony without benefit of clergy. The Bill for

making the Earl of Arundell, Duke of Norfolk, upon the second reading to-day was committed: 'tis probable it may pass, though much objected against, the Earle being a mad-man, and still kept abroad in Italy, and his next brother a recusant. An act for draining of the Fenns was upon the second reading committed. That against planting Tobacco in England read once. The Queen's journey for France is put off till the 17th of next moneth: her daughter's marriage with the Duke of Anjou concluded of certainly.

I remain, &c.

Westminster, Nov. 29, 1660.

The Commons are growing impatient with the dilatoriness of 'the Lords' and send them a 'message' claiming from them to 'expedite' certain Bills that had long 'laid by them'—one going back to Runnymede and 'Magna Charta.' Not altogether ignoble was the House of Commons of The Restoration. These Letters shew them to have been *gourmands* of work and not without tongues to utter out their 'rights' and to 'represent' the Nation as well as 'serve' the King. Individually Marvell must have gone with "Mr. Calamy and other moderate men" in refusing 'Bishoprics' after the "throwing out the Bill of the King's Declaration." They did 'refuse' and kept conscience inviolate, to their everlasting honour. I know not that it needeth to occupy valuable space with revival of the 'Bishops' enumerated, beyond these slight notes: JOHN COSIN or COSINS (whom Captain Thompson transmogrifies into Cosms) is still in a dim kind of way remembered: (cf Evelyn s.n. *frequenter*) died January 15th, 1672: some of his books exist and his 'Correspondence' has been published by the Surtees Society: STERNE 'of Carlile' became ultimately Archbishop of York: died January 18th, 1683: GAUDEN 'of Exeter' the alleged author of 'Eicon Basilike' died September 20th, 1662: IRONSIDE 'of Bristow' whose tractate on 'The Sabbath' remains quick to-day: Loyd i.e. Dr. William Lloyd 'of Landaffe' one of 'The Seven' yet gone out of all memories. Evelyn gives him passing praise (Diary of Correspondence ii. 145 *et alibi*): LUCY of 'St. David's,' *ibid*: LANY an often-removing Bishop, destined mainly to be thought of if at all thought of, as the 'friend' to whom Richard Crashaw finely

dedicated his 'Epigrams' and Latin Poems (our edn. Vol. II. 167—205: 293—330, &c.): 'Dr. Monk' or 'Moncke' brother of the celebrated (or notorious) Duke of Albemarle, from being a quiet country clergyman made rapid advancement through the Duke's influence. He became Provost of Eton—to which earlier Bacon had vainly aspired 'in his Fall,'—in June, 1660; was created D.D. at Oxford same year 'by royal command'—literally 'created'; was consecrated Bishop of Hereford 13th January, 1660-1. He died 17th December following and was buried on the 20th in Westminster Abbey. The 'talk' about Arundel again was needless, as he lived on (*supra*) till 1677. It isn't a momentous thing to spend time upon.

Saddening that not a syllable indicates Marvell's inevitable loathing of the dishonour ordered to be done to the 'dead bodies' of 'Cromwell, Bradshawe, Ireton, and Pride.' Be it kept in mind, however, that letter-espionage was the rule; yet one admires at the suppression of emotion, and still more over this. "'Tis better to trust his Majestye's moderation!'" Poor fools that these ultra-Royalists were not to see that their sycophancy of the living only made yet more base their impotent malice against the mighty dead. As Marvell's word 'carkasses', grates on the ear and heart, it may be as well to recall that it was *the* word used in the 'order' and that he only 'reported' it. Similarly we read in Rugge's *Diurnal*: "Jan. 30th [1660-1] was kept as a very solemn day of fasting and prayer. This morning the *carcases* of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw (which the day before had been brought from the Red Lion Inn, in Holborn) were drawn upon a sledge to Tyburn, and then taken out of their coffins, and in their shrouds hanged by the neck until the going down of the sun. They were then cut down, their heads taken off, and their bodies buried in a grave made under the gallows. The coffin in which was the body of Cromwell was a very rich thing, very full of gilded hinges and nails." How the hounds would have shrunk and cowered under one look of any one of the three ———— alive!

We must further remember, here and elsewhere, that Marvell was writing semi-public letters to the Corporation and so to men of various politics, who would repeat or shew his words to others of the citizens.

Looking into details of news in this Letter no doubt the 'Bill of Sales' was the property of Bishoprics, deaneries, &c., spoken of before. The severe remark on the 'Militia Bill' suggests that there must have been something in it that led

Marvell to modify his former favourable opinion of the Militia. The Wilson and Stiles business is elucidated in our Notes and Illustrations.

LETTER VIII. TO THE SAME.

‘ December 4th, 1660 ’ (not 20th as in
Capt. Thompson.)

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE my last, upon Thursday, the Bill for Vicarages hath been carryed up to the Lords; and a Message to them from our House that they would expedite the Bill for confirmation of Magna Charta, that for confirmation of marriages, and other bills of publick concernment, which haue laid by them euer since our last sitting, not returned to us. We had then the Bill for six moneths assesment in consideration, and read the Bill for taking away Court of Wards and Purveyance, and establishing the moiety of the Excise of Beere and ale *in perpetuum*, about which we sit euery afternoon in a Grand Committee. Upon Sunday last were consecrated in the Abby at Westminster, Doctor Cossins, Bishop of Durham, Sterne of Carlile, Gauden of Exeter, Ironside of Bristow, Loyd of Landaffe, Lucy of St. Davids, Lany, the seuenth, whose diocese I remember not at present, and to-day they keep their feast in Haberdasher's-hall, in London. Dr. Reinolds was not of the number, who is intended for Norwich. A Congedire is gone down to Hereford for Dr. Monk, the Generall's brother, at present Provost of Eaton. 'Tis thought that since our throwing out the Bill of the King's Declaration, Mr. Calamy, and other moderate men, will be resolute in refusing of Bishopricks. Yesterday the Bill for making the Earle of Arundell (who is mad and kept away in Italy) to be

Duke of Norfolk, was read the third time, and passed in our House though with much opposition, forasmuch as the next heir, whom all men's eyes are upon, is a leading Papist, hath murdered a man some years ago, for which he was burned in the hand, &c. and the Bill is so worded that it seems to reflect upon Queen Elizabeth's reigne, in whose time, Thomas, the last Duke of Norfolk, was beheaded; but it passed 187 against 116. In the afternoon the committee perfected the Bill of Sales to be offered to the House, but I doubt much there will not be time nor inclination to pass it this Parliament. To-day our House was upon the Bill of Attainder of those that haue been executed, those that are fled, and of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and Pride, and 'tis ordered that the carkasses and coffins of the four last named, shall be drawn with what expedition possible, upon an hurdle to Tyburn, there [to] be hanged up for a while, and then buried under the gallows. The Act for the Militia hath not been called for of late, men not being forward to confirm such perpetuall and exorbitant power by a law, as it would be in danger if that Bill should be carryed on. 'Tis better to trust his Majesty's moderation, and that the commissioners if they act extravagantly, as in some countyes, should be liable to actions at Law. The time of his Majestye's coronation is put of till 24 of February or 29 of May. Hence there has been a report we should sit something longer, but I belieue it not. Mr. Wilson meets with difficulty in his businesse, Mr. Stiles having, as I hear, got a presentation for Leeds. We had to-day, which I had almost forgot, an Act from the Lords for the speedyer tanning of leather, one having invented how to do it without bark, &c. and of our sheep skins makes excellent Spanish leather,

if it be proper to say so. You hear doubtless of his Majesty's Commissioners for Trade, who sit in London to consider of all things tending to the advancement of traffick and navigation. This is all, but that I am,

Gentlemen, &c.

Westminster, Dec. 4, 1660.

The next Letter is a united one from the two Representatives; but as it is wholly in Marvell's well-known handwriting belongs to him. The Corporation have been sending liberal 'presents' of their 'Towne's Ale,' which was more famous then than now with Allsopp and Bass and Guinness in the ascendant. Such 'presents,' varied occasionally with a 'salmon' from the Humber, were common usage at the period, and onward we shall find Marvell made the medium of tendering to those high in office the like 'tokens.' It would be 'bribery and corruption' now, perchance. The 'businessse of cutting off[f] Hull from Hezle'—which comes up in letter V.—bulks out largely hereafter, being the erection of the great cathedral-like Trinity Church of Hull into an independent Church and Parish apart from its mother-Church at neighbouring Hezle. More of this onward. The 'moity for life' was for the King's life. Many bills are named. Two re-call the dead Protector: "For uniting Dunkirk and Jamaica to the Crown;" "For paying some monys in arrear for Piedmont." The former were conquests of The Commonwealth, the latter consecrated by Cromwell's State-Papers and Letters and John Milton's Sonnet that are to tears remembered still by the lowly churches of Piedmont. I suppose by Bills 'for confirming Magna Charta and a Proclamation against Priests and Jesuites' he meant Acts for re-proclaiming or re-asserting such, as before. The King's sincerity as 'against Priests and Jesuites' was even thus early suspected, and that not by Protestant bigots but by lovers of political liberty. 'Mr. Hillyard' was doubtless of the Hillyards of Marvell's native Winestead. There were frequent claims by local magnates upon the Town. 'Arguile' means the 'Covenanter' Archibald Campbell, 8th Earl and 1st Marquis of Argyll—beheaded May 27th, 1661: Swinton a well-known 'Covenanter' (see Notes and Illustrations). The 'Purchasers' of this Letter were purchasers of Church property.

LETTER IX. TO THE SAME.

‘December 8, 1660.’

GENTLEMEN,

WE are now both met together, and shall strive to do you the best service we are able. We must first give you thanks for the kind present you have [been] pleas'd to send us, which will give occasion to us to remember you often, but the quantity is so great, that it might make sober men forgetful. We have been with my Lord Bellasis, and presented him his and your letter: he gives you very many thanks; and as to the business of cutting Hull from Hezle, he answered, what indeed we expected, that he should willingly contribute his best towards it at any time, but it being to be done by Act of Parliament, it was at present, our dissolution being so sudden, absolutely impossible. Had you pleased to give order sooner to us, it might have been effected, and an Act prepared for it might have passed; but, as we said, there are so many publick bills depending, and our time so short, that should you give a 1000l. it could never be got into the House to be once read this Parliament. All these Bills are yet before us in our House: for taking away Court of Wards, and settling one moiety of Excise *in perpetuum*, for settling the other moiety for life. For the Militia, for six months Assessment, for Attainder, for Pains and Penalties, for review of Poll Money, for settling Post Office in his Majesty, for gathering Arrears of Excise, and settling the forrain Excise for some time, and paying publick debts secured upon it, for Tobacco not to be planted in England, for Wine Licences, for draining the Fens, for tanning Leather, for increasing Fishery, for better gathering

the Customs, for Purchasers, &c. Beside those which yet ly before the Lords, since our last recess not sent back to us. For confirming College Leases, for uniting Dunkirk and Jamaica to the Crown, for paying some monys in Arrear for Piedmont, for indemnifying Officers in Courts of Justice, for confirming Mariages; for inabling Durham to send Members to Parliament, for confirming Magna Charta, and a Proclamation against Priests and Jesuites. And beside what we haue sent for their concurrence, and not returnd since this sitting, for levying Arrears of twelve months Assessment, for strict observing Lord's day, against Swearing, against transporting wooll, &c., for Vicarages. And after all these publick as many private bills more, and but ten sitting days left. You must please to reserve this for next Parliament, and get it timely in. We shall on Munday accompany your present to the Generall. We haue given his to Major Smith. We are:

Your most affectionate friends

and humble servants

JOHN RAMSDEN,
ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Dec. 8, 1660.

This two or three days we haue been chiefly about the six months Assess, the Excise, Post Office, and Attaindor. We haue deliverd your letters to Mr. Hilyard, with words of civility. We haue agreed to treat with him upon Munday. We shall be very shy to acquaint him we haue power to conclude with him; for your security is perfectly good in law. We belieue 'twas giuen you by the Parliament in compensation of great losses you sustained in the warr. It concerns you much being in the midst of your town. We can not but consider that he has a brother,

captain in your garrison, and that this gentleman also has imployd his interest since he was in this Parliament to continue you a garrison. We hope you will be private in these things, communicated to you out of faithfulness to your interest, and that you will not be hasty in your resolutions, nor open one way or other. We shall treat fairly with him, and advertise you from time to time what is proposed. Mr. Wilson is returned down this week, and hath, as farr as we perceiue, effected nothing one way or other; but Mr. Stiles procured a presentation in his own name for Leeds. We have not yet seen Mr. Hebird. On Tuesday night last Arguile and Swinton were shipd hence for Scotland, in order to their trial there.

The next three Letters are united but all in Marvell's hand-writing—Nos. X. and XI. have not before been printed. Lord Bellasis thus far is wonderfully courteous and friendly. By-and-bye the cloven foot came out—as will appear. The House grants 'one moneth's Sesse' that is taxation of the Country 'to buy jewels for his crown' and a 'jewell of £1000,' equal to £5000 to-day, to 'Colonel Windam who was very instrumentall in his Majesty's escape'—the 'escape' being that of the 'Royal Oak' and perilous 'hiding' days; on which occasion this Colonel told the King that Sir Thomas his father, in the year 1636, a few years before his death, had called to him his five sons and thus addressed them: "My children, we have seen hitherto serene and quiet times under our three last Sovereigns; but I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and stormes. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But whatever happen, do you faithfully honour and obey your Prince, and adhere to the Crown. I charge you never to forsake the Crown, though it should hang upon a bush" (Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence, Vol. IV. p. 154 (edn. 1859). Of the 'conspiracy' that sent Colonel Overton to the Tower see Carlyle's Cromwell (iii. 410) and Pepys (Diary and Correspondence, Vol. I. pp. 131-2). The expected 'stiffe debate' of Letter XI. came off but ended in smoke not fire. Marvell remembers the public debts and (I

think) discerns the coming 'Debts' that will be imposed on the country. He is ashamed of the intended 'benevolence' for his Majesty's 'coronation;' "We hope it will not take"—and it did'nt. There is pathos in the allusion to the death of the Princess of Orange and words that in their godly quaintness have the flavour of Commonwealth times. The Princess was Mary, eldest daughter of Charles Ist, born at St. James's, 4th November, 1631. She married 2d May, 1648, William of Nassau, who succeeded as Prince of Orange, and died 27th October, 1650. She died (as in this Letter) of the small-pox 24th and was buried 29th December, 1660, in Westminster Abbey. As mother of William Henry—afterwards our William III.—who succeeded his father as Prince of Orange, she has a niche in History. 'Mr. Hebird' was another local worry to the Corporation—not to be enquired after. Now for the two Letters X. and XI.:

LETTER X. TO THE SAME.

'Dec. 18th, 1660.'

GENTLEMEN,

Since our last we haue deliuered yours to my Lord Bellasis who is always very kind and ready to further you in any thing. He saith Mr. Hebird hath been with him and that he gave him advice, till Mr. Stiles should be able to come to Hull, that he should continue there, and promised him that he will contribute what he can towards his abiding with you. (My Lord Bellasis is coming down within three or foure days). But indeed we perceiue that my Lord Bellasis was very litle informed by Mr. Hebird wherein or in what way he should befriend him; neither hath Mr. Hebird in all this time ever been with either of us, who might then have afforded him our assistance. So that if he faile in his businesse, it must have been by his own ill management. We conceive it might be fitting for you now to be sending some answer in Mr. Hilward's busines, which he is very sollicitous about. If it be negative, your own

judgements will easily perfect it better out of that matter couched in our former letter. If otherwise, it is much easier. The House hath sent up to the Lords the bill for review of the Poll and the two bills for the two moityes of the Excise. But that for forain and inland commoditys is not yet out of doubts with us. That for 6 months assess is well nigh finished. And we have given his Majesty yet one moneth's Sesse more to buy jewels for his crown and a jewell of 1000li. to Col. Windam who was very instrumentall in his Majesty's escape. We do not perceiue but that we shall rise at our day. Here is a conspiracy detected against his Majesty's person. Major White was a principall in it and reveals others. Col. Overton and divers others are apprehended hereupon and put in the Tower. We haue not further but to remaine,

Gentlemen,

Your most affectionate friends and servants,

JOHN RAMSDEN,
ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Dec. 18, 1660.

LETTER XI. TO THE SAME.

'Dec. 25th, 1660-1.'

GENTLEMEN,

Our businesse in Parliament not being yet completed, his Majesty hath deferred to dissolve us till Saturday next, and we expect that day may hold. For this day and to-morrow we haue adjourned. Yesterday (the Excise of Beere and Ale being otherwise expired) his Majesty came about noon to the Lords house and passed onely those two bills of the two moityes of the excise. The one bill taking away the Court of Wards and the duty of Purveyances for

one moiety *in perpetuum*. 'The other Bill giving the other moiety to his Majesty for life towards the making up of his whole yearly revenue 1,200,000*li*. The Bills for Wine Licences, for the Post, for review of the Poll, for 6 moneths Sessment, for one moneth's sessment towards expense of coronation, for arrears of twelve and three moneths Assessment, for arrears of Excise, are all ready but not yet passd. The Excise of forain and inland commodities 'tis hoped may now fall to the ground. Yet before we rise it will undergo a very stiffe debate on both sides by reason of some publick debts formerly secured and others desired to be added thereupon. The jealousy is least this Excise should also be perpetuated. For there will never want publick debts to be ingrafted upon it. There hath been a motion and likely to be renewed in the House for an Act to impowre Commissioners to receive the voluntary benevolence of all persons through the country towards his Majestye's coronation. But we hope it will not take. For though nothing be too much for so gracious a prince as his Majesty hath been all along to us, yet 'tis good to leave something to give hereafter, and not to indanger the people's good-will by taking their benevolence. God hath laid a soare affliction upon his Majesty's family and therein upon the whole nation. The Princessse of Orange dy'de yesterday at his Majesty's return from the Lords house, having been some five days sick of the small pox or measles or spotted feaver, the physicians disagreeing whether. She was thrice let blood. The Lord sanctify His hand to us all.—We remain, yours,

JOHN RAMSDEN,
ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, Dec. 25, 1660.1.

Mr. Hebird hath not in all this while seen either of us; so that we are at a losse in his businesse and can only contribute our good wishes towards it.

‘The Queen’ of previous Letters and the present was the queen-mother Henrietta Maria. Some of the prohibitory Bills sound oddly, e.g. transporting of ‘Fullers earth’ and ‘against planting of English Tobacco.’

LETTER XII. TO THE SAME.

‘December 29, 1660.’

GENTLEMEN,

THIS day his Majesty came to the Lords’ House and dissolved this Parliament. He passed the Acts of the six moneths Assesment; of one moneth’s Assessment; of Review of the Poll; of Wine Licences; of the Post Office; of the Arrears of the former Sessment; of College Leases; against transporting of Wooll and Fullers Earth; against planting of English Tobacco; with many other private Bills. You will perceiue by what we have writ before, what other Bills, which were prepared by us, are not passed. The Excise of forain and inland comoditys is expired, whereby that part of the burthen is taken of the people. Neither is there any Act for collecting the Arrears of Excise. The King signified, at parting, a great satisfaction in what we had done, and that it was very shortly his intention to call another Parliament. This night the Princesse of Orange is to be buried at Westminster. On Wednesday the Queen takes her journey for France, and his Majesty accompanyes her to the Coast. There is nothing else of news. We are in some hast, yet must not forget to giue you our hearty thanks for all your great favours, to beg your excuse if we may in any thing have failed (which we hope we haue not) of

expressing our true affection and service to you, and to assure you that we shall always be found, according to the best of our understanding and abilities,

Gentlemen,

Your most affectionate friends and servants,

JOHN RAMSDEN,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, Dec. 29, 1660.

Marvell resumes the 'I' and so continues for long. Parliament is risen; Mr. Ramsden 'my good partner' is gone down to Hull; Mr. Hilyard's business is still dragging its slow length and certain moneys are to be instructed on; the old matter of Hezle is to be matured in anticipation of the re-assembling of the House, and meanwhile their correspondent will see if he can't 'disintangle' the complex matter; other evil reports about imperilled Majesty, and loyal phrases, most loyal, thereon; news of the baptism of 'the Duke of York's son by the Chancellor's daughter,' to wit Ann Hyde—the soon removed 'Earl of Cambridge.' Sir Robert Hilyard was of Pattrington, co. York—within its fine old Church rests the mother of brave as good Rev. John Shaw of Hull;—gentleman of the Privy Chamber to King Charles I. and a distinguished Royalist in the Civil Wars, for which service he was created a Baronet 25th June, 1660. He died in March, 1685. Sir Francis Cobb, Bt., was of Beverley, co. York; son of Sir Francis Cobb, of Ottringham, in that county. He was a Lt-Col. in the Royalist army; sometime Governor of Leicester; Governor of Clifford's Tower during the siege of York, and after the Restoration, captain of the Block House in Hull and High Sheriff of Yorkshire. He was still living in 1666, then aged 60. 'These 'farmed' the East Riding—that is the excise as in next Letter. The Letter describes itself (and indeed most) in the phrase 'familiar talke.'

LETTER XIII. TO THE SAME.

'January 3, 1660.'

WORTHY SIR,

I Suppose this day my good partner Mr. Ramsden will arrive at Hull, and giue you account of what

hath passd at our dissolution, and present my kind respects in particular to your selfe. However I take my selfe bound by all obligations to acquit my selfe of this last to you by mine own hand, having receiued great civilityes from you. And I entreat you that though my service, in relation to Parliamentary affairs, is now at an end, yet you will neverthesse, during my continuance in Town, use me as freely as formerly, in any thing wherein I may be of service to your selfe, to the town, or any particular person there, which if I should not faithfully performe, I should think my selfe much wanting to my duty, and very unworthy of all the former honors, favors, and courtesyes that you haue placed upon me. I shall as farre as I may decently request it, without intrusion into your Counsells, desire you to let me know what you do resolute in Mr. Hilyard's business, who is now gone out of Town, to his house in Surrey, and that you will order me what to do with his fine and deed, which my partner thought best to leaue in my hand 'till you should signify your pleasure one way or other. Also I should advise you, his Majesty having signified that another Parliament will shortly be called, that you would mature your resolutions now whilst you have time, concerning the cutting of Hull from Hezle, if you persist therein, and can agree with Mr. Stiles. And in the mean time I shall, for mine own satisfaction, and in order to your service and of whoever you shall imploy the next Parliament therein, inform my selfe here how that annexion stands, and the readiest way of disintangling it. As soon as our Acts are printed I shall send you down a book of them. The last of December here was an ugly false report got abroad, that his Majesty was stabb'd, which made the guards be up in arms all

night. I doubt not but the same extraordinary Hand, that hath hitherto guided him, will still be his protection against all attempts of discontented persons or parties. On New Year's Day the King and Duke of Albemarle were Godfathers to the Duke of York's son by the Chancellor's daughter, the Duchesse Royall; the Marchioness of Ormond was Godmother: the King created the child Earle of Cambridge. The Duke and his Lady are now forthwith to go and keep house at St. James's. Yesterday the Duchesse Royall came to Court to wait upon the Queen. The Queen took her journey the same evening towards Portsmouth. The King is [to] follow after to-day to see her embarke, and will be about a fortnight absent. The Excise we hear is to be lett to farme. Sir Robert Hilyard and Sir Francis Cobb intend to farme the East-riding. I have nothing else of news. Mr. Hebird I haue not seen, but inform'd that he looks to provide himselfe elsewhere then with you. I am sorry to heare that Mr. Wilson has been so refractary. What I writ to your selfe heretofore, concerning composure of things among your ministers, had onely a generall good intention, without any reflexion upon your selfe or any other, as to Mr. Wilson or any particular person; for I do not perceiue that any one can haue acted more justly or prudently then you haue done all along in that businesse. You will be pleased to take in good part this familiar talke of,

Sir,

Your most affectionate hearty friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, Jan. 3, 1660.

I pray present my respects to your Bench.

Sir Philip Warwick with whom Marvell holds interview was son of Thomas Warwick, organist of Westminster Abbey. He attended Charles I. to the Isle of Wight as one of his Secretaries. Immediately after the Restoration he was knighted and became M.P. for Westminster. He was Secretary to the Treasury under Thomas (Wriothesley) Earl of Southampton, Lord Treasurer from 1660 to the Earl's death in 1667. He wrote "Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles Ist": first published in 1702. William Wordsworth quotes from the "Memoirs" in his "Convention of Cintra" (our edition of his Prose Works, Vol. I.) He died 15th January 1682-3. These phrases 'lay much upon the catch' = on the watch: some 'forainer' = not a citizen of Hull; together with the pleasant 'compliments' (at close) to the Corporation remind us of the Rehearsal Transpros'd. The 'insurrection' of "rude and insolent fellows" was one of many outbreaks and actings out of free speech against his 'most sacred Majesty.' The rumour that the Governor of Hull ('the noble person') was 'turning out all the inhabitants who had been in the Parliament service' is formally dismissed. One sees the lip curl. The Princess Henrietta is annotated in relation to Letter IX. 'Divulge' is = spread abroad among the people. So Shakespeare and others.

LETTER XIV. TO THE SAME.

'January 12, 1660-1.'

GENTLEMEN,

I Am very glad that such litle services as I can render you, being bound by affection, obligation, and interest, to render you all within my capacity, are so acceptable to you as you signify by your kind letter of the 8th present. Having received it yesterday, I went forthwith to Sir Philip Warwick, secretary to my Lord Treasurer, and imparted to him your desire, and the reason and words of the Act of Parliament whereon it was founded, and that you were informed that some had already or did intend, by a certificate from the Justices of the East-riding, to involve the Excise of your town, &c. He promised me that

nothing should be done of that nature to your prejudice, adding further, that it was not finally resolved to farme out the Excise. But there is all reason to believe that it will be farmed, and Persons of all Countyes are making their applications to that purpose, as well as those gentlemen I wrote you of. Therefore it will be of your wonted prudence to mature your resolutions concerning such person or persons as you will certify for; and if you please to thinke me so farr necessary, thereupon to giue me advice. For men ly much upon the catch for these employments, and therefore you cannot too soon perfect your deliberations therein. I shall then streight giue you notice, that such as you shall pitch upon may come up seasonably hither, to make your proposals what you will giue. I need not mind you in the mean time to watch what they do this Sessions at Beverley, and to make the exactest estimate of what your Excise can in reason be let at; that there may be no cause to reject your proffer as too favourable to yourselúes, and accept that of some forainer, who will not stick to outbid you so he may be thereby forced to oppresse you. Hauing some reason by your last letters to believe you had not yet seen the Acts of Excise, I thought at this time they might be worth the postage. For our other Acts [they] are not yet come out of the presse; as soon as they shall, I will send you a book of them. And indeed (for I doubt you are not so well served with intelligence) I shall, as long as I continue here in town, furnish you weekly with what comes to my notice, the rather because I understand that Mr. Mabbot, (who used to write to you formerly [and] I think still) is shortly to goe for Ireland, hauing an office in the customs there; and therefore it may be

a faire opportunity for you to spare thenceforward that mony ; for I assure you, gentlemen, without compliment, that, as I have no greater delight then to be serviceable to you, so that delight is doubled whensoever I can be sure of doing it without any other advantage to myselfe then that of your courteous acceptance. Upon Thursday last, about noon, his Majesty returned, after his journey to Portsmouth to Whitehall, in very good health. The insurrection of those rude and desperate fellows on Wednesday morning occasioned the issuing out of this Proclamation, which I thought fitting to send you, and the rather, because still it is my ill fortune to meet with some rumour or other (as I did yesterday at the Exchange) of a plot against Hull (I think indeed those haue so that divulge such falsehoods) ; but I am not failing to suppress any such thing where I meet with it. And I am sure the noble Person, your Governor, and yourselves, will be watchfull enough against any such danger. So I saw within this week a letter from a person who dwells not in your town but neare, that your Governor was turning out all the inhabitants who had been in the Parliament's service. I belieue one is as true as the other. The Queen hauing imbark'd, and at sea, was forced to put back, by the Princess Henrietta falling sick ; so the Queen is landed again, and the Princess on ship-board in the port at Portsmouth, the meazles being thick upon her, and so, dangerous to carry her on shore at present. But we heare that, God be praised, there is all good hopes of her recovery. I beseech God to stay His hand from further seuerity in that royal family, wherein the nation's being and wellfare is so much concerned. It is hard for me to write short to you. It seems to me when I haue once begun, that

I am making a step to Hull, and can not easily part from so good company.

I am, &c.

Westm : Jan. 12, 1660.

The 'fifth monarchy men' were the followers of THOMAS VENNER—men dubbed 'Fanatics,' but perchance their fanaticism had been pardoned if they had been less articulate on high-seated wickedness. Thomas Venner 'and others' were 'put to death' on 'the next week.' Grander-brained men than they had looked for deliverance from the coming deluge of iniquity only from Above, and wistfully yearned for the Second Coming of King Jesus and His 'fifth' and supremest Monarchy. I confess that I miss something in these allusions by Marvell on events and men, when he had himself very decided opinions. But ever be recollected that these were 'public' Letters that might be talked over in the streets. His 'private' Letters will be found very different. Yet even in the face of his private letters, it must be further kept in recollection that Marvell reveals in nearly all his correspondence at the time that he had opinions as a Royalist and that not merely against so-called fanatic 'fifth monarchy' men, but Republicanism itself. The letters now before us are in the first year of The Restoration, when loyalism and not merely royalism hoped every thing, and when, as Marvell expresses it again for himself, all longed for peace, less taxation and freedom according to law.

LETTER XV. TO THE SAME.

'January 17, 1660-1.'

SIR,

I Write this onely to inclose the news book to you, there being little at present to be publicly communicated. The Princesse Henrietta is still at Portsmouth with the Queen, in a good estate of recovery. The prisoners of the Fifth-Monarchy-Men in this insurrection have been found guilty to-day, upon their triall, and are to receive sentence on Saturday; the next week 'tis expected they should all be executed. The Acts of the last Parliament are now

all come out this afternoon, so that now you may expect them by the first ship, for I know no readier way of conveyance. This is all at present, after I have assured you that

I am,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,
ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, Jan. 17, 1660.

The next Letter gives us an insight into the vigilant watchfulness of their Representatives over the interests of Hull. Then 'for news' there is abundance—which become clearer by-and-bye, as 'of the removal of the body of his late Majesty in honourable manner from Windsor to Westminster,' and the arrival of the 'Portugal ambassador.' One's cheek flushes on reading that 'no attorney can be got to plead for Argyl'—Archibald Campbell, 8th Earl and 1st Marquis of Argyll. He was beheaded at Edinburgh, 27th May, 1661, with many indignities. Very dry is this of the Scotch Parliament: 'On the 1st February the Parliament was to be upon a great contest whether all done in the late Parliament, 1644, should be revoked and nulled.' Pepys gives us fuller details on the Sandwich and Buckingham 'challenge, as thus: '7th February. To Westminster Hall. And after a walk to my Lord's; where, while I and my Lady were in her chamber in talk, in comes my Lord from sea, to our great wonder. He had dined at Havre de Grace on Monday last, and come to the Downes the next day, and lay at Canterbury that night; and so to Dartford, and thence this morning to White Hall. Among others, Mr. Creed and Captain Ferrers tell me the stories of my Lord Duke of Buckingham's and my Lord's falling out at Havre de Grace, at cards; they two and Lord St. Alban's playing. The Duke did, to my Lord's dishonour, often say that he did in his conscience know the contrary to what he then said, about the difference at cards, and so did take up the money that he should have lost to my Lord, which my Lord resenting, said nothing then but that he doubted not but that there were ways enough to get his money of him. So they parted that night; and my Lord sent Sir R. Staynes the next morning to the Duke, to know whether he did remember what he said last night, and whether he would owne it with his sword and a second; which he said he would, and so both sides agreed. But my Lord St. Alban's

and the Queen, and Ambassador Montague, did way-lay them at their lodgings, till the difference was made up to my Lord's honour; who have got great reputation thereby.' (Pepys Diary and Correspondence, Vol. I., page 152.) Lord Langdale, who is casually named, was Sir Marmaduke Langdale, of Holme, county York, a Royalist general, who attended Charles II. in his exile, and was created Baron Langdale by him in 1658. He died 5th August, 1661. His son and successor, Marmaduke, second Lord Langdale, was governor of Hull in the time of James II., where, on the landing of the Prince of Orange, he was made prisoner. He died in 1703. The Earl of Cassells was John Kennedy, who succeeded his uncle John, Lord Treasurer of Scotland, as sixth Earl of Cassillis, in 1615. He died in 1668. His eldest daughter was wife of Bishop Burnet. The word 'proportion is = correspondence.

LETTER XVI. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 7, 1660-1.'

GENTLEMEN,

I gave you account in my last that I had received the warrant for Mr. Secretary. Yesterday I carryed it to Mr. Atturney's and there by good chance met with my Lord Bellasis. Mr. Atturney, whose care it is to see that all such things be prepared in due forme, demurrd upon it, as a thing which he said would make a new president. He instanced in Newcastle, York, Exeter, and any other places which were towns and countyes distinct and yet neverthesse are included in the same Comission of Lieutenantancy with the whole shire. My Lord Bellasis spoke as much for the thing as could be. I said whatsoever I could to the same purpose. We agreed upon this that the thing should stay till I received another from you. If therein you could either make it out that your town and county had ever been under such a distinct lieutenantancy, (or that any other town and county,) he would then forthwith draw up such a comission. If you cannot, then he propounds

that my Lord Bellasis' cõmission shall be renewed again and whereas it saith now *and all other places whether within libertys and without it*, shall be altered *nec non de villâ et comitatu Kingsoniae super Hull, &c.* Therefore I must desire first if you please that you would inclose to me a letter to my L. Bellasis, acknowledging how you have understood by me his great readynes in promoting this busines with Mr. Secretary and Mr. Atturny and desiring as not douting the continuance. For the rest referring him to what you shall have writ in answer to this of mine to be cõmunicated to him. I have writ this same post to Yorke to be informed of some contest there betwixt my Lord Langdale and their mayor, if perhaps it have any proportion or resemblance with this busines of yours. For news: At Haure de grace (this is certain) upon some words Gen. Mountagu (the Earle of Sandwich) sent a chalenge to the Duke of Buckingham, but the Queen took it up. The body of his late Majesty is to be removed shortly from Winsor in honorable manner to Westminster. The Portugal ambassador is arrived here and all the world speaks of it as a certain marriage. The Hollander upon the score of Brazil and the East Indys and the Spaniard upon his pretense to the crown of Portugal are great enemyes to it. The Grand Jury have among other things presented to the Judges here the Prayer book printed for the last Fast for the King's death, upon occasion of some passages in the prayers not conceived by them so consonant to the tenents of our Church. From Scotland three charges, one by the King himself is put in against Arguile: he hath till the 5 of March to answer. No Atturny can be got to plead for him insomuch his Majesty has given order to some that

they should. Swinton is condemnd. On the 1 Feb. the Parliament was to be upon a great contest whether all don in their Parliament 1644 should be revoked and nulled. The Earl of Cassells (otherwise very well-affected to his Majesty) yet hath left the Parliament upon some dissatisfaction and sent up his reasons to his Majesty.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Feb. 7, 1660-1.

The 'longer Letter' of same date with the following has not been preserved. The thing sought by the Corporation was gained 'if the weather change not, and now there is no appearance'—the writer's metaphorical way of putting the old saying, 'Put not your trust in princes, &c.'

LETTER XVII. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 19, 1660-1.'

SIR,

THIS is onely to acquaint you that (notwithstanding what in my longer letter of the same date with this) Mr. Atturney hath since, to-night, given order for your first desire, a distinct commission for you alone, not inserting you in the East riding commission, with a *nec non* and those other expedients. You will be pleased not to speak much of it yet, till we be sure of it and have gotten it in our hands, that you may not give jealousy to other places. For I see at Mr. Atturney's that Yorke is put into the renewed commission of my Lord Langdale for the West riding. The onely advantage they have got by the renewing being that their town city and cuncety [sic] are now I say expressd by name; whereas you shall have (if the weather change not and now there is no

appearance) a distinct comission and I am promised it perfect within ten days. Likewise my Lord assures me that he hath since set all right for Mr. Raikes with the Bishop of London and the Chancellor. I shall watch your busines. Pray let me in all things that are not of too nice a nature be informed something particularly and with the first, that I may serve you the better.

I am, yours, &c.,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Feb. 19, 1660-1.

The Sir John Mintz,—as it seems to read—of this Letter, must have been Sir John Mennes (as he signed his name) or Minnes, who was a native of Sandwich, in Kent. He was an eminent seaman and traveller. Knighted in 1641 he rose to the rank of Vice-admiral. He was for some years Comptroller of the Navy, and died the 18th February, 1670-1, and was buried in the church of St. Olave, Hart Street, London.

LETTER XVIII. TO THE SAME.

‘ March 7, 1660-1.’

WORTHY SIR,

I Haue but litle news at present worth sending you. Your Commission will be sealed to-morrow. I haue the copy of it already by me, which being too big for postage, I shall send you down next week by some of your town, who make account to be with you on Saturday come se’nnight. Now the Parliament writts are all sealed, you may expect them shortly. Here is a Navy of 14 shippes prepared, of which Sir John Mintz is to be Commander. Men discourse uncertainly of the voyage. As I shall haue more busynesse or more news, I shall giue you a larger trouble; in the mean time resting

Your most affectionate, &c.

Westm., March 7, 1660-1.

This little Letter has not hitherto been published :

LETTER XIX. TO THE SAME.

‘ March 9, 1660-1.’

SIR,

I onely write this word to let you know that I haue even now received your Commission of Lieutenancy and payed this whole Bill. Upon Thursday next I intend God willing to wait upon my Lord Bellasis with it. Excuse my abruptnesse who am

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,
ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., March 9, 1660.

There has been tampering with Letters sent. Perhaps by ‘ 19th ’ is intended the missing letter of ‘ February 19th. ’ Ramsden is to be succeeded by Colonel Gilby, and out of the election—years afterwards—bitterness springs.

There are curious notices of the Post Office ‘ porters ’ and their deliberate ways. The Postscript draws us nearer to Marvell in its kindly considerateness, though the ‘ poor man ’ be utterly unknown. Probably the word ‘ stopped ’ is = ‘ tampering. ’ All were stopped, and this by the dates is Marvell’s news, not learned from Hull. If done by Government perhaps it was avowed ; but it might be by highway robbery. After a ‘ stop ’ at the close of this letter is = after closing the letter at a later hour. Of the Popples I speak in the Essay in the present volume.

LETTER XX. TO THE SAME.

‘ March 26, 1661.’

SIR,

I have yours of 22, I wish you had had mine of 19th, but all were stopped. You might be sure all was not right when you heard not from me. As farr as I remember, in that of 19th I told you that I did not at all see what inconsistence there could be between Colonell Gilby’s interest and mine, but that I could

very well believe what he had said to you relating to me, and that the same he might be assured of on my part, in case the lot fell upon us two to be elected. I think I made bold there too to advise you anew, to make an end of Mr. Hilyard's businesse before the Parliament met; that he might owe the whole obligations of what you did to your own equity, and it might not seem strained from you by any conjuncture of time and necessity. I think I told you further, I had given order to my brother Popple concerning the 10l. which you were so forward to send me, that you would scarce give me breath to rectify a mistake. As for your commissions, I received them from you yesterday; I return them to-day, and have only put you to a crown charges about them, which I think I might as well have saved. Pray, Sir, seeing an houre or two is sometimes much as to the dispatch of a businesse, and yours sometimes requires hast, take notice to direct (hauing named me) only in these words, *to be left with William Popple, Merchant, London*, and not one word more of street, signe, or lodging, for so I can haue them out the first minute the maile comes. Otherwise the seuerall porters carry them about in their walks, and so much time is losst. Your writts sure are with you 'ere now. After a stop not a word of news. I must see first by to-morrow's post, whether mine of 21 miscarried to you also.

I am, &c.,

West., March 26, 1661.

I had a Petition sent up (witnessed by you and Col. Gilby) of an honest man's, Robert Nicholls. I beseech you, for I had forgot, do as much as send any one of your people presently to that Robert

Nicholls, to bid him go forthwith to my brother Popple, and show him this inclosed letter I writ to him about his business: otherwise the poore man's mony will be in danger to be lost.

There has been a new election for Parliament, and with a good deal of naivette Marvell acknowledges his indebtedness: 'I perceive by a letter from Mr. Mayor, that you have again (as if it were grown a thing of course) made choice of me now the third time, &c. Of the 'Coronation' new Nobles, take these notes, seeing they are the men who figure all through the occurrences of this correspondence. (a) John Granville (not Greenville) was the eldest surviving son of Sir Bevil Granville, Kt., the famous Cavalier leader styled the 'Bayard of England:' for eminent service to the royal cause was created Earl of Bath, 20th April, 1661. The title expired on the death of the 3rd Earl in 1711. (b) Sir Frederick Cornwallis was youngest son of Sir William Cornwallis, by Lucy, daughter and co-heir of John Nevill, Lord Latimer, and made a Baronet in 1627. For 'faithful service' to the King he was elevated to the peerage on same day with Granville, as Baron Cornwallis of Eye, in Suffolk--(Marvell's 'Ay.') He was the founder of the Earls Cornwallis, whose honours became extinct only in 1852. He died in January, 1661-2. (c) Earl of Chichester: Thomas Wriothesley, 4th Earl of Southampton, Lord Treasurer of England, (--Lord Chancellor of Marvell?) succeeded in 1653 to the Earldom of Chichester, by limitation of the patent to Francis Leigh, Earl of Chichester, whose daughter he had married. He died 16th May, 1667, when all his titles became extinct; (d) Denzil Holles (not Hollis) 2nd son of John 1st Earl of Clare; was created at this time also Baron Holles, of Ifield, Sussex. He was an ambassador of note and for many years the head of the Presbyterian party. He died 17th Feb., 1679-80, and the title became extinct on the death of his grandson, 3rd Baron, in 1694. (e) John Crewe (not Crue), eldest son of Sir Thomas Crewe, Speaker of the House of Commons, now became Baron Crewe, of Stone, co., Northampton. He died in 1679, and the title became extinct in 1721, on the death of his youngest son Nathaniel, Lord Bishop of Durham, 3rd Baron. (f) Arthur Annesley, 2nd Viscount Valentia in the Irish peerage was created a peer of England as Baron Annesley and Earl of Anglesey. He was afterwards Privy Seal and fills a large space in history. He died 6th April, 1686. (g) Sir

Anthony-Ashley Cooper, of the foremost statesmen of his time, and one of the 'A's' in the 'Cabal' administration. He was on the coronation created Baron Ashley, and Earl of Shaftesbury 23rd April, 1672, and became Lord High Chancellor of England in November of the latter year. To him England owes the Habeas Corpus Act. He died 22nd February, 1683-4. (h) Charles Howard, eldest surviving son of Sir William Howard, Kt., by Mary, d. of William Lord Eune, was now created Earl of Carlisle. He was afterwards an ambassador to Russia, when Marvell accompanied him as his secretary. He was also Governor of Jamaica. He died 24th February, 1684-5. (i) Sir Horatio Townshend, youngest son of Sir Roger Townshend, Bart., by Mary, d. of Horatio Vere, of Tilbury, was now elevated to the peerage as Baron Townshend. He was advanced to a Viscountcy 11th December, 1682: ancestor of the Marquesses Townshend. He died in December, 1687. (j) Algernon Percy, 10th earl of Northumberland, took an active part against Charles I., though not implicated in his death. He received new honours on the Restoration: died 13th October, 1668. Monsieur du Plessis appears as a Riding-Teacher in Evelyn (I.-70) but as the du Plessis were among the great nobility of France, and one so sent must have been a man of rank and note, Marvell's reference could not be to him. The tidings of the North West Passage often came and went, as since. The word 'deputations' is explained by next letter. It meant apparently the instruments or deeds giving a deputed power or power of deputyship.

LETTER XXI. TO THE SAME.

'April 6, 1661.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YOUR deputations haue laid so much longer then your business usually dos, in my Lord Bellasis his hands, or yet in mine, because, upon a generall desire in England, and particularly in Yorkshire, to haue the burden and number of the trained-bands lessend in Yorkshire; his Lordship thought fit first to speak with his Majesty, and then with the Lord Chancelor in the businesse; whose answer was, that his

Majesty expected this Parliament would alter the whole method of the trained-bands, and put them into a more easy way to the people and more serviceable to the publick; and therefore my Lord thought it not worth the while to constitute, or giue you further trouble, in a thing so shortly to be altered and reformed. And therefore euen in the matter of your two companies, if they be of any charge or burthen to you, he is willing to indolge you and spare you that trouble; but if the raising of them be a thing which you delight in for the present (though so soon to be changed) as of privilege, ornament, and service to your towne, he is willing you should proceed to perfect them, which depends not at all upon the deputations; and thus much his Lordship gaue me leaue to tell you. Next Munday his Majesty goes to Winsor to the instalment and ceremony of the Knights of the Garter, returns thence to make Knights of the Bath, and so proceed to Coronation, the day appointed. New Lords made this Coronation, [are,] Sr. John Greenvill, Earle of Bath; Sr. Fredrick Cornwallis, Lord of Ay; Lord Chancellor, 'tis said, Earle of Chichester, Hollis, Crue, Annesley, Cooper, Howard Earle of Carlile, Booth, Townsend, Northumberland, High Constable; Suffolk, earle Marshall for the time of the Coronation. Monsieur Du Plessis, upon the marriage of the Duke of Anjou with our princess, is come ouer from them to complement his Majesty. 'Tis two days news upon the Exchange, that some French in the Bay of Canada, haue discovered the long look'd for Northwest passage to the East Indies. I perceiue by a Letter from Mr. Mayor, that you haue again (as if it were grown a thing of course) made choice of me now, the third time, to serve for you in Parliament, which

as I cannot attribute to any thing but your constancy, so shall I, God willing, as in gratitude obliged, with no lesse constancy and vigour continue to execute your commands, and study your service, being,

Gentlemen, my very worthy Friends,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Westminster, April 6, 1661.

This short Letter is now printed for the first time. Evelyn (1667) gives a graphic account of the King and 'Knights of the Garter' (II. pp. 24-5).

LETTER XXII. TO THE SAME.

'April 16, 1661.'

SIR,

I must beg your pardon for writing thus abruptly, but there is no other news but that his Majesty is at Winsor celebrating the installment of the knights of the Garter, and I hope this letter of mine finds you as busy about your companies and in the execution of your new deputation as I am at present here about your other affairs, which will make you more sensibly and easily excuse

Sir,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, Apr. 16, 1661.

I beseech you Sir do the enclosed letter your usuall favor.

I suppose 'Mr. Liddall' of this Letter is the Sir Thomas Liddall of Pepys in 1666 whose valour does not seem to have been remarkable (II. 383) albeit the identification is perhaps somewhat hazardous in a not unnumerous family. A Sir John Morley of Chichester, co. Sussex, was knighted 26th April, 1661, and died in 1667. He does not emerge in Carlyle's

Cromwell. Sir George Downing, eldest son of Rev. Calybut Downing, vicar of Hackney, Middlesex, was a prominent actor in his day. He was knighted 21 May, 1660, and created a baronet 1 July, 1663. After the Restoration he filled many offices in the State. He died in 1684. His grandson, Sir George Downing, 3rd Bart., was the Founder of Downing College, Cambridge. The phrase 'but I believe it will not signify much' indicates Marvell's sense of the miserable paltriness of malignancy in reviving old transactions of the Commonwealth. Forsooth it was a crime to have held 'some correspondence with Oliver Cromwell!' Had not all the potentates of Christendom and beyond courted such correspondence? What spaniels these Liddalls and the like were! Granted that the Royalists in this and like cases tried to colour their pique and hatreds by charges of 'spy or intelligencer over the king, while servant of the king,' &c., &c. How easy retort would have been! The 'minister' question is the old double one of the 'cutting off' of Trinity Church, Hull, from Hezle and consequent patronage interests—of which more in the Notes and Illustrations. The deprecated suspicion of 'mis-intelligence' as between their two representatives ultimately took bitter shape, though there were united Letters as with Ramsden, as in the very next one. 'Sense' is = feeling. The words 'in my last' by the dates April 6th and May 16th, show that probably several letters are here awaiting.

LETTER XXIII. TO THE SAME.

May 16, 1661.

WORTHY SIR,

THE businesse of the House hath not been of very publick consequence yesterday, being taken up by a petition preferr'd by one Mr. Liddall, that the House would giue him leave to prosecute at law, Sir John Morly, a member of the House for Newcastle, upon a charge of high treason, for some correspondence he had held with Oliver Cromwell, and mony which he had in earnest thereof received of Sir George Downing, when resident in Holland: for the King's menial servants, or those which acted by instructions from the King, betraying their trust, are

excepted out of the Act of Indemnity. The House left Liddall to prosecute him at law, but I believe it will not signify much. To-day the Committee, having yesterday gone through the act for security of his Majesty's person, all the amendments were read and agreed to, and the bill put to ingrossing. The Committee for confirming the acts of the last Parliament sat yesterday also, and are carrying on that businesse; but indeed the bill then passed for confirmation of Ministers, will, I doubt, undergo a very hard scrutiny: so that I think, as I intimated to you in my last, whosoever have the businesse of their Ministers in a present tolerable and secure posture, had best make much of that, and not expose themselves to a further hazard. I believe in this conjuncture I shall be left single in attempting any thing for your patronage, notwithstanding the assistance you expected from some others. For so they signify to me; and I doubt you will hardly agree about the levying of your minister's maintenance. But in this thing according as I write to you, you must please to be very reserved, and rest very much upon your own prudence. I would not have you suspect any misintelligence betwixt my partner and me, because we write not to you joyntly, as Mr. Ramsden and I used, for there is all civility betwixt us. But it was his sense, that we should each be left to his own discretion for writing, except upon some answer unto your letters, and that to be joyntly. I send you these Proclamations.

I am, &c.

Westminster, May 16, 1661.

This united Letter escaped Captain Thompson. It is in Marvell's handwriting. Again the separation of Trinity Church, Hull, from Hezle or Hessell, comes up. Then as

to-day ecclesiastical money-matters were a trouble to the House, an incongruous business for it altogether. The word 'nice' is = delicate, chary: 'curious' = careful; patent is used in a somewhat different sense from ours = authority.

LETTER XXIV. TO THE SAME.

'May, 18, 1661,'

GENTLEMEN, OUR VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

We would not let the first letter which we have had the honour to receive from you (of the 14 May) ly by us without returne till the next post, chusing rather to be something imperfect then wholly defective in answering you about your businesse and rendring our own due respects and civilityes to you. We are willingly quickened by you for the Act of Separation of your Church from Hessel and thank you for what you contribute towards it in the papers you inclosed. Whereby there seems to us litle to be wanting towards the expedition of that Bill, which is in good forwardnesse to be presented to the House, but that you be pleased to deale with all those in your towne who shall by this Act be made contributory to such maintenance for your Minister, for their generall and particular consent towards it by their subscribing to a paper testifying their assent. For the Parlament is alwayes very nice and curious on this point of involving men in any sesse or contribution of this nature without their voluntary and expresse concurrence. Insomuch that this last Parlament in a case of the like nature for Royston, nothing could be done till that were first done, and the want of two or three hands concerned, did put a stop for some time to that businesse. Though this seeme something long some to us and you who are equally desirous of the effect, yet nothing is long that is necessary, nor

that time lost which makes the businesse at last go of clearer. That Patent of ballast is grievous alike to all the ports, and if we can pitch upon some common way to seek redresse with that modesty which is expedient where his Majesty's seale is in the case, we shall incite and joyn with those that have the same interest. As to your Patent for the gaging of wines and your former power to grant foure wine licences, it shall be our care betwixt this and our next letter to giue you a good account, and do you the best service therein as in all other matters recommended by you or occurring to us. The newest matters here are the ingrossing of the Act for safety of the kinge's person. The Bill for the Militia read once. A Bill for inabling Churchwardens to rate such monys as are for the repaire of the churches, &c., and an order sent to the Lords for their concurrence for burning the covenant by the common Hangman and taking it down in all churches: which (though not unanimous yet) was carried by 228 votes against 103. We are as much straitned in paper and time at present as we shall be always large in affection and service to you, being

Your most affectionate friends to serve you,

ANTHO. GYLBY, ANDR. MARVELL.

We see among the rest of your papers that declaration of Mr. Raiks his (before he had got Hessel) toward the separation. Tis as necessary that (now he is possessed of Hessel) he do by some new writing witnesse his consent thereto.

ANTHO. GYLBY.
ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., May 18, 1661.

We have another united Letter in the next; but it is one of a long and altogether unpublished Series addressed to Trinity House, Hull, wherein one is at loss which most to admire, the patience and vigilance of Marvell or the vivid reports of interviews and diplomacies 'in the business.' There are sketches of characters that make this series as entertaining 'as a Play' when read consecutively. The Lighthouse ('Spurn Light') has long lifted up its guiding lights on this dangerous headland; and it gives new interest to it to learn the wearisome delays and hope against hope in dealing with crass ignorance and selfishness that preceded the erection. Little did either of the Representatives anticipate the endless worry to which they were thus politely committing themselves.

LETTER XXV. For the Wor'pfull Mr. Robert Ripley
and the rest of the worthy Society of the Trinity
House, at Hull.

'May 18, 1661.'

GENTLEMEN, OUR WORTHY FRIENDS,

We are so desirous to answer upon good advice and consideration those points in which you do us the honour to consult us, in yours of the 14th, that we shall forbear till the next post, when we will be able to giue you better satisfaction. But in the meantime we thought it would be a good answer to giue you account of the receipt of your letter, and an advantage to us if we gained hereby a distinct opportunity of saluting you, so considerable a body in yourselves and so honourable a limb of the towne; to whom we therefore owe a double obligation. We therefore present you hereby our best respects, hoping that by the readynesse you shall find in us to

performe what you first recommend to us, you will be persuaded not to spare us hereafter in any thing that may prove us

Your most affectionate Friends to serve you,

ANTHO. GYLBY,
ANDREW MARVELL.

Westminster, May 18, 1661.

Still the Hezle or Hessel matter. This letter is in Marvell's handwriting, though he inadvertently forgot to sign it. His frank-signature is outside. Very significant is the Postscript. Hull the 'brave' was somewhat 'suspect' from of old. Hence the 'We beseech you.' This letter is now first printed.

LETTER XXVI. TO THE MAYOR, &C. (RICHARDSON,
AS BEFORE.)

' May 20, 1661.'

GENTLEMEN,

In addition to what we writ you last, you may please to take notice that whereas in your letter to us you say *a summe not exceeding 250*li* per annum*, it is absolutely necessary that you ascertain in expresse words the summe that is to be raised by pound rent, without leaving it so farre indefinite. But if you had once the consent and subscription of all those particular persons who are to contribute after the separation to the maintenance of your ministers (which can not neither properly be had but to a certain summe) you should then find for the rest that your Bill should have as quicke a despatch as you or we can desire. In that matter of Ballast we have spoke with the members of severall ports who are sensible of that grievance, and we are deliberating

how to proceed therein, either by petition to his Majesty for reversing the Patent or else by a short Act for that end. As for the Patent for gaging of wines we think the sooner you send up your charter for that from King James that it may be renewed, the better you will do ; and then will be the most naturall time to take notice of that of Palmers. For your four wine licences by statute of Edward the 6th we have appointed a meeting with Mr. Recorder before the next post, and according as we shall upon the discussion of it find you more or lesse concerned, we shall in the Bill for confirmation of publick Acts, wherein also is that for wine licences, interpose for the preservation of your interest therein.

We remaine in some haste,

Gentlemen,

Your most affectionate friends to serve you,

ANTHO. GYLBY.

Westm., May 20, 1661.

We beseech you be mindfull that the 29th of May be kept for a thanksgiving according to the Act in that case.

'Mr. Prin' was none other than the famous William Prynne. Samuel Pepys thus writes of the 'restoration' of the Bishops to the Lords: "This day, I hear the Parliament have ordered a bill to be brought in for restoring the Bishops to the House of Lords; which they had not done so soon but to spite Mr. Prin, who is every day so bitter against them in his discourse in the House' (i. 190). Very considerable man to 'spite' whom a House of Commons set itself. The 'Bill' entrusted to 'Mr. Prin' seems a most extraordinary trust for such hands. Yet we must remember Pepys testimony: "Mr. Finch.....told Mr. Prin's character, that he is a man of mighty labour and reading and memory, but the worst judge of matters, or layer

together of what he hath read, in the world; which I do not however believe him in; that he believes him *very true to the King in his heart*, but can never be reconciled to episcopacy" (ii. p. 408). Noticeable are the closing words 'break my sleep.'

LETTER XXVII. TO THE SAME.

'May 30, 1661.'

WORTHY SIR,

THE news of this day is, the House hath given order that Mr. Solicitor bring in a bill to revoke the act against the Bishops sitting in the Lords' House; and that Mr. Prin bring in a Bill inabling the King to grant Commissions through the nation for receiving the free and voluntary contribution of his subjects, for the present supply of his affairs. I am something bound up, that I can not write about your publick affairs; but I assure you they break my sleep.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., May 30, 1661.

Now comes the rupture between Marvell and his co-representative Colonel Gilby, which the former tells manfully and indeed nobly. There was a 'knit' ing again of the 'bonds of civility' as united Letters hereafter shew. In his own estimate Colonel Gilby was 'the great man,' the superior; but what human memory retains his name to-day save as the cholerick and stupid quarreller with a man association with whom was the one memorable thing in his empty life? What changes "the whirlgig of Time" brings about! The 'matters of the separation' is still Hezle or Hessell. What devotion to duty in this faithful continuance of Letters: 'if I wanted my right hand yet I would scribble to you with my left, rather than neglect your business.' There is infinite pathos in the close: 'pity I beseech you, &c.' A self-respecting magnanimous soul! And Gilby? Faugh! Captain Thompson in this Letter exceeds himself in blundering readings. 'Expect' is = wait.

LETTER XXVIII. TO THE SAME.

‘June 1, 1661.’

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE bonds of civility betwixt Colonell Gilby and myselfe being unhappily snappd in pieces, and in such manner, that I can not see how it is possible euer to knit them again, the onely trouble that I haue is, least by our misintelligence, your businesse should receive any disadvantage. But as the occasion of our disagreement, as farre as I understand, arose from some crudities and undigested matter remaining upon the stomach euer since our Election; so truly I belieue, that as to your publick trust and the discharge thereof, we do each of us still retaine the same principles upon which we first undertook it, and that though perhaps we may sometimes differ in our advice concerning the way of proceeding, yet we haue the same good ends in the generall; and by this unlucky falling out, we shall be provoked to a greater emulation of serving you, and that particularly on this matter of the separation. I indeed did judge that it was necessary for us to expect, you should have taken your resolution concerning the way of raising your Ministers maintenance; because if you do not agree upon the way of doing it, in effect you agree not to do it; and if you do not raise a maintenance you cannot expect the separation; therefore yesterday I thought it improper to addresse ourselves to my Lord Bellasis, to move his Majesty to grant you the Patronage, till we understood from you that all matters were agreed; lest otherwise, if any rub should chance afterwards on your part, and among yourselves, his Majesty should conceiue that you faulterd with him, and haue reason to resent it.

But Mr. Recorder and Mr. Vaux, persons as jealous in your service as I mysele, were of Colonell Gilby's opinion; and so my Lord being attended upon by them this morning, has promised on Monday to present your Petition (a Petition in your name) to his Majesty, containing that you are agreed to sesse yourselves, and requesting the Patronage, &c. and truly if they do procure the Patronage for you, I shall yield the honour and the thanks of it wholly to those gentlemen. But I desire to understand whether though you should not have the Patronage, yet notwithstanding you desire the separation should be carried through. As to the matter of Wine Licences you formerly writ of, I find our Act leaves you right, from the statute of Edward 6 still intire; so that there is no necessity of making any application at all therein. As to that of Ballast, 'tis universally resented among us Members for the Ports, and accordingly we moved the House, and complained highly of it. Last Thursday morning we were referred therein to the Committee of Grievances, to which upon Wednesday next we shall put in severall petitions from the Ports, and all pursue the businesse earnestly for a redress. For news, there is little else than the Bill for restoring the Bishops to the Lords House, and their temperall jurisdiction hath to-day had its first reading in our House, and on Wednesday next to be read the second time. Gentlemen, I must beg your pardon for writing singly to you, for if I wanted my right hand, yet I would scribble to you with my left, rather than neglect your business; and you perceive by the beginning of my letter how the case stands with me. I would not tell you any tales, because there are nakednesses which it becomes us to cover if it be

possible ; as I shall, unless I be oblig'd to make some vindications by any false report or misinterpretations. In the mean time, pity I beseech you my weaknesse, for there are some things which men ought not, others that they cannot patiently suffer. I am

Your most affectionate friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

June 1, 1662.

Our next Letter—hitherto unprinted—, is the longest of the entire Correspondence. Besides final redress of sorely-felt local 'exactions' and wrongs about 'Ballast' &c., &c. (of Letters XXXI-II), the 'separation' of Trinity Church, Hull, from the petty yet mother-church of Hessell is at long-last within view. We get glimpses herein of Marvell's influence in the House as well as of his rare business faculty. He is naturally pleased with his success : 'I must do mysele that right, &c.' The aim in the matter of the 'impositions' or dues was that they shold be payable to the town or Trinity House, according to old charters, or if not be abolished. The 'Subscription' was a counter-document signed by some of the inhabitants of Hull. The Letter ought henceforward to take a prominent place in the History of Hull in its ecclesiastical annals. The King seems to have thus far favourably impressed Marvell. His unbought loyalty is touching, the more that he perceives breakers ahead. The word 'excriminate' is = clears himself by accusing others : 'offered' (as before).

LETTER XXXIX. TO THE SAME.

'June 15, 1661.'

GENTLEMEN,

THE Committee of grievances as I told you in my last hauing upon my motion been ordered to sit this Friday ; Walter, one of the Patentees appeard but brought not his Patent, alleging among other excuses that he had not notice till three hours before. Whereupon I prevailed first of all that Mr. Steward, the Chair-man of our Committee, should be orderd (as he hath done this morning) to report to the

House, the neglect of our Sergent of the mace, who, colluding with the Patentees and trifling with us had not served the order earlyer upon them. Next 'twas orderd the Patentees should absollutly wait on the Committee, Wednesday next, with their Patent, and then if they had ought to say for themselves bring their Counsell, and lastly, that the House should be moved in the meantime to suspend the Patent: hereupon to day the House made this order, which you may please to make use of, that so there may be no further payment of those exactions. In this thing (although I account all things I can do for your service to be meere trifles, and not worth taking notice of in respect of what I ow you), I must do my selfe that right to let you know that I, and I alone haue had the happiness to do that litle which hitherto is effected. We had a copy of the Patent at the Committee, and in it none of those fees or summs exacted are specifyd, and besides in the end of it the King saith that if the Patent it selfe be found a grievance, it shall by a writ from himselfe be forthwith reversed, and the Chancelor who hath been acquainted with the whole matter is very cordiall, and promises that if we should not take order herein, himselfe will. Therefore in the meantime you may please to giue notice to such as haue bin forced with you to pay these exactions, to cast up as neare as may be all that they haue payd, that so we may put them into a condition of recovering it from the Patentees or the lawyers thereof. Now as to Anchorage, &c.: I haue spoke with Mr. Porter, who assures me he hath giuen order to stop the Primage loadage, &c.: and will the anchorage as soon as he has seen your charter, which I suppose Mr. Recorder, who needs no quickening in your service may by this time haue done. There

are seuerall petitions ready (as soon as the ballast is ouer) against those impositions also, but I conceive it your interest (which I desire your direction in) that I should not joyn in any such complaint. Because if the king's right in placing such impositions should be weakened, neither should he have powr to make a grant of them to you. I may inded naturally joyn with such as hauing charters (such as yours, or the Trinity houses) are invaded therein by new Patents. But I think *ex abundanti* you may do well to acknowledge Mr. Recorder's great care hitherto, and desire him to hasten the Town's Charter, euen upon this account that so if these things should not be speedily granted as before to you and the Trinity house, I might then concurre with those who are wholly for the taking away of such payments. Your Act was put into Mr. Speaker's hand by Colonell Gylby, upon Thursday last, and it is to be red in course (which may be within a day or two) after some other sets got in before haue had their reading. But at that time the Atturney had not, upon the reference to him, returned to his Majesty what was adviseable, as to his Majesty parting with the patronage, and I doubt when he dos, it will not be with too much advantage. For I perceiue the Atturney has said something concerning the consequence and necessity of his Majesty's keeping the patronage of that town, so that indeed if my Lord Bellasis (concerning whose reall affection to you you may be as certain as of his Majesty's affection to him) and Colonell Gylby (of whose indeavours therein you may be satisfied) shall procure it for you, it will be a signall and singular fauor. Gentlemen, I think it is pertinent for me (not knowing whether you haue this account from any other hand) to let you

know how the Act runns, as it is now presented in two or three particulars. That the Mayor and Aldermen shall, and may from time to time nominate and present some fit person to be vicar of the said Church, to be approved of by the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors, and to be presented, instituted and inducted as oft as the same shall become void. That the yearly sum of [blank] shall from henceforth be charged upon the houses, lands, and tenements of the inhabitants of the said parish. That the Mayor and Aldermen, and their successors, or any foure of them, shall within [blank] next after ——— send out warrants to eighteen inhabitants of the said Burrough, such as they shall think fit to asseesse, and rate euery inhabitant of the said parish, not exceeding sixpence upon every twenty shillings rent according to the rate of the houses, lands and tenements that any person dwelleth in, useth and imployeth in the said parish; which sum so assest being allowed by the mayor and aldermen or any four of them, shall be collected by such persons as they or any foure of them shall appoint at Michalmasse and Lady day: the first collection to begin at or after the feast of [blank]. That if any inhabitant refuse to pay his summe so assessed, then the mayor and aldermen or any six of hem may authorize such as they shall think fit to leuy it by distres or sale of the said persons goods, returning the overplus to the owner, or else recouer the same by action of debt to be brought before the Mayor and Sheriffe of the said town, wherein no wages of law shall be allowed to the defendant. Upon all these things I desire you to make your most mature and speedy reflexion, and to direct any thing that may occurre to you. The things seem to me generally well and desirable. Onely I pray you

consider how all stands. Here is your Act already ingaged within the House before you or we know whether his Majesty will grant you the Patronage or no. You can not make a separation unless you settle a maintenance. Whether you will settle a maintenance unless you have the patronage I am not yet well informed by you. And then you know how the way of maintenance layd out in your Act is directly opposed by a Subscription sent up to Colonell Gilby and my selfe. Gentlemen, I haue told you that I haue in the things concerning your town no other sense or affection but what is yours as farr as I understood it. But therefore as you loue your own affairs, giue me leaue to say as you loue me which I know no reason in my selfe or you to doubt of, be pleased to let me distinctly and fully know your minds in these points so materiall, that I may not for want of resolution from you be exposed when it comes to the pinch (which will be at the second reading and committing of your Act, which is likely to be about eight or nine days hence) to do anything which may by any one of you Gentlemen of the Bench be interpreted to your disservice. I conjure you again and again to grant me this request; for I had rather whether rightly or no undergoe any blame then to excuse or excriminate my selfe upon any one of you whom I honour and serve with the best of my intentions. As for news, you know I belieue already that the Act of Benevolence and restoring the Bishops are now in the Lords house when they will I belieue haue a speedy dispatch. Yesterday upon reading in our House the bill ingrossed for Confirming the Act of indemnity, a proviso was offered to be added to the Act, which seeming to infringe some part of the Act and to open

the way for many provisos more, occasioned a long debate yesterday and to-day whether it should be read or no: At last about two o'clock to-day the House diuided upon it, and 'twas carried that the proviso should not be read. We were 232 against 133. On Munday at nine a clock the businesse of that Act is to be resumed, when I doubt we shall haue much more worke of the same nature. But his Majesty is most fixedly honorable and true to that busines as in all things els, so that by God's blessing I hope we shall arrive at an happy period in it. Otherwise we shall be broken against that rock. Gentlemen, I belieue you find the inconvenience of our writing single that you are troubled with longer letters. But I hope that is the only inconvenience.

I am, your most affectionate friend and
most humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, June 15, 1661.

Another Letter printed for the first time. The 'Separation' hangs and Marvell has to assert the Town's right to appoint 'the Minister.' It was a singular set of circumstances that made Lord Bellasis—a Roman Catholic—the friendly promoter of this arrangement. His lordship was evidently studious in courtesy to his frequent visitor. The 'Act of Indemnity' weighs heavily on Marvell. One 'John Milton' was still imperilled—and others dear to him. 'His Majesty' is confidently looked to again. 'So yet unless'=yet so [that] unless.'

LETTER XXX. TO THE SAME.

'June 17, 1661.'

GENTLEMEN,

Your Act of Separation had its first reading yesterday, and Munday next is appointed for the

second reading. But there was yet this morning no returne from Mr. Atturney to the king upon the reference about the patronage. I waited yesterday upon my Lord Bellasis and represented to him my own sense concerning the Bill. That is that as I was entirely for promoting it, so yet unlesse the town's power to nominate a person to be approved of by his Majesty were the condition of that maintenance to be raised among them, I must be against the passing of it; and that I believed his Lordship was of the same judgement. (And by the way I hope, Gentlemen, yours is so also; if I erre it will be for want of a positive and plain instruction from you on a point so essentiall, which I have often pressed for). My Lord was the same that I found him always in anything of your concernments, and I do verily believe that before Monday next we may know our fate herein and that it may be as desired. But I must tell you, Gentlemen, unlesse that nomination be obtained for you (except I receiue something to the contrary from you in answer to this letter the next Munday) I shall delay the Bill. For in my conscience and to the best of my understanding I believe that is your meaning and your interest. We have these two days been upon the Militia, so that the confirmation of the Act of Indemnity and the debate thereof hath slept so long. To-morrow we resume it; When there will be an Act brought in to impower the King to place and displace whatsoever magistrates or corporations for these three years next insuing. We are giuen to believe by those who retard the Act of Indemnity, that it shall passe cleare, so that [all] of the Corporations may goe along with it. I hope his Majesty will as he has done hitherto, help us out of these straits of

our own minds; otherwise we may stick in the briars.

I remaine, Gentlemen,

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,
ANDREW MARVELL.

June 17, 1661.

The next Letter has one personally memorable thing in it: 'I must beseech you to listen to no litle storyes concerning myself,' &c. See Essay in this Volume on this.

LETTER XXXI. To THE SAME.

'June 20, 1661.'

GENTLEMEN,

I Haue had occasion again yesterday at the Committee to hunt the Patentees of the Ballast home, and just at the rising procured an order that it be reported to the House for securing the mony already receiued thereupon in the ports, that restitution may be made. I shall therefore giue you an account particularly on Saturday what is done therein upon the report to the House. I beseech you to read the-inclosed letter, communicating it also to some member of the Trinity House, and then date it and seale it. If you please to giue me account further how things stand with you in those or other businesses, I shall serve you the better. I must beseech you also to listen to no litle storyes concerning myself; for I belieue you know by this time that you have lately heard some very false concerning me, and there is not any one among you who will not confesse, whensoever any truth shall come to be cleared, that I am

Gentlemen,

Your most affectionate friend and humble servant,
ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., June 20, 1661.

The 'Mr. Vaghan' who is named in this letter was John Vaughan, member of the Long Parliament, but who resigned and was numbered among the 'Malignants.' He was one of Selden's executors in 1654. Again M.P. after the Restoration; appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas 23rd May, 1668, and Knighted. He died suddenly 10th December, 1674. He was ancestor of the Earl of Lisburne. Pepys calls Hurlestone, on his election to the Mastership of Trinity College, London, 'a Knave' (ii. 237). The 'evidence' to be 'laid up against the [late] King's dead and living judges,' and the 'Act for universal conformity' must deeply have moved Marvell. The 'Rehearsal Transpros'd' and 'Mr. Smirke' and 'Defence of John Howe' shew how profoundly he felt the unreason and shamelessness of the 'Uniformity' measures. The 'Ejection' the next year was being prepared for in many godly 'parsonages' and hearts. How unconscious were the frivolous actors in this tragedy of what they were about! The Bill of Conformity, however, was not brought in this Session. Parliament adjourned on 30th July to 28th November.

LETTER XXXII. TO THE SAME.

'June 27th, 1661.'

GENTLEMEN,

I Send you down this further order: I desire to hear from you how the letter I sent you down of Porter's to Greame hath taken effect; and how this, and the former order sent you in the Ballast business are obeyed. In these things it would behove you to be speedy and punctuall in your correspondence, lest while we are in so good a way and intention to root out all these greivous impositions, you may suffer for want of giving timely and perfect notice. The House has yesterday given order that an impeachment should be drawn up by Mr. Vaghan, Mr. Prin, Mr. York, &c. against Walter, the principal Patentee, to be carryed up to the Lords. The Committee have also summoned Hurleston, who underwrit the printed warrant you sent me;

for his was a notorious offence. The first being onely framed by the Patentees themselves, and never specify'd in any warrant or patent from the King, yet Hurleston underwrites "Compared with the originall under his Majesty's hand and seale, and attested by order of the Commissioners, by me, Hurleston, &c." We are not yet got through the Bill of Corporations to haue it ingrosd: I shall strue (for the Commissioners are not yet named) that you may haue particular Commissioners of the best of your neighbours, as a distinct County, and not haue the same with Yorkshire; and truly I shall consider whether it be fit that any officers of your garrison should be Commissioners with you, as I think it is to be avoyded the making of any of yourselues Commissioners, lest there should be any new feud or hart-burning occasiond therby among yourselues, and the same should be judges and judged. I know not, 'tis methinks an unpleasant business. I would we were well over it, or of it. To-morrow the King's Counsell is to be heard at our barr, to lay out euidence against the King's dead and liuing judges, and the other persons whom the Act of Indemnity has left to pains and penaltyes. The Act for universal Conformity will, within this day or two, be brought in.

I remain, &c.,

West., June 27, 1661.

Again and unitedly (in the first) Marvell and Gylby are in correspondence with Trinity House, Hull. The five following Letters are printed for the first time: The 'Accounts' of charges in Letter XXXVII may be placed beside Washington's statements of his expenditure. It is written from Vianen, whither and elsewhere in Holland he was used to retire—wherefore I have tried in vain to find out. Letter XXXIII

begins an intercourse with Monk on behalf of Hull, which was continued, 'the General' being always extremely favourable to the town. One should have liked light on the re-knitting of the 'bonds of civility' between Marvell and Gylby: letter XXXIII has all the old cordiality: 'for our review' and Letter XXXV 'whatsoever else I have writt any time,' and Letter XXXVII 'my worthy friend.' The Corporation and Town stood true to Marvell, and probably Gylby saw what a fool he had been. In these as in other Letters it will be noted how cautious the writer is that any 'news' sent should not be 'let aire.' This element of suspicion was scarcely ever absent through these years: But perhaps now the secrecy enjoined was merely to prevent the opposite parties in the Town interested in the continuance of the impositions or dues for anchorage, &c., defeating the plans of Trinity House (see next Letter). Originally 'subscribed' = as originals or autographically.

LETTER XXXIII. For our much respected very
worthy Friends, Mr. Edmund Popple, and Mr.
Leonard Cawood, Wardens of the Trinity
House, at Hull.

'February 25, 1661-2.'

GENTLEMEN,

WE here inclose to you the copy of a Petition as we could here judge of your businesse. Wherein you shall find it fit to be alterd, be pleased to returne it corrected to us for our review if you think it necessary. But we belieue that where it is defective you may so easily alter, supply, and perfect it, that we need see it no more till it come from you faire writ and subscribed. Be pleasd to send two of those petitions, both alike originally subscribed. We are thinking to prepare two letters for you, one to General Monk and the other to my L. Bellasis, to request assistance. Be maturing your own businesse hither as fast as may be, for you shall daily heare

from us, as we think any thing necessary to your businesse, which as we would not be too confident of so we are not diffident.

We remain in hast

Gentlemen,

Your very affectionate Friends to serve you,

ANTHO. GYLBY,
ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, February 25, 1661-2.

In the next Letter the word 'longsome' is = tedious or wearisome : here = delaying or remiss.

LETTER XXXIV. TO THE SAME.

'March 22, 1661-2.'

GENTLEMEN, MY KIND FRIENDS,

YOU may perhaps thinke us 'longsome' in giuing you an account of your businesse. Indeed I haue had some avocations lately in mine own particular, but not such but that your businesse hath been unanimously carried on all this while by my partner and myselfe. We haue had a reference from Mr. Secretary from the King to the Atturney, to certify as concerning the convenience and legality of the thing. And it is at this present in Mr. Atturney's hand ; and I can now assure you that from him we shall haue a favourable report, and so we shall proceed with the best expediton. It is a thing of great consequence and many gaping after it. Be you onely pleas'd, and so I have writ to the town, to make your Counsell and intentions and our progresse herein, a perfect secret. For there are those in your town, persons of quality, who can speak you as faire as any man, and will, and yet if any opposition spring

it will be from them, as this project had its first rise here by their means. Be pleased to meditate and send us up any clauses that you may think necessary to insert in the patent, and particulars how, and in what places the money due upon the impositions and in what manner it shall be payd and receiued. For yet you haue onely specifyd the quantity. Assure yourselues there shall not be one minute lost, nor one stone unturned here. For the mony it costs you must put it to the adventure.

I am, your most affectionate friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, May 22, 1661-2.

LETTER XXXV. For the Wor'pfull my very worthy friends the Wardens, Elder Brethren of the worthy Society of the Trinity House at Hull.

'April 1, 1662.'

GENTLEMEN, MY (OR OUR) WORTHY FRIENDS,

FOR what I now write Colonell Gilby upon the receipt of yours of the 25th March did agree upon with me, that it should be in both our names, as whatsoever else I haue writ at any time to or to be imparted to you hath been with mutuall consent and approbation. The first thing is that you would be pleased to subscribe this Letter which we haue prepared for you to the Generall, that we may make use of it upon occasion. For though he himselve stirre not abroad yet we doubt not much by his means to get it recommended to the king by my Lord of Bath, who is a neere confident of the Generall and as effectuall an hand as can be chosen

in the whole Court. The other businesse is that you would send us up a dormant credit for an hundred pound, which we yet indeed haue no use of but if need be we must haue ready at hand to reward such as will not otherwise befriend your businesse. We expect from you to-morrow some other dispatches, which we writ for, whereby if any Set should be offerd in the House (although we do not think any such Set can be perfected in this short time of our sitting and it will fall to nothing by our prorogation) we may be furnished to fense that of and perhaps to graft an Set of our own upon their motion. The businesse has got a litle too much aire, and euen yet it will be good as much as possible to dampe that nor own or impart any of our proceedings but among yourselues. But my worthy partner and myselfe are cordiall and unanimous in the businesse and we doe devise all that we can either by counsell or friends for the effectinge of your desires and shall not but upon certain grounds run you out into any unreasonable or disproportionable expense. For the litle preparatory sums as I told you you must stand to the hazard and for that what we haue sufficeth.

I remaine,

Gentlemen, &c.,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Apr. 1, 1662.

The next Letter is very noticeable in relation to Marvell's visits to Holland. Parliament was prorogued 19th May, but as Marvell did not wait for that it shews the important and engrossing nature of his private affairs in Holland, as does his being there, (whether he remained there during the intervening ten months) on March 12th, 1663. The Parliament re-assembled February 18th.

LETTER XXXIV. For the Worshipful Society of
Masters and Pilots of the Trinity House, in Hull.

‘May 8, 1667.’

GENTLEMEN, AND MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

IT may seem strange that hauing a businesse of that importance depending partly in my hands, you should be so long without receiving any advice of our proceedings. But I perceiue by what I collected from your prudent manage of the same businesse at Hull, that you do fully comprehend the reason of our so long silence. Nor do I think it safe having so long continued it, to speake too cleare by the Post. Onely Colonel Gilby will tell you all when he comes down, and 'tis very likely the next ship may bring to some head a perfect information. I shall onely tell you thus much, that your businesse is the better-halfe done. But that which troubles me is that by the interest of some persons too potent for me to refuse and who have a great direction and influence upon my counsels and fortune, I am obliged to go beyond Sea before I have perfected it. But first I do thereby make my Lord Carlisle (who is a member of the Privy Counsell and as of them to whom your businesss is referd) absolutely yours. And my journey is but into Holland, from whence I shall weekly correspond as if I were at London, with all the rest of my friends, towards the affecting your businesse. Then I leave Colonell Gilby here, whose ability for businesse and affection to yours is such that I can not be wanted though I am missing. And lastly, we haue (if, which I no ways doubt of, your Patent should not be perfected before he returns home) employed and shall trust therein, one Mr.

Cressett, of the Temple, a gentleman perfectly versed in the management of all affairs, and of a general acquaintance with all persons of quality, whom we have to do with herein. Therefore trouble yourselves about nothing, nor though the matter should not forthwith (though 'tis probable it may this very day leap beyond any man's reach for the future) attain its perfection, do not believe but that already by what is done we hindred all others and shall in the best time procure the fixing of it to you. But there are strange reasons and junctures at Court in all businesses, which must be catched or waived, and in this really there hath been more cunning and intricacy used by other pretenders than you can well imagine, and for my part haue been put more upon my industry, dexterity, and courage herein, than I have in anything through my whole life. I desire you to put that good construction thereupon which is most suitable to your candor and my upright intentions. Gentlemen, I take my leave of you for the present and giue thanks to you for all your favors, and assure you that you haue not in the world a friend more sincerely devoted and allyed to your interests than your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., May 8, 1662.

LETTER XXXVII. TO THE SAME.

‘January 9, 1662-3.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE new Session of Parliament now drawing on, I am glad of this necessity of writing to you, hauing hereby occasion both to present my hearty and kind

respects to you, and moreover to assure you that your businesse shall not receive any detriment by my absence, Onely if upon your prudent consultation together you shall find anything necessary to be imparted to me before the Parliament's meeting, I desire you by the post to send me advice thereof, because my resolutions concerning mine own private affairs depend very much upon your convenience. I have herewith sent you an account of your expenses about the Light-house, which I wish they could haue been lesse ; but however the stopping of that set so long is worth a great part of the mony : and I hope the vigorous resistance that the designers haue hitherto found in that set and Patent, will haue either wholly discouraged them, or however, tamed them so farre that they may act henceforward upon intelligence and participation with you. The original grants and writings, which haue hitherto passed in that businesse for you, are safe at London. I haue writ this same for and to my worthy friend Colonell Gylby, thereby to prepare our correspondence toward your service. And though he alone be euery way sufficient for the managing of a farre greater businesse to the best advantage, yet I shall not be wanting, as I haue not hitherto, still to add *ex superabundanti*, my best endeavours, either by my presence if that be most convenient, or else by collaterall wayes, toward the promoting thereof. Concerning which you may expect frequente letters. Let this in the meantime suffice to confirme you that I am for always, Gentlemen, my very worthy friends,

Your most affectionate Friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL

Vianen, January 9-19, 1662-3.

ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENSES ABOUT THE LIGHT-HOUSE
FOR THE TRINITY-HOUSE OF KINGSTON-UPON-HULL.

To Mr. Attorney for his advice upon it ...	2	4	0
To Mr. Sollicitor for a research in the Trinity House Charter	0	5	9
For drawing two long reports and a reference.....	1	0	0
To Mr. Johnson for a copy of a warrant so drawn, that Mr. Attorney might act upon it	1	0	0
For a copy of the Bill for the Light-house	0	6	0
To Mr. Johnson when the Report was fetcht away	0	5	0
To Mr. Knightly for writing two small Reports	0	3	6
To Mr. Johnson for a draught of the Grant	1	0	0
To Mr. Knightly for expedition and copying	0	10	0
To Mr. Brighthouse for reading it to Mr. Attorney	0	5	0
To a Porter for bringing the warrant.....	0	0	8
To Mr. Attorney for passing the Grant 10li in gold	11	0	0
To Mr. Knightly and Johnson for ingross- ing expedition and drawing.....	3	0	0
To the doore-keeper	0	2	6
To Powers severall times	0	2	8
To Mr. Scroggs to attend the Counsell ...	3	6	0
To Mr. Scroggs againe for the same.....	3	6	0
For drawing Breviates	0	10	0
Spent on Mr. Scroggs at dinner	0	18	4
Copying grant, report, and warrant.....	0	15	0
To Mr. Scroggs againe	3	0	0
Fees of the Councell table	1	10	0

CORRESPONDENCE.

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To Sr. R. Brown, Clerk of the Councill...	2	0	0
For a copy of the Councill's Report upon the King's Reference	4	10	0
To a messengers' time from Secretary Morris	0	6	0
To Powers twice to Col. Froude	0	1	0
To the first Reference to Mr. Secretary ...	1	0	0
For dinner for Mr. Scroggs and wine after	1	0	0
To Mr. Attorney and his Clerks for the reports	6	0	0
For signing the warrant by the King	6	0	0
For a reference to the Lords of the Councill	1	10	0
To Secretary Morris his servant	0	10	0
Writing severall petitions and taking copys	1	10	0
To Mr. Cresset for his solliciting whole through the businesse and many occasionall expenses which he him- selfe was at	20	0	0
To Mr. Scroggs for a dinner.....	1	0	0
	<hr/>		
	79	16	8

Lord Bellasis has been making complaint of Marvell's absence from his place 'in the House,' even moving the Town to elect another—as fully stated in our Essay. The Corporation acquainted their absent Member with the 'motion;' and here is his answer, as finely turned as euer was Courtier's. There has been a considerable lapse in the Correspondence.

LETTER XXXVIII. For the Right Wor'pfull
RICHARD WILSON, Mayor, and the Aldermen
his Brethren of Kingston upon Hull.
'March 12, 1663.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

HAD mine own thoughts not been strong enough
to perswade me to slight any private concernments of

mine in respect to the publick and your service, your prudent and courteous letter of the 3d of Febr. would haue brought me over, though I had been at a greater distance. This is onely to assure you that I am making all the speed possible back, and that, with God's assistance, in a very short time you may expect to hear of me at the Parliament House. In the meane time,

I remaine,

Gentlemen, my very worthy Friends,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVILL.

Vianen, Mar. 12, 1663.

He learns on his return that 'some persons would have been so courteous as to have filled' his 'place:' Lord Bellasis will hear anon no doubt from him. It would appear that in Holland, Marvell was somehow or other engaged in business. Vianen not Frankfort (as in Captain Thompson) was the date-place. He was not present when the 'Ejection' Act of Uniformity passed.

LETTER XXXIX. TO THE SAME.

'April 2, 1663.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

BEING newly arrived in town and full of businesse, yet I could not neglect to give you notice, that this day I have been in the House, and found my place empty; though it seems, as I now heare, that some persons would have been so courteous as to have filled it for me. You may please to be assur'd, that as my obligation and affection to your service hath been strong enough to draw me over, without any consideration of mine own private concerns, so I shall now maintain my station with the same vigour and alacrity in your businesse, which I

have allways testify'd formerly, and which is no more than is due to that kindness which I have constantly experienced from you. So at present, though in much haste, saluting you with my most hearty respects.

I remaine,

Gentlemen, my very worthy friends,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Westminster, April 2, 1663.

The friendship between Marvell and Gilby is thoroughly re-established. 'Selling of offices of trust' and 'increase of debauchery and profanenesse' and other serious matters are before the House. 'The Restoration' was proving itself to be a return of chaos morally and politically. Alas for the grand days of Cromwell!

LETTER XL. TO THE SAME.

'April 14, 1663.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, wherein I gave you an account of my returne, I have not writ; because, upon communication with my worthy partner Colonell Gilby, whose vigilance and sufficiency might well have excused my absence, I found nothing here which might particularly relate to your service; nor have received any commands from you hitherto, which whensoever you shall have occasion to lay upon me, shall as gladly be received by me, as, by the assistance of so able a person as the Colonell, they will probably be effected. Therefore all the subject that I can find out at present, to furnish the great delight

I take in writing to you, is onely to acquaint you with some of the later passages here ; supposing, that of former businesses you are sufficiently informed. There was an Act brought in for transferreing the trialls of all forain contracts relating to Navigation, from the Common Law to the Court of Admiralty. But after two days serious and earnest Debate, the Bill was rejected, and another orderd to be brought in : the sense of the House inclining to think, that those things may better be redressed by the law merchant, or *lex mercatoria*, and by Courts of Merchants to be erected in some few of the considerablest ports of the nation. Complaint being made yesterday of one great abuse, in selling of offices and places of trust in the Kingdom, a Committee was appointed to look into the defects of the law in that case, and also to receive the informations that should be brought of any such offices sold as aforesaid. To-day a Bill is orderd to be brought in against the increase of debauchery and profaneness. The House adjourn'd till Wednesday fortnight, and to be call'd the Munday following, and every one absent to forfeit five pounds. I suppose that when they meet again the session will not long continue ; for I heare the King intends a Progress, and it seemes to me that there is not much publick businesse remaining. You have seen, I believe, his Majestie's proclamation for all Priests and Jesuites, except those limited by the contracts of the two marriages, to be gone by the 14th of May next. With my due respect to you all, I rest, &c.

Apr. 14, 1663.

Another new unprinted Letter to Trinity House on the Light-house business. 'Attent' used in the beginning of this Letter is an Elizabethan word.

LETTER XLI. AS BEFORE.

‘April 14, 1663.’

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

ALTHOUGH I found that Colonell Gilby my worthy partner had before my return been so attent to your businesse that nothing could be added therein by my industry, yet out of the joynt desire that we both have of doing you all possible service, we have since upon communication together made diligent inquiry concerning Col. Frowd or others, and cannt find that they have made any progresse or intend to do in their pretense to the Light-house. We have also spoke with severall persons of quality whom it is not necessary to name but are friends to your interest, who seeme to advise us at present, seeing Frowd and they are quiet, that we neither should stirre in it but wait a fit conjuncture and gaine intelligence by litle and litle whether we may revive it for you again without jealousy of opposition. In the meantime you have that fruit of our former indevors and your expenses that you are hitherto free from that imposition by others, and so many stepps made for yourselues whensoever you shall think fit to proceed. For though we incline to advise you to sit still for awhile, yet we are ready to regulate ourselves by your deliberations, desiring to know your resolution therein. Your papers and residue of your mony are here ready when you command them. Mr. Cressett I see hath had so long a sicknesse as has made him more unfit for businesse, nor needs there at present any Sollicitor. My memory of this businesse of yours was no small inducement together with my more publick obligations, to hast me over to Parliament. And while

here you may be sure that I am thinking of and putting in practise all that may conduce to your service in this particular. In the meantime

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,
ANDR. MARVELL.

Post-mark, April 14, 1663.

‘Buying and selling of offices’ the House ‘has much at heart’. Intimation is given of the going of the Earl of Carlisle abroad—a central event in Marvell’s own life as will be seen speedily. The ‘St. James’ looks like ‘St. Jones’ in the MS. Read=all patents that are illegal [i.e. or] grievous to the subject [collective for subjects].

LETTER XLII. TO THE MAYOR [WILSON, as before].
‘May 19, 1663.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE something too long owd you answer to yours of 5th of May, being confident, that as whatsoever kindnesse and respect comes always welcome and timely enough from you to me; so, that neither you will precisely reckon the differences of a weeke, or a post in my correspondence. Otherwise I could be as punctual with you as any man living, and with none more willingly then with you, having never satisfied myselfe to the full in writing to you; so much pleasure do I take in that conversation, which either the necessity of my attendance on your affairs, or the convenience of mine own, does limit me for the most part, depriving me of that great content which otherwise I might reape sometimes, in my presence and society with you. Our parliamentary affairs give me no great matter of discourse with you. Yesterday, indeed, was very busy with us, upon the commitment of the Bill for discovery of buying and selling of offices. The Committee, after long debate,

was orderd to continue the retrospect to all that have been sold since 29th June, 1660. The House seems to have this business much to heart. We sate, which is unusuall with us, till 6 at night, ordring also at last a clause to be entered against buying and selling of honours. A Committee is also inspecting all illegall patents, and grievous to the subject. Leave was desidrd yesterday to bring in a Bill for erecting a Court at Yorke, which gave much debate among the Yorkshire Gentlemen ; but nothing was done in it. The Earl of Carlisle is going upon an extraordinary embassage to Muscovy, in order to setting up the English trade again there. From thence he is to go to Sweden and Denmark. I have nothing further, but the continuance of my hearty respects, and assuring you that I am,

Gentlemen, &c.

St. James,' May 19, 1663.

Very characteristic is this next Letter—valuable too: 'The House is as zealous as euer for his majesty, *but is sensible also of the necessities of the country.*' 'Conventicles' (that is Nonconformity) were 'to be cabined, cribbed, confined.' Private affairs detain him from 'assiduous' attendance at the House. These will soon turn to 'publick affairs.' 'So disappointed' = by the discovery.

LETTER XLIII. TO THE SAME.

'June 6, 1663.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House having adjournd yesterday, till Friday next, I have got some litle leisure to salute you. I should do it oftner, were the businesse of the House so various or communicable as formerly. Besides the Bill to prevent the growth of Popery, that against Conventicles seems the most considerable ; preparing

many further remedies against refractory persons. The House hath taken very much pains in his Majesty's revenue, and strives to improve such parts of it as seeme to admitt of it. But whether there will be yet any addition to the revenue, by further aids or levyes, before we adjourn againe, it is not easy to conjecture. The House is as zealous as euer for his Majesty, but is sensible also of the necessities of the country. There hath bin lately discovered a plott of some of the old English army in Ireland, to seize upon Dublin and the Lord Lieutenant: so disappointed. There are some rumors which I think are false, that the conspirators should have taken some other places. Nor if humane care be joyned to God's providence, which watcheth so eminently over his Majesty, is there any danger from such extravagances but to the plotters? I am forced by some private occasions, but relating to the publick, to be something less assiduous at the House then heretofore; but my worthy partner never failes; neither shall I in any thing requisite be wanting to my best to continue,

Gentlemen, &c.

London, June 6, 1663.

Now comes the announcement of a 'public' engagement, his accompanying Lord Carlisle who goes as 'Ambassador Extraordinary' to "Muscovy, Sweden and Denmarke." How Carlisle and Marvell came to be so bound to each other does not appear: but the latter words are very explicit: 'he hath used his power *which ought to be very great with me*, to make me goe along with him Secretary in those Embassges."

LETTER XLIV. TO THE SAME.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

The relation I have to your affaires, and the intimacy of that affection I ow you, do both incline

and oblige me to communicate to you, that there is a probability I may very shortly have occasion to go beyond sea ; for my Lord of Carlisle being chosen by his Majesty, Embassadour Extraordinary to Muscovy, Sweden, and Denmarke, hath used his power, which ought to be very great with me, to make me goe along with him Secretary in those embassages. It is no new thing for Members of our House to be dispens'd with for the service of the King and Nation in forain parts. And you may be sure that I will not stirre without speciall leave of the House ; that so you may be freed from any possibility of being importuned or tempted to make any other choice, in my absence. However, I can not but advise also with you, desiring to take your assent along with me, so much esteeme I have both of your prudence and friendship. The time allotted for the embassy is not much above a yeare : probably it may not be much lesse betwixt our adjournment and next meeting ; and, however, you have Colonell Gilby, to whom my presence can make litle addition, so that if I cannot decline this voyage, I shall have the comfort to believe, that, all things considered, you cannot thereby receive any disservice. I shall hope to receive herein your speedy answer. The House, since they have voted that the reliefe to the King's Majestye's necessities shall be by subsidyes, are daily about that businesse : four shillings in the pound for land, and eight groats for goods, according to the old way of rating in the subsidy-books, is like to be the proportion : but how many of these subsidies shall be granted, not yet resolved. I remaine,

Gentlemen, &c.

June 20, 1663.

The 'assent' of the Corporation to his 'going' abroad, is waited for, and this is a mere 'report'-note

LETTER XLV. TO THE SAME.

'JUNE 23, 1663.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

HAVING writ so lately to you, this is onely to give you account, that the House hath this day voted the King four subsidyes: the two first to be payd in by the first of November, the others by the first of May, *nemine contradicente*, and Mr. Solicitor orderd to bring in a Bill to that purpose. The House itselſe to appoint the Commissioners. Four shillings the pound lands, eight groats goods, according to the presidents of King James and King Charles, as to the manner of levying them. This is all at present. I remaine,

Gentlemen, &c.

You most affectionate friend to serve you,
ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, June 23, 1663,

'Assent' was cordially given; and so the 'departure' is announced. The King has given 'order and good liking.' The House has given 'leave.' His constituents have given 'approbation.' And so gravely to solemnity yet enjoyingly, the work is entered on. There are again words indicative of the thorough reconciliation of Colonel Gilby and Marvell. The Colonel commanded the Garrison. There was clearly a jealousy between the townspeople and the garrison—arising probably from the permission given to the soldiers during the Commonwealth to exercise their trades. Of course also in the case of the civil misdemeanour of a soldier there would be a tendency to a clashing of authorities—the magistrates insisting on their right, the military authorities asserting their right to punish and the rights of the soldier. Also there would—ill feeling existing—be the greater tendency on each side to assert itself. Marvell recommends a mutually yielding policy. Correspondence'=agreement.

LETTER XLVI. TO THE SAME.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

BEING this day taking barge for Gravesend, there to embark for Archangel, so to Muscow, thence for Sweden, and last of all Denmarke; all of which I hope, by God's blessing, to finish within twelve moneths time: I do hereby, with my last and serioussest thoughts, salute you, rendring you all hearty thanks for your great kindnesse and friendship to me upon all occasions, and ardently beseeching God to keep you all in His gracious protection, to your own honour, and the welfare and flourishing of your Corporation, to which I am and shall ever continue a most affectionate and devoted servant. I undertake this voyage with the order and good liking of his Majesty, and by leave given me from the House, and enterd in the Journal; and having received moreover your approbation, I go therefore with more ease and satisfaction of mind, and augurate to myselfe the happier successe in all my proceedings. Your known prudence makes it unnecessary for me to leave my advice or counsell with you at parting, yet can I not forbear, out of the superabundance of my care and affection for you, to recommend to you a good correspondence with the garrison, as long as his Majesty shall think fit to continue it; unto which, and all your other concerns, as Colonell Gilby hath and will be always mainly instrumentall, and do you all the right imaginable; so could I wish, as I do not doubt that you would upon any past or future occasion, confide much in his discretion, nor upon the extravagance of any military person, practise all that just rigour, which he [Colonel Gilby] will never deny you the use of; but that the consequences

being prevented for the future, you will upon reasonable satisfaction, slight any former misdemeanor. This I say to you with a very good intent, and I know will be no otherwise understood by you. And so renewing and redoubling my most cordiall thanks, my most earnest prayers, and my most true love and service to and for you all, I remain, as long as I live,

Gentlemen, my most worthy Friends,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, July 20, 1663.

A similar Letter with the last was sent to Trinity House—now first printed. The Light-house claims and counter-claims and squabbles are still pestering all concerned. The ‘Mr. John Rushworth’ is he of the “Collections.” He was Clerk-Assistant to the House of Commons. See Pepys (ii. 67, 79, 201.) ‘Mr. Secretary Morrice’ was Sir William Morris, Secretary of State from 1660 to 1668: died 1676. Incidentally—as here—there are innumerable evidences that Marvell was familiar and influential with the foremost men of the State. There was no pretence or fuss, but his impress was deep and absolute: Who of the Talkers carried such power in the House or out of it as this silent, undemonstrative man?

LETTER XLVII. TO THE SAME.

‘London, July 20, 1663.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I am this day beginning my long voyage to Archangel, and so forward, which I do with his Majestye’s good liking, by leave from the House and with the assent of our Bench. I have had always a very particular and deserved respect for your worthy

Society, and notwithstanding all the engagements that ly upon me to this journey so advantageous to myselfe upon all respects and not unusefull to the publick, could I imagine that therein the affairs of your House could receive any detriment, I would absolutely desist from this undertaking. But as in my last return from Holland, which I did much more willingly to prevent any possible damage to your businesse, I witnessed how litle I esteemed mine own occasions when yours and the town's were in balance ; though the event shows that I might have been dispensed with, and that my return hath only served as a more particular providence and blessing of God upon me in my so faithfull and upright intentions ; so neither do I now go abroad againe but with a probability of coming back before your opposers can have any hope of effecting their former pretensions. But truly I thinke as I have told you formerly that they have but litle heart to stir in it any more and you will do well also to seem for awhile to have forgotten the businesse. There will not be wanting those who will upon the first ripenesse of opportunity do you service. But if you should find in my absence that anything should be attempted anew (there cannot before the next sitting of Parliament) be pleased to write to Mr. Secretary Morrice mentioning me in the businesse, and if Mr. Cresset's health should serve him, write to Mr. John Rushworth of Lincoln's Inne to follow the businesse. In the meantime I thinke you may do well to recall the rest of your mony, which upon a word to my nephew will be returned you, having laid all this while in Alderman Bakewell's hand for your occasion. I have no more time left to spin out in words the kindness which I acknowledge from you and beare to you ;

neither though I had leisure can it easily be expressed.
I pray God be with you as with myselfe who am,
Gentlemen, &c.,

Your most affectionate friend,
ANDR. MARVELL.

There follows a long gap in the Correspondence, the next Letter passing from 'July 20. 1663' to October 15, 1665'—Capt. Thompson erroneously dating the latter '1663.' One Letter from the Duke of Albermarle (never printed) on the Light-house 'business' that bulks so largely in this Correspondence demands a place here, being in various ways of interest.

To the Warden and Society of Trinity House,
in Hull

these For his Majesty's service,
Albermarle, Hull.

GENTLEMEN,

I am informed there are some differences between your Society of Trinity House and the Society of Merchants Hall in Lo[ndon]. And am of opinion that the advantages that either side will gett of the other, will not coutervaile the damage that the wholl town will susteine by the contest. And since his Majesty had been lately soe graciously pleased to confirme your and their Charters, I think it wilbee very vnseemely for you or them to endeavour the destruction of the others charter, for if either or both have exceeded their charter, it will be wisdome for to conceale it, and leave discovery thereof to bee a worke [of their enemyes and not of their neighbours and friends. But I would advise and desire you to come to an agreement among yourselves, as I doe them alsoe. And that neither side stand too peremptorily vppon what they suppose their due.

but that some condescensions and abatements be made for peace sake. And that if yet any thing bee too hard for you and them to agree among yourselves, lett it be referred to some indifferent person for putting an end to your difference.

I remaine,

Yor very affectionate friend,

ALBERMARLE.

Cockpitt, 14 January, 1664.

The last two Letters announce our Marvell's departure 'from Gravesend'—this being his forthgoing as Secretary to Lord Carlisle when this nobleman was sent as ambassador-extraordinary to Russia, Sweden and Denmark. As already stated in our Memorial-Introduction (Vol. I. p. xlvii.) Hartley Coleridge and all the Biographers have lamented that no record had been kept of this famous Embassy, and so no light fetched from it on the 'Life of Marvell.' The lamentation—it may be repeated—was a natural and perhaps excusable one. But if, instead of lamenting, they had 'searched,' they would have found—as first told by me—in one of good trusty John Harris's folios of Travels and Voyages—worthy to mate with Hakluyt—a 'true and particular account' of the successive embassadorial 'Journeys' and audiences, and packed-full with State-documents, State-addresses, narratives of interviews, and negotiations; amusing scholarly controversies on the use of words (Latin and English) between high dignitaries and Marvell; in short a whole mine of unused materials. Since I wrote this I have discovered a very much earlier and authoritative account—from which indeed without acknowledgment Harris must have drawn his 'true and particular account' in his "*Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca*" (2 Vols. folio 1705: Vol. ii. pp. 177-204; 205-13) viz. the following:

A RELATION Of Three EMBASSIES

From his Sacred *MAJESTIE*

CHARLES II

TO THE

Great Duke of MUSCOVIE,
The King of SWEDEN, and
The King of DENMARK.

Performed by the Right Honble. the

EARLE of CARLISLE

in the Years 1663 & 1664.

Written by an Attendant on the Embassies,
and published with his L^{PS} Approbation.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *John Starkey* at the *Miter* in *Fleet-*
street near *Temple-Barr.* 1669.

[cr. 8vo.]

This hitherto unknown book is dedicated by its anonymous Author G. M., to the Earl of Carlisle, and annexed to the Epistle to the Reader is his 'Approbation' thus :

"Having seen the Relation of my Embassies into Muscovy, Sweden, and Denmark, written by G. M. I do hereby give him leave to print and publish the same.

Carlisle.

The 30. of November 1663.

There must have been obstacles in the way of publication for the Licence by L'Estrange is dated 'March 26. 1669.'

This 'Relation' bears the stamp of truth throughout, and abounds with the most graphic sketches—told simply and unpretentiously—of the several countries and celebrities. Turning to it I have here to select such notices of Marvell as occur and to reproduce the Letters and other documents which as Secretary he was called upon to prepare—referring the 'curious Reader' to the book itself for all other details, many exceedingly amusing. The first mention of Marvell is in the opening account "Of the Ambassador's Voyage and of his entry into the town of Archangel" and it is as follows: "If our Voyage was full of troubles and disasters, I dare on the other side affirm, there was scarce ever so happy as the Ambassador's. For without mentioning the advantage and convenience of his ship, I shall only relate, that whereas we spent seven compleat weeks betwixt London and Archangel, his Excellencie made the whole Voyage of seven hundred and fifty leagues, in less than a month: for, having set saile from Gravesend the 22. of July, which was eight daies after us, he arrived the 19. of August at the Barr of Archangel, which was seventeen daies before us. And there it was his Frigat came first to an anchor, in expectation of orders for his entry, for which reason he *sent Mr. Marvel his Secretary into the town.* Of whose landing the Governour having notice, ordered him to be conducted by six gentlemen to the Castle, through a regiment of six hundred men, and the next day he sent sixteen boats, guarded by several hundreds of men, under the command of a Collonell, to receive his Excellence, and bring him ashore" (p. 23).

There were many 'rudenesses and incivilities' in the progress toward the capital of Muscovy (=Russia) which G. M. narrates with all gravity yet not without touches of dry humour. From first to last the officials seem to have had such a conception of

their 'Tzar' as compared with every other potentate, that they evidently reckoned it simple right to assert their own infinite 'dignity.' The Ambassador was invariably self-respecting and if perhaps over-punctilious o' times bore himself worthily as the representative of England. The 'squabbles' and oppositions I must of necessity over-pass, except as they introduce Marvell. One Nestroff ('Pristaff') was peculiarly offensive at Vologda where the embassy 'continued three months contrary to his Excellencie's design, who was to pass immediately to Mosco as soon as it was possible for him to travail in sledges' (p. 95). Time was going and 'the ways passable' but still the 'Pristaff' delayed preparations and neglected suitable 'accommodation.' Hereupon we read—again introducing Marvell—

"Our devotions at Christmas being over, my Lord Ambassador made all necessary preparations for our voiage from Vologda to Mosco. In order to which he sent to Nestrof to desire that he might have good sledges chiefly for his gentlemen, and that the same might attend them quite through his journey to spare the trouble of changing them by the way. But this demand was presently rejected by Nestrof, who had been will pleased if all his Excellencie's retinue would have marched on foot. His answer was, he could not furnish him with any but the ordinary sledges, which are commonly very thin and split in their sides. Upon this answer my Lord Ambassador *dispatched his Secretary to him, who told him freely it was most undecent to have persons of quality worse accommodated for their confidence in the care of the Tzar, so great a monarch, than if they had been at their own charges.* He replied they might do as they pleased, no body hindered them from takeing their own course. And thereupon he declared that his Excellence had no reason to complain, that his Tzarskoy Majesty had done him extraordinary honor in sending a person of his quality so far to conduct

him to Mosco. To which *the Secretary replied, that my Lord Ambassador acknowledged his quality, but that he never thought it so great, that he and his associate ought to prefer themselves before him as they had done at their first visit.* But after all this expostulation his Excellence was constrained to provide himself of sledges at his own charges." (pp. 105-6).

The 'Journey' was very tedious and trying. It is necessary to give in full the narrative of the final 'incivility' in order to understand the subsequent Letters and State-Papers. Therefore here it is :

"On the third of February as soon as we were arrived at the Yaws, his Excellence got his coach ready, and put himself immediately into a condition of making his solemn entry into Mosco. In the mean time the tediousness of our Journey past, the ill lodging we met with in so little a village, and the happy repose we promised our selves in Mosco, made us impatiently to expect the hour of our departure. At length the fifth of that month was appointed for the Ambassador's reception, as Nestrof had acquainted his Excellence the day before, advising him to have all things ready by nine a clock the next morning, which according to the Moscovite accout was the third hour of the day. Accordingly the liveries were immediately given out to those that were to wear them, and the gentlemen put themselves with all speed into a very good equipage, so that all were ready at the hour appointed. Our liveries were so rich, and so well trim'd, that the pages' liveries amongst others cost near thirty pound sterling a piece, being almost covered quite over with silver lace. Each of them had a good plume of feathers in his hat, and in short there was nothing in all this equipage unworthy the greatness of the Master.

This was in part the condition in which his Excellence was to make his entry on the 5. of February, for which all things were in readiness by nine of the clock in the morning. But the hour being come we had no orders for our departure, in so much that there we lay languishing in a tedious expectation till four a clock in the evening. His Excellence having dispatched his cooks to Mosco in the morning to prepare his dinner in the house that was assigned him there, we were constrained to remain all that day without provisions, because we expected every moment to be gone. In the mean time no body knew what to make of this dis-order; Nestrof himself was amazed and could not imagine the reason, unless it was that the Tzar was a-sleep, and no body durst wake him. At length about half an hour before night, the messengers arrived with orders for our departure when we were in despair of making our entry. The Ambassador was much surprised at it, and could not imagine what their designe should be to receive him in the night, in so much, that he represented to Nestrof that it was not the custome to receive ambassadors in that manner. However orders being come, and we tyred with an extream impatience all day of removing from those Wisbies, [=lodgings] he prepared to depart, and expose all his pomp and splendor to the darkness of the night." (pp. 113-14).

Further:

"Of the solemne entry of the Ambassador into Mosco."

"The glory of princes is in some proportion like the glory of the sun, and suffers its eclipses, the disorders and irregularities of their officers many times intercepting the rays of their glory. Of this we have

an instance in the condition we were in all that day, contrary to the Tzar's designe, who stayd near four houres with the empress or great dutchesse at one of the gates of the town, to see the splendor of this Embassy which was to be more particularly illustrious at this entry. But those who were the contrivers of this so great miscarriage, were the cause also of that which happened after our setting forth, and which his Excellence resented with great indignation; which was the deferring of our entry till the next day, after we had advanced a good part of our way, and arrived within sight of the town. For it being very late, and the night overtaking us whenas of five versts we had past but two, his Tzarskoy Majesty thought good his Excellence should retire, and send orders to Nestrof to conduct him into a little village on the left hand, to the end the Ambassador might from thence make his entry the next morning in good time. We had already in some manner presaged this disorder when we took notice how we were lead thorough by-ways, and that they had by designe drawn us out of the high way. For which cause the Ambassador reflecting upon the ill treatment he had received that day: and imagining this delay would become every where a matter of laughter and contempt, he was so farr transported, that he resolved and protested not to make his entry until he had lawful reparation thereupon. And to testify the resentment he had of this affront, he commanded his trumpets should be silent. Thus this day, which should have been a day of pomp and magnificence, proved a day of fasting, of trouble and discontent; this day in which his Excellence ought to have received the extraordinarie marks of the greatest amity that ever was betwixt two crownes, was a day

in which he received but the tokens of indignity and contempt. True it is, the Ambassador was no sooner arrived at the village we were retired to by order of the great Duke, but a Diack (whose name was Loukian Golozof) arrived from to him excuse this disorder, and accordingly he alledged that the messengers that were sent with the 'orders for our departure had imprudently lost their way, and that his Majesty judging it inconvenient his Excellence should make his entry so late, he thought good to defer him till the next morning, that he might give him a reception suitable to his character. But the Ambassador being assured that this wandering of the Messengers was but a pretence (for he was otherwise informed, that all this happened because they were not ready to receive him) he was so farr from being satisfied with the apology, that he was disgusted at the very person of the Diack, and told him that without any reflection upon him, it had been more becomming to have sent a person of greater quality than he was of, to excuse such proceedings. In the mean time our cooks were sent back, who brought us some provision along with them, to recover those spirits we had lost that day for want of victuals." (pp. 115-17).

The Ambassador was decisive in his action: for we read that "The next day in the morning his Excellency apprehending Golozof might have either disguised or concealed his answer, *he commanded his Secretaire to draw up a letter in writing to the Tzar*, in which he should inform him of the principal circumstances of this disorder, and intimate his resolution not to stir from thence, till some correction were given to the authors and instruments of it. The Letter was in these termes" (p. 117). The Letter is given in both Latin and English and they claim a place in the Correspondence. They are reproduced *literatim*:

“Illustrissime atque Excellentissime Imperator.

Novum hoc et inusitatum ad Imperatoriam Vestram Majestatem scribendi, antequam optatissimo ejus conspectu frui liceret consilium expressit hesternæ diei infortunium, dicam an opprobrium. Quippe post tot in itinere à Vologda moras, et tertiæ diei quatuor tantum ab aulâ vestrâ Imperatoriâ milliaribus expectationem, quum multò manè surrexissem et *Offonarii Evan Vizy Nestroj* monitu, ante horam diei *tertiam ad iter me comparassem; ultra decimam tamen inter fumosi gurgustii sordes et angustias sine cibo aut potu detentus marcebam et macerabar. Quæ quidem omnia, quamvis Serenissimi Regis mei Majestate, Imperatorio Vestro Fastigio, et nostrâ Dignitate indignissima, utcunque Metropolin Vestram intrandi, et ad Majestatem vestram Imperatoriam appropinquandi, et justissimas querelas nostras exponendi spe tolerabam. Tandem quum jam advesperasceret, signum proficiscendi datum. Tunc verò postquam (quod ignes fatui solent) per camporum et noctis errores me circumduxissent pronuntiatur in ignobili hoc Pago ubi cum omnibus incommodis et (honor sit auribus) cum vilissimis inectis conflictor pernoctandum. Accepi quidem ab Imperatoriâ vestrâ Majestate per quendam Procancellarium nuntium humanissimum, qui rem excusaret et in Angarorum et Veredariorum negligentiam culpam derivaret. Cui ego tunc quidem respondi et idem jam, ne optimo homini per viam aliquid interciderit, ad Majestatem vestram Imperatoriam perscribo, me Imperatoriæ vestræ Majestati quàm maximas gratias persolvere et nullo modo de humanitate vestradubitare; sed neque hanc rem tam parvi momenti esse, ut tam facilè dilui possit et deleri; Neque ab Angaris aut Veridariis procul dubio hoc crimen profectum, sed ab aliis qui majori in ministerio eodem tamen in numero haberi mereantur; Neque tam impune serenissimi Regis mei honori, Imperatoriæ Vestræ Majestati, aut nostræ Dignitati posse illudî, Serenissimum Regem meum, qui summus et præcipuus est Imperatoriæ Vestræ Majestatis Amicus, ne quidem Inimicorum multò minùs Amicorum Legatos ità accipere; Et si modò aliquid hujusmodi in suo Regno evenire potuisset serenissimum Regem meum (quod sine Procancellarii ignominia dicitur) nobilissimum e Magnatibus aliquem missurum fuisse qui rem excusaret, neque antea destitutum priusquam reorum sanguine quanta-

* Tertia diei hora apud *Moscovitas* tum erat nobiscum circiter nonam Primam enim (ut prius affirmavi) numerant horam ab Oriente sole.

cunque gratiâ aut nobilitate pollentium tam barbarum and inhumanum facinus expurgasset; Rem hanc fabulæ and ludibrio toti mundo futuram; Me igitur quamvis Imperatoriæ Vestræ Majestatis conspectu fruendi cupientissimum, et in hoc loco pessimè habitum, nullo tamen modo hinc exiturum, donec de eorum corio mihi satisfaceret quicunque quantum in se erat Serenissimi Regis mei Majestatem, Imperatoriam Vestram Majestatem, et Sanctissimam Legatorum dignitatem violassent proculcassent profanassent. Hæc uti facta et dicta erant Imperatoriæ Vestræ Majestati exposui, ut in gravissimo hoc negotio quod Imperatoriâ Vestrâ magnitudine et prudentiâ dignum est constituere possit. Interpreti meo mandavi ut responsum Vestrum Imperatorium in hâc re expectaret. De cætero Imperatoriæ Vestræ Majestati summam fælicitatem voveo et exopto.

6. Februarii Anno Dni. 1664.

CARLISLE.

The Superscription was thus; Magno Domino Imperatori, et Magno Duci Alexio Michailovicio totius magnæ minoris et albæ Russiæ Autocratori, et multarum aliarum Ditionum et Regionum Orientalium Occidentalium et Septentrionalium, Hæredi earum à Patre et Avis, Domino et Monarchæ.

Most Illustrious and most Renowned Prince and
Emperour,

This new and unaccustomed resolution of writing to your Imperial Majestie, before I have the most desired Honour of being admitted to Your Majesties presence, is occasioned by a misfortune, if not an indignity which hapned to me Yesterday. After a tedious Journey from *Vologda*, and three Days waiting at the distance only of four miles from Your Imperial Court, when I had risen very early, and according to the advertisement of *Offonarius Evanovitsius Nestrof*, had fitted my self for my Journey; nevertheless, I was constrained to languish till after Ten without any manner of refreshment, in the confinement and dirt of a smoaky Cottage. All which things, though most unworthy the Majestie

of the King my Master, Your Imperial Grandeur, and my particular Character, I patiently sustained with the hope however of Entering Your Imperial City, and approaching the presence of Your Imperial Majestie, and declaring my just complaints. At length, when Night was now at hand, notice was given for our setting forwards. And after the Guides had, like *Ignes fatui*, mislead me up and down the Fields, in the Night, it was signified to me, that I must quarter in this pitiful Village, amidst all kind of inconveniences, and swarms of troublesome Insects. I confess I received from Your Imperial Majestie by a certain Vice-chancellor, a very courteous Message, excusing the matter, and charging the fault upon the negligence of the Guides and Posts. I then answered him, and write the same now to Your Imperial Majestie, lest the good man may have forgotten something by the way, That I give Your Imperial Majestie very great thanks, and no wise doubt of your Generosity; but that the thing is not of so small importance, as to be blown off so easily; That the fault proceeded not from the Posts or Messengers, but from others of greater Quality perhaps, though but of equal merit: That affronts done to the Honour of the King my Master, Your Imperial Majestie, or my self ought not to go unpunished, That the King my Master, who is Your Imperial Majesties highest and chiefest Friend, gives not such Reception to the Ambassadors of Enemies, much less to those of Friends; And that in case any such thing should happen in his Kingdom, the King my Master would have sent some person of the highest Nobility to excuse it (which I speak without reproach to the Vice-chancellor) and not desisted till he had expiated so barbarous and inhumane an action

with the blood of the Criminals, of whatever quality or consideration; That this proceeding would give cause of talk and laughter to the whole World; That therefore, however desirous I was of approaching of Your Imperial Majestie, and ill accommodated in this place; yet I should not stir from it till satisfaction were given me upon the Persons of those, who as much as in them lay had violated and affronted the King my Master, Your Imperial Majestie, and the sacred Character of Ambassadors. I have related these things to Your Imperial Majestie, as they were done and spoken; to the end, that You may make such determination in this most weighty business as shall be suteable to your Imperial Grandure and Prudence. I have commanded my Interpreter to wait for your Majestie's answer in this matter. And I wish and imprecate to your Imperial Majestie all Happiness.

Carlisle." (pp. 118-126).

This dignified and self-respecting Letter "was scarce given when Demente Bashmacof Diack of the Great Duke's Cabinet, arrived at the Ambassador's wisby from the Tzar" and "he acquitted himself of his message to his Excellence so well, that having promised him all manner of satisfaction, he prevailed with him upon those termes to make his entry immediately" (p. 126). The entry followed with much 'pomp and circumstance' but not without violations of etiquette and provocations. Arrived and 'lodged' in 'Mosco' the 'audience' and 'giving of presents' were prepared for; and after considerable detail, comes this: "In the Ambassador's sledg *there was the Secretary* and the chief interpreter standing and uncovered, *the Secretaire* carrying in his hands upon a yard of red damaske his Letters of Credence written in parchment, whose superscription contained all the titles of the Tzar in letters of gold" (p. 146). Stately and ceremonious was the 'audience' vouchsafed by "Alexy Michailovitz great Duke of Muscovie." G. M. describes it with the vividness and quaintness of Pepys himself. We are mainly concerned with the Speech which the

Ambassador delivered to the Tzar, which was drawn up by 'the Secretary' that is, Marvell. I deem it well to preserve it together with the introduction of our worthy Narrator; thus:

" My Lord Ambassador made a low reverence to his Majestie assoon as he was entred into the Hall, the throne being opposite to the door; then he advanced some paces, and stopping at the pillar in the midst of the Hall, he made him a second, then being ready to speak, made him a third, and saluted him in the behalf of his Master the King of England in these words: The most Serene and most Puissant Prince Charles the Second by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To You the most high, most potent, and most illustrious Prince, great Lord, Emperour, and Grand Duke Alexey Michailovitz of all the great, little, and white Russia, self-upholder, of Moscovie, Keavie, Volodimerie, Nofgorod, Emperour of Cazan, Emperor of Astracan, Emperour of Siberia, Lord of Pscove, great Duke of Lituania, Smolensco, Twersco, Volinsco, Podolsko, Ughorsco, Permsco, Veatsco, Bolgarsco, &c. Lord and Great Duke of Nofgorod in the Lower Countries, of Chernigo, Rensansco, Polotsco, Rostosco, Yerostafscó, Beloozarsco, Oudorsco, Obdorsco, Condinsco, Wetepscó, Mstisclaaco, and all the northern parts, Lord of the Country of Iversco of the Tzars of Cartalinsco, and of Gruzinsco, and of the country of Cabardinsco, of the Dukes of Chercasco, and Igorsco, Lord and Monarch of several other dominions, and provinces, East, West, and North, of which he is heir from father to son, by me Charles Earle of Carlisle, Vicomte Howard of Morpeth, Baron Dacre of Gillesland, his Majestie's Lieutenant in the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, one of his Majestie's most honourable Privy

speech
made
Marvell

Council, and his Extraordinary Ambassador sendeth greeting, and hath commanded me to deliver these Letters (being his Letters Patents which he held in his hand) to your imperial Majestie. Which words being with a loud voice explained by his Interpreter which stood by his Excellencie's side, the Ambassador advanced towards the Throne to present the Letter, which he immediately delivered into the hands of his Chancellor.

His Excellence returning to his place, the Tzar rose up, and the Boyars doing the like all of them at the same time, their vests of tissue made such a russling one against another, that we were something amuzed at the suddenness of the noise. Then after a short silence, his Majestie began to speak, and to enquire of the Ambassador concerning the King's health, but there being a too great distance between the Tzar and his Excellence, the Chancellor had the care of coming to the Ambassador, and repeating what the Tzar had said. To which the Ambassador returned answer in these termes. The most serene and mighty Prince Charles the Second, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. was through the mercy of the omnipotent God in perfect health upon the twentieth day of July, in the year of our Lord 1663, when I had last the honour to kiss his Royal hands at my departure. This answer being interpreted to the Tzar, he arose again, and enquired concerning the Queen Mother in these words, How doth the desolate widow of that glorious martyr Charles the First? To which the Ambassador having in like manner replied, began the following Speech, of which he had a copy in English, and his Interpreter another in the Muscovian language. As he spoke it, every period

was interpreted apart, so that when his Excellence had concluded one sentence, the interpretation succeeded before he began the next, which was conceived the properest way to entertain their attentions. Therefore the Ambassador and his Interpreter were obliged to read from time to time, and to observe punctually their several periods. This harangue was also translated into Latine, of which translation, because we shall have occasion to speak, I shall make no difficulty to insert a copy in this place, the style being besides sufficiently elegant.

Illustrissime atque Excellentissime Princeps Imperator,

Pervenit nuper ad Serenissimam suam Majestatem Dominum meum Clementissimum perhonorifica Legatio, cujus quidem splendor uti magnificentiâ tanti Principis unde est profecta dignissimus extitit, ita & argumentum Ei ad quem missa est longè erat gratissimum. Vtpote quo, præter optatissimum de prosperâ valetudine Vestrâ & rebus secundis nuncium, gratulatio quoque de lætissimo Ejus in Regna sua Reditu, & summâ Serenissimæ suæ Majestatis felicitate, Commemoratio antiquæ inter Agustissimos Utriusque Majores amicitiae, & perseverantia Vestra in eâdem colendâ atque in futurum augendâ continerentur. Itaque inæstimabilis ille intimi animi Vestri affectus tam luculentæ Legationis honore expressus & illustratus instar gemmæ clarissimæ videbatur, cui postquam Natura ultimam manum imposuit perfectissima quoque artis politura accessit. Vel, ut de nuncio tam opportuno dicam quod *Salomon* Regum prudentissimus de verbo commodè dicto, *erat velut aurea mala cum figuris argenteis*. Unum tamen est de quo Serenissima sua Majestas cum Majestate Vestrâ Imperatoriâ & meretissimò quidem conqueritur, præoccupatum sese beneficio & Majestatem Vestram Imperatoriam præripuisse sibi, ne (quod semper animo destinaverat) Majestatem Vestram Imperatoriam eâ celebritate & pompâ quæ summan Utriusq; amicitiam deceret & dignitatem primus salutaret. Ego verò, si tantulum à Domini mei Serenissimi sententiâ dissentiri liceret, dum Utriusque pares annos, communes rationes, adeoque consimilia studia atque affectus considero, Neutri Vestrâ priores in hoc officio partes tribuendas sed in excellentissimis Amborum mentibus easdem causas uno momento

eandem utrobique Voluntatem excitasse crediderim. Sed & astrorum, quorum fulgores Majestatum Vestrarum lucem optimè adumbrant, efficacitas pro variâ corporum intermediorum naturâ suspenditur & retardatur: Nec amici, quorum nobilissimum exemplar in Majestatibus Vestris resplendet, tam commodam & opportunam rationem hactenus inire potuerunt, ut absentes mutua mentis sensa condicerent, & pariter repræsentarent. Quum igitur alteri necessariò de tempore concedendum esset, Serenissima sua Majestas minùs laborat quod eò se præverterit Imperatoria Vestra Majestas, dum ne (quod nunquam fieri patietur) constantiâ etiam & sinceritate affectûs Ipsum antecedit. Neque verò gravatur Serenissima sua Majestas, uti solet inter amicos, rationem consilii sui reddere, & justissimis suis excusationibus adversus Majestatem Vestram Imperatoriam uti, solam nempe negotiorum domesticorum molem obstare potuisse quo minus honorem hunc, quo dum Majestatem Vestram Imperatoriam afficit Se ipsum impertit, maturiùs Majestati Vestræ Imperatoriæ deferret; Et quum compluribus Principibus sibi propioribus eodem beneficio prior esset obligatus Se tamen interposuisse omnibus Majestatis Vestræ Imperatoriæ remunerationem, utpote Neminem benevolentia & amore magis propinquum haberet; Se deniq; ab omni tam debiti officii dilatione tantùm abfuisse, ut occasionem modò idoneam persolvendi illud Majestati Vestræ Imperatoriæ captaverit. Quamvis enim Serenissima sua Majestas non soleat ex syderum motu consilia sua suspendere, aut ex Cœlorum ordine de rerum suarum successu supersticiosè hariolari, solet tamen ex Omnipotentis Dei nutu totus pendere & ad ejus cœlorum ejusdem & Regiæ felicitatis authoris significationes actiones suas (ut ità dicam) modulari. Postquam igitur divfnâ Benignitate in plenissimâ eorum omnium possessione Se constitutum vidisset quæcunque summam ornare possent fortunam & cumulare, hoc tandem uti auspicatissimum tempus elegit quo potissimum Imperatorem tam Illustrem Fratrem Amantissimum, & Charissimum Amicum salutaret, & Majestati Vestræ Imperatoriæ eandem vel si fieri possit majorem etiam felicitatem auguraret. Quum enim in his tribus, Hostium Terrore, Subditorum Obsequio & Amicorum multitudine atque constantiâ præcipuum Regalis Solii firmamentum & robur consistat, liceat omnino affirmare Serenissimum Regem meum, qui in rebus adversis admirandum undequaque virtutis & fortitudinis suæ specimen dederit, nunc etiam è contrario ad miraculum usque melioris fortunæ esse evectum. Quod enim Inimicos attinet nemo inventus

est qui recentem Ejus felicitatem interpellare voluerit, præter infames istos Prædones Africanos Christiani Nominis & Humani generis hostes, quos igitur quamvis bis mille passuum millibus distantes in illa sua spelunca Algeriensi obsedit; Naves eorum partim depressit, captivos liberavit, & piratas nefarios suis conditionibus in posterum astrinxit. Subditi autem Sui tam diu Tyrannorum & Perduellium vi & artibus decepti atque oppressi, postquam eorum supplicio manus commodassent, eò alacriores in Clementissimi Regis sui fidem redierunt & eluerunt antiquâ obedientiâ nupcræ Rebellionis maculam. Quoad Amicos denique uti cum nullo Principe Christiano inimicitias exercet, itâ vix Ullus est Eorum qui non honorificentissimè per Legatos Eum appellaverit, & in arctioris necessitudinis nexum accipi petierit, eâ ante omnia pactione interpositâ (quod etiam fecerunt) ut sicubi in Eorum Ditionibus delitescerent execrabiles illos fugitivos & parricidas dederent, qui Gloriosissimi Parentis Sui sanguine manus cruentassent. Si verò super hæc de Imperii sui magnitudine disserere liceret hæreditariis quæ ab Augustissimis suis Majoribus crevit in Europâ Regnis alias etiam in Africâ, Asiâ, atque Americâ Provincias Ipse subjunxit, & hodierni Imperii fines protulit, ultrâ quàm priorum infortuniorum rumor pervaserit. Disjunctissimas illas Regiones Oceano tanquam Ponte Suo continuat, & Naves Suæ (quoties Ei videtur) ad remotissimos Orbis habitabilis fines mobilem Imperii sui limitem circumferunt & transmittunt. Quamvis autem hæc Ditionum laxitas animi sui magnitudini consentanea videatur, Subditorum regimen prudentiæ & justitiæ Suæ proprium existat, & hostium subjectio tantæ fortitudini insuavis esse nequeat: Ille tamen utpote utriusq; fortunæ vicibus exercitatus, etiam victoriam fastidire posset uti sanguine commixtam, & regimen potiùs relaxare quàm humani generis libertatem nimis circumscribere: imò quantumvis ampla Imperii spatia, tamen angustiora sunt capacissimæ mentis meditationibus quibus Deum Optimum Maximum horum omnium datorem complectitur. Nec tamen hisce omnibus quæ per se præclara sunt atque eximia victoriâ dominatu possessionibus tantùm sibi placet quantum amicitiarum fide atq; constantiâ. Ipse enim quantus est totus à Naturâ factus & ab Experimentiâ educatus est ad amicitiam. Neque ego tam imperfectâ narratione res aded conspicuas & pervagatas perstrinxissem, nist hæc præsentis Suæ magnitudinis commemoratio Eum uri Amicum tantò præstantiorem commendaret, & cum gratitudinis argumento esset conjuncta

quam erga Amicos suos profitetur, quorum ope res Suæ adversæ tolerabiliores olim reddebantur, & qui nunc etiam verissimum saporem & gustum meliori Suæ fortunæ conciliant. Et in Eorum numero quis est qui Majestati Vestræ Imperatoriæ non dicam anteferri sed omnino cum Ea conferri mereatur? Sive enim Principis Majestatem, sive antiquitatem amicitiae, sive recentia beneficia æstimemus, nulla est arbor quæ aut viridiorem & latiore umbram porrexerit, aut altiores radices egerit, aut fructus uberiores & suaviores ediderit. Solet sæpe numero Majestas sua Serenissima inter Nos qui semper Ei proximi regionum sermonum oracula captamus, non sine summâ sua voluptate narrare, ut ante centum annos ex Augustissimis Suis Majoribus unus *Edwardus Sextus* heroico incæpto classem & homines emisit, ut in Mundi fines inquirerent, & ignotas adhuc Gentes commercio miscerent. Hi felicissimo successu Maris Septentrionalis, quod ad illa usque tempora impervium credebatur, secreta & sinus pervestigarunt donec uti olim *Israelitas* per eremum clarissimi ignis itâ illos continuæ diei columna per illa Oceani deserta ad Oras Vestras deduxisset. Hos demum verum magnetis usum reperisse dixeris, & acus illa divina tunc primùm quievit invento quem per tot sæcula frustrâ indicaverat Vestro Septentrione. Eluctatis tandem Maris difficultates duplex adhuc restabat nec levius periculum, ne vel in itinere per non minora Terrarum Vestrarum spatia deficerent, vel saltem novâ illâ Majestatis ad quam appropinquabant, & quam extra suam Regionem vix expectaverant, luce percellerentur. Attamen non solùm recreati sunt (prout æquum est) Imperatores qui tunc temporis regnabat humanitate, sed etiam in præmium Commerci ex isto latere Vestri Orbis tunc primùm aperti ea Privilegia à munificentia Ejus acceperunt, ex quibus Utraque Natio non mediocria deinceps commoda & utilitates percepit. Et ab illâ origine hereditaria & sincerissima amicitia mutuis beneficiis exulta à Patre ad Filium usque ad Majestates Vestras jam rerum potientes descendit. Circa idem tempus alios etiam *Europæ* Principes cupido incesserat scrutandi si quid adhuc in lacinioso Naturæ sinu lateret. *Lusitanus* in *Orientali Indiâ* Margaritarum & Aromatum thesauros detexit, nulla tamen aromata quæ suavitate, aut uniones qui candore exæquent, quod præsens *Lusitaniæ* Rex apud Serenissimum Dominum meum deposuit. *Hispanus* autem in *Indiâ Occidentali* Auri & Argenti fodinas occupavit. Adeoque cum nihil dignum Regibus *Angliæ* reliquum videretur, invenerunt tamen quod Principibus nec avaris nec indigis ulterioris Imperii magis placeret, Amicum.

Et solet quidem affirmare Majestas sua Serenissima Illos optimam Omnium sortem traxisse, & nolle se Amicum suum centum annorum cum utriusque *Indiæ* gazâ commutatum. Rationisque loco proprium experimentum subjungit, quandoquidem cùm Subditti sui defecissent, Amici pleriq; (quod solet) tempori cessissent, & Cælum & Terra in ruinam suam conjurâsse viderentur, dum tantùm de felicitate sua consultarent, Imperatoria tamen vestra Majestas non solùm tunc Tyranni preces repulit, & omnibus qui vel minimum contagione istius rebellionis afflati viderentur præsidium suum negavit, sed Ipsum etiam copiis & facultatibus vestris promptè & benevolè sublevavit. Ideoque Serenissima Sua Majestas, uti libentissimè in manus Imperatorii vestri Legati pecunias quas Majestas Vestra Imperatoria Sibi suppeditaverat persolvit, ità semper in Regiæ mentis sacrario depositam retinebit, & adultimam Posteritatem trasmitteat gratissimam omium benefactorum Vestrorum memoriam. Et propter tot causas recentes & super solida ista & antiqua fundamenta, Serenissima sua Majestas in ipsissimis Majestatis Vestræ Imperatoriæ verbis, utpote quibus nulla vel per se magis efficacia vel Serenissimæ suæ Majestatis menti magis consona & conformia esse possint declarat, *Majestatem suam Serenissimam animadverso florentissimo Regnorum suorum statu, & sincerissimo illo amore, amicitia, & frequenti communicatione quæ inter Augustissimum & gloriosæ memoriæ Patrem suum Carolum Primum ab ipso Regni sui principio, & Patrem Vestrum Augustissimum gloriosæ etiam memoriæ Michaellem Phederovicium Imperatorem & Magnum totius Russiæ Ducem viguerunt & inviolata permanserunt, & summâ felicitate & tranquillitate quæ ab illâ causâ in Utriusq; Ditiones redundarunt vehementissimè & ex animo cupere no solùm ejusdem affectûs continuationem, sed etiam propiorem, intimiorem, & firmiorem charissimum & fraternum amorem, amicitiam, & frequentem communicationem cum Imperatoriâ Vestrâ Majestate charissimo suo Fratre & amantissimo ut nihil ultrâ esse possit. Deum denique Optimum Maximum solum suum & Vestrum Regem veneratur, ut Imperatoriæ Vestræ Majestati longam vitam, regimen tranquillum, perpetuas amicitias, & summum Imperatoriæ Fortunæ cumulum addere velit, & largiri ultra omnium immortalium Vestrorum Majorum felicitatem, & Thronum Vestrum Imperatorium æternâ successione augustissimæ stirpis confirmare quoad Solis & Lunæ cursus duraverint.*

Serenissima sua Majestas resalutat etiam humanissimè magnum Principem *Alexium Alexiovicum* Imperii Hæredem,

& magnum Principem *Theodurum Alexiovicium* (**duas illas Imperatoriæ Pharetræ Sagittas, quas in quemcunque gloriosum scopum Imperatoria Vestra Majestas collineare voluerit neutrâ potuerit aberrare, quos Subditi Vestri tanquam duplex pacis suæ Pignus suspiciunt, Inimici uti ancipitem belli Terrorem reformidant*). Diu est quod Serenissima sua Majestas de præclarâ Eorum indole, & virute tam illustri genere dignissimâ inaudiverat. Ideoque valde delectatus est dum è Legatis Vestris intelligeret, Eos erga se ita affectos hâc etiam in re Paternum exemplum tam bene imitari: Quod non solum Ipse Dominus meus Serenissimus pro summo beneficio habet, sed etiam pro thesauro ingenti successoribus suis reservabit (*Certò augurans, duos illos Aquilæ Moscovitici Pullos, qui hactenus ad lucidissimos Majestatis Vestræ Imperatoriæ oculos visus suos exacuunt atque illustant, justâ etiam ætate ad Vestrum exemplum alas commoturos & ad summam evoluturos altitudinem, quò vera virtus & labor indefessus magnanimam Heroum Progeniem provehere unquam & efferre potuerint.*)

Quod ad meipsum denique attinet, uti Serenissima sua Majestas nihil mihi potest imperare quod non novo honore me augeat, ita nullum majorem mihi honorem mandare potuit hâc ad Imperatoriam Vestram Majestatem Legatione. Quum enim ex summâ Serenissimæ suæ Majestatis & Augustissimorum Majorum suorum munificentia multas possessiones & hæreditarios dignitatis gradus sim adeptus (quibus alios tamen mihi exæquare potuissent) absit verbo invidia, præter Solem assiduum illum inter Imperia Vestra Legatum, nemo est qui in hoc munere jure mihi præponi possit aut anteferri. Cùm igitur particeps hactenus & testis Imperatoriæ Vestræ Majestatis gloriæ & serenitatis (quæ augeri usque & perpetuari noveo) factus fuerim, nihil ultra est quod exoptem, nisi ut Majestas Vestra Imperatoria eodem porrò favore me velit dignari ad Serenissimæ suæ Majestatis mandata conficienda, in mutuum Utriusque Imperatoriæ Coronæ commodum & Posterorum utilitatem. Ad quam rem uti omni humillimi officii atque erga Serenissimam suam Majestatem obsequii nexu obstringor, totum animum studium atque industriam meam prout incæptum tam laudabile postulat adhibebo. Neque dubito Majestatem Vestram Imperatoriam vicissim tales Viros delegaturum, qui candore, & affectu, celeritate etiam agendi ad tantum opus maturandum maximè sint idonei.

* Quæ includuntur in istâ Parenthesi, & proximè sequenti, omissa fuerunt in recitatione, Principum absentia causâ.

Most Excellent and most renowned Prince and
Emperour.

His most serene Majesty, my most gracious Lord and Master, hath lately received from Your Imperial Majesty a most honourable Embassage, the splendour of which as it was most worthy the magnificence of so great a Monarch from whom it proceeded, so the subject was most acceptable to Him to whom it was directed. For as much as it contained, together with the most welcome news of the health and prosperity of Your Imperial Majesty, Your joy for His happy restauration to His Kingdoms, your memory of the ancient friendship betwixt the glorious Predecessors of both your Majesties and your own most constant resolution to continue and increase the same for the future. So that the inestimable worth of your Imperial affection being expressed and sett of by the honour of so conspicuous an Embassie, seemed as a Jewel to whose value nothing could be added by Nature and Art, hath appropriated its utmost perfection. Or rather what the wisest of Princes said concerning a word fitly spoken, your seasonable Imperial Message was like 'apples of gold in pictures of silver.' One thing onely his most Serene Majestie complaines of, and not without reason, that your Imperial Majestie hath thereby prevented Him, and whereas he had nothing earlyer in his royal intentions than to have saluted you with that solemnitie which belongs to the greatness of both your Estates and Friendship, that he must now be the last to perform it. Yet doubtlesse, considering the parity of your years, the conformity of your Interests, and consequently the sympathy of both your Inclinations, there was herein neither first nor last betwixt

you, but in one instance the like causes must in your Princely breasts have produced the same resolutions. But even the influence of the cælestial luminaries, those truest emblemes of Majesty, is suspended by the various disposition of inferiour bodies and friends, of whom your Majesties are the best pattern, although they think the same things could never yet invent so punctual an happiness, as to interchange those thoughts at one and the same minute. Seeing therefore the prevention must fall on one side, his most Serene Majestie is content that your Imperial Majestie hath gained the advantage of time npon Him, so that he may not come behind you as he never will in the truth and sincerity of his affections. And therefore as is usual among friends, he hath thought fit to render you a reason of his actions, and to alledge his most just excuses, that nothing but the multiplicity of his Royal domestick affaires could have so long retarded the honour he receives and paies in sending to you : That in order to this Embassage to your Imperial Majesty he hath postponed the return to other Princes nearer to Him, though none have a situation closer to his heart than your selfe, and that he hath been so farr from admitting any delay herein, that he hath only watched the most proper opportunity to acquit himself of so due an Obligation. For though his most Serene Majesty consults not the starrs and the position of the heavens as oft as he would undertake any great action ; yet he asks counsel of Him that is the Creator of them and the first mover of his felicity. And therefore finding himself now stated by His Almighty Grace and Providence in full fruition of all the blessings that can crown a Sovereign head, he hath chosen this as the most fortunate

hour to salute so great an Emperour, Friend and Brother, and to congratulate and augurate to your Imperial Majesty a perpetuity of the same, or, if it may be greater happiness. For if Victory over Enemies, obedience of Subjects, and multitude of Friends be, as doubtless they are, the greatest strength and ornaments of the Regal Throne, certainly his most Serene Majesty having been a miracle of courage and æquanimity in his adverss fortune is at this day a greater miracle of prosperity. For as for Enemies none hath provoked or tried his power, but those infamous Pirates of Algier, Enemies of Christianity and mankind, whom therefore at two thousand miles distance he blocked up in their own dens, destroyed their ships, battered their forts, rescued the captives, and forced those miscreants to his own conditions. For his subjects, they have gladly assisted to the punishment of those Traytors and Tyrants, which so long oppressed and misled them, and with so much more veneration and duty do pay their homage unto their natural most Gracious Sovereign, and have with their ancient loyalty washed out the staines of the late Rebellion. And for Friends as he hath no Christian Prince at enmity with him, so is there scarce any of them but have addressed themselves to him by extraordinary Embassages, and have upon their desires been received into his nearer Alliance, covenanting first to deliver up (as they have done) those detestable fugitives who were imbrued in the blood of his most glorious Father. And if after all these things there were leisure to discourse of the largeness of his Dominions, he hath to his Hereditarie Kingdoms in Europe, Himself added several Provinces in Asia, Africa, and America, beyond whatever was acquired by his

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immortal Ancestors. The Sea is his Bridge betwixt so distant Territories, and as oft as he pleases, his Navies do carry a moveable Frontire to all the habitable world: so that the Fame of his former afflictions hath not been heard so farr as his present Dominions extend. But though the Extent of Empire be consonant to the greatness of his mind, the Government of subjects natural to his Prudence and Justice, and Victory over Enemies must needs be gustable to the height of his Courage, yet he, a Prince so well exercised in the vicissitude of humane affaires, could even disrelish Victory, because it tasts of blood, and relax his Government rather than it should oppress the liberty of mankind, and looks upon whatsoever Extent of Dominion, but as a confinement of those more capacious thoughts wherewith he adores the Author of all these mercies. Nor values he himself therefore so much upon all these things though in themselves excellent and desirable, nor upon the largeness of his Territories, nor the tranquility of his Kingdoms, nor the fortunateness of his Armes, in comparison of the constancy of his Friends. He hath himself been fashioned to it by experience, and is by nature all made up of Friendship. Nor should I have made this defective rehearsal of things so universally known, did not the commemoration of his present Greatness shew him to be the more considerable Friend, and imply the gratitude he professes to those his Friends who formerly made his adversity more tolerable, and do now give the truest season and sweetness to his better fortune. And among all those Friends, who can be preferred, or who indeed is comparable to your Imperial Majesty? For whether his most Serene Majesty consider the

Greatness of the Prince, the ancientness of Alliance, or freshness of Obligations, what tree is there that spreads a deeper root, or sheds a greener shade or beares a fruit more delicious? His most Serene Majesty himself useth with much delight to discourse among us who have the honour to be nearest his Sacred Person, how above an hundred years ago one of his Royal Ancestors, Edward the sixth, did out of an heroical mind man out his ships to trace out the limits of the World, and joyn the most distant and unknown Nations by intercourse. These were they that first discovered the vastness of the Northern Ocean counted till then unnavigable, who, as the Children of Israel with a pillar of fire by night, so were conducted by a pillar of continual day through that wilderness of Waters unto this your Empire. They may justly be said to have invented the true use of the load-stone, and that supernatural needle then first rested, at the finding out of your northern principalities, to which it had pointed in vain for so many ages. Having escaped the hazards of the sea, they were yet in danger twice to be lost, first in the remaining journey through so spacious Dominions, and then in the brightness of that Majesty which they expected not out of their own Country. But they were not only refreshed, as it was seasonable, by the courtesy of the then Emperour, but received moreover from his munificency, and as a reward of the trade then first opened and introduced on that side of your World, those Immunities and priviledges from which thence forward both the Nations have reaped no small Advantage. And ever since a most sincere and hereditary Amity hath been transmitted between the Successors of both Princes

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from Father to Son, unto your Majesties now reigning. 'Twas much about that time that other Princes had sent out their Navies likewise for new discoveries. The Portuguez found out and conquered in the East-Indies the Land of pearls and spices, though none so orient or fragrant as what his present Majesty of Portugal hath deposited by the side of my most Serene Lord and Master. The Spaniard in the West-Indies seized upon the mines of Gold and Silver. So that when nothing of value seemed left for the Kings of England, they found what was more adequate to the desires of Princes who neither needed nor coveted further Empire, a Friend. And his most Serene Majesty is wont to say that his was the best lot of the three, and that he would not change his Friend of an hundred years for the Treasure of both the Indies. And He adds for reason his own Experiment, forasmuch as when his Subjects were generally revolted, His Friends as it is usual most of them failed, and when it seemed that Heaven and Earth had conspired his ruine while they were but contriving his happiness, He was then not only readily assisted by your Imperial Majesty but the addresses of the Usurpers rejected, and your protection withdrawn from all who might seem any way tainted with the infection of that disloyaltie. And therefore his most Serene Majesty, as he hath readily repayed into the hands of your Imperial Ambassador those sums with which you did then pleasure him, so will he always retain deposited in the most sacred recess of his Royal heart, and transmit to his Successors the memory of all these Obligations. And for all these new causes, and upon those good and auncient grounds, his most Serene Majesty declares in your own Imperial words, than

which none could be either more significant in themselves or more consonant to his sense, That his most Serene Majesty taking into consideration the flourishing estate of his Kingdomes, and that intire brotherly love and amity and frequent correspondency which was inviolable held, and continued from the beginning of the Reign of his Royal Father Charles the First of blessed memory, with Your Imperial Father of blessed memory the great Lord Emperour and great Duke Michael Pheoderovith of all Russia self-upholder, and the happiness and tranquillity thereby accruing to both Dominions, doth most earnestly and heartily desire, not only the continuance thereof, but a nearer and dearer and firmer affectionate brotherly love and frequent correspondency with Your Imperial Majestie, His deare and loving Brother, than formerly. For conclusion, wishing and praying to the Omnipotent God, His and Your only King and Sovereign; that he will grant you length of daies, tranquillity of Reign, perpetuity of friendships, and all other Imperial blessings beyond the atchievements of all Your immortal Ancestors, and that there may never want of Your most Illustrious line to sit upon your Imperial Throne, so long as the Sun and Moon endure.

His most Serene Majestie likewise returnes his most affectionate salutations and friendly congratulations to the great prince Alexey Alexevich the Heir of your Imperial Dominions and the great prince Pheodor Alexevich, [Those two Shafts of the Imperial Quiver, which at what so ever glorious marke Your Majestie shall draw them you can miss with neither: those two Pledges of peace to Your Subjects and a double terrour to your Enemies.] His most Serene Majestie had long since heard of their hopefulness and virtues

worthy of so Illustrious a parantage, and therefore was highly delighted to understand by Your Ambassadors that in their affection to Him also they did so well follow their Father's pattern, which he therefore thankfully accepts as an Obligation on Himself and a Treasure for his Successors, [Certainly augurating that those two Sonnes of the Russian Eagle, as they are now sharpening their sight daily at the most clear eyes of Your Imperial Majestie, so will also in due time extend their wings after Your example, and soar to the highest pitch that true virtue and indefatigable labour can carry the magnanimous offspring of Princes.]

And now for what concerns my self, as I can receive no command from His most Serene Majestie my most Gracious Lord and Master, but what places a new honour upon me, so must I acknowledg that in chusing me for this Embassage, He has done me as great an honour as He could command me. For whereas from the supreme munificency of Himself and His immortal Ancestors I have and inherit several possessions and dignities (but of which other men might also be equally capable) may it be spoken without vanity, the Sun only that posts on a daily Embassage betwixt both Your Dominions can justly dispute the precedence with me in this Employment. So that having been thus farr made a partaker and witness of the Glorie and Serenity of Your Imperial Majestie (which may it long continue) I can have nothing further in my wishes than that You will still vouchsafe me the same favour toward the happy expedition of His most Serene Majestie's affaires, for the mutual Advantage of both Your Crowns and the good of posterity. Unto which ends as I am bound by all the Obligations of dutie to my most

Gracious Prince, Lord and Master, so shall I bring all the affection, Zeale and diligence which may befit so laudable an undertaking. In order to which I doubt not but Your Imperial Majestie likewise will appoint me such Commissioners, as shall bring the same candor and inclination, together with that dispatch and expedition which is necessary for the furthering of so great and good a design." (pp. 150-179).

Spite of all this giving and taking of honour, the Ambassador of England forgot not the 'reparation' due for the 'incivility' already referred to. Accordingly we read that certain commissioners were appointed to arrange the matter; whereupon G. M. informs us; "My Lord being come to the room, he and his commissioners sate together, and he delivered them one paper about the reparation promised in his Tzarskoy Majestie's name, before he made his entrance, and another concerning the Restitution of the privileges enjoyed formerly by the English Company" (p. 185). These several documents, as having been prepared by Marvell, follow:

FIRST PAPER.

For as much as the second day after my arrivall at the Yaws, but five versts from this citie, notice having been given me by Offonassie Evanovich Nestrof my Pristaff, that his imperial Majestie expected me the next day (being the fifth of February) in Mosco, and that about nine a clock I should be ready to set forward, I was thereupon before the said houre ready accordingly with all my train and equipage to make my solemn entry into his said imperial citie of Mosco, but was nevertheless detained in a noisome wisby the whole day without meat or drink for my self or attendants; and when at the last, order came to my Pristaff I was, after having been for an houre's time or more led up and down the fields out of the way to the citie, instead of entring into the imperial citie (according to appoint-

ment) lodged in a mean village three miles distant. Which indeed was the same evening in the name of his imperial Majestie excused to me, upon the mistakes of the posts and messengers sent out for direction. Whereupon I thought necessarie to write thence to his imperial Majestie, to inform his said imperial Majestie of what had passed, and of my resolution not to stirr out of that place until satisfaction were given me for so great an indignity as it to me appeared. And forasmuch as before the answer to the said letter, there was (upon the sixth of February) sent from his imperial Majestie to me the Diack of the imperial Cabinet, to desire me by any means to make my entrance the same day: and the said Diack promising that all satisfaction should be given me concerning the said indignitie, I did therefore accordingly make my entry into this citie the said sixth day of February, but have not yet received any sufficient account concerning the occasion, the manner, and the punishment of the said miscarriage, as in so weighty a business appertaines; and forasmuch as by reason of the said miscarriage I was, which I account a damage irreparable, detained one whole day longer from the honor and felicity of seeing his imperial Majestie, and am so much the longer withheld from proposing what I have from the king my Master for the good of both estates; and forasmuch as in the eye and discourse of the whole world, the honour of the King my Master has thereby exceedingly suffered, and will daily more without a satisfaction as publick and notorious as the miscarriage; and forasmuch as otherwise I can give no good account to the King my Master, to whom I am responsible with my head, should I digest any such indignities; I therefore desire that his imperial

Majestie will be pleased to command that a perfect narrative in the most authentick manner of the reason of that disorder, of names of the persons criminal both principals and accessory, and what example of justice his imperial Majestie (who cannot but be most tender of the honor of a Prince, and such a prince as the King my Master) hath shewed upon them, may be delivered to me under the hands and seales of the Lords Commissioners for my justification: Which I do expect with the most vehement impatiency, that I may forthwith proceed into the particulars of that friendly negotiation; In order to which I have leapt over all complaints of lesser moment, as not being come to pick quarrels but to cement the most perfect union that ever hath been betwixt the two crowns, unto which God grant an happy success and perfection.

Given the 13 of February Anno Dni. 1663-4.

CARLISLE. (pp. 185-9).

SECOND PAPER.

Whereas the first foundation of that happy correspondence and great amity betwixt the kings of England and emperours of Russia, was laid in the privileges granted to the English Merchants by the said emperours of Russia, in regard of the trade first introduced by them by the way of Archangel, whereby not only the subjects of both countries, and of this country especially, have reaped great advantages: but also both princes, and particularly the emperours of Russia, in several great affaires of State and otherwise have had further occasion to receive great assistance and effectual testimonies of friendship from one another, his Majestie of England desiring not only to equalize but to excel all his predecessors

in the firmness and strictness of brotherly amity and intire correspondence with his imperial Majestie, and considering that those first foundations, layed by the singular Providence of God and wisdom of the former princes, and which by the duration of so many years have been approved to be most solid and permanent, are therefore the most proper grounds whereon to raise a building of perpetual friendship, hath therefore commanded me, as I do in his name, first of all to desire the restitution of the former privileges, as they were enjoyed in the time of the father of his imperial Majestie, and in the reign of his present imperial Majestie before the taking of them away upon occasion of the late rebellion in England. And these being first granted, his Majestie will further manifest by me the great affection which he bears to his imperial Majestie.

Given the 13 of February Anno Dⁿⁱ. 1663-4.

CARLISLE. (pp. 189-91).

Conferences followed and objection was added to objection, mere frivolous excuses for delay and non-'reparation.' The account is singularly well done; but it belongs to History rather than to Biography or to the Correspondence of Marvell. I limit myself to the Secretary's vindication of the Latinity with which he had clothed the 'message' of 'my Lord Ambassador.' There was vehement rejection of the titles 'Illustrissimus' and 'Serenissimus' as is thus told us:

"After this answer the Commissioners were pleased, as if they had a mind thereby to be revenged of the former reparation required by his Excellencie, to complain also on their side most vehemently of the title, 'most illustrious,' that he had given his Tzarskoy Majestie. This was the occasion and manner of their complaint. Pronchissof, one of the six Commissioners, had of my Lord (upon his desire) a Latin Copy of the Speech said at the first audience,

where indeed he gives the Tzar the title of 'Illustrissimus.' That was the thing that they stickt to, but as to the expression said publickly by word of mouth before the Great Duke himself (which should be thought more offensive) they had the goodness to interpret it in good part, because they gave it a good sense according to their own will. But a writing that was only given to satisfie a man's curiositie, who desired to see it, is now become a very great matter of State; every word of it is examined strictly, as if the whole business were only to pick quarrels. Such was the occasion of the great invective they gave here in writing against *Illustrissimus*, which they take to be much inferiour to the dignity and grandeur of their monarch. Therefore they require of my Lord Ambassador that instead thereof he make use of *Serenissimus*, that he would also acquaint his Royal Majestie with it, whom they desire together to leave off 'most illustrious,' and to write 'most serene,' when it shall be his pleasure to write to their great Lord." (pp. 194-5).

To all this 'the Secretary' enabled the Ambassador to reply, as follows:

"I reply, saith he, that I sent no such paper into the Embassy-office, but upon the desire of his Tzarskoy Majestie's Councillor Evan Offonassy Pronchisssof, I delivered it to him, not being a paper of State, nor written in the English Language wherein I treat, nor put into the hands of the near Boyars and Councillors of his Tzarskoy majesty, nor subscribed by my self, nor translated into Russe by my Interpreter, but only as a piece of curiosity, which is now restored me and I am possessed of it; so that herein his Tzarskoy majestie's near Boyars and

Councillors are doubtless ill grounded. But again I say concerning the value of the words Illustrissimus and Serenissimus compared together, seeing we must here from affaires of State, fall into Grammatical contests concerning the Latin tongue; that the word Serenus signifieth nothing but still and calm; and therefore though of late times adopted into the Titles of great Princes by reason of that benigne tranquillity which properly dwells in the majestick countenance of great Princes, and that venerable stillness of all the Attendants that surround them, of which I have seen an excellent example when I was in the presence of his Tzarskoy majesty, yet is more properly used concerning the calmness of the weather, or season. So that even the night is elegantly called Serena by the best Authors, Cicero in Arato 12. Lucretius l. 1. 29. 'Serena nox;' and upon perusing again what I have writ in this paper, I finde that I have out of the customariness of that expression my self near the beginning said, And that most serene night, &c. Whereas on the contrary Illustris in its proper derivation and signification expresseth that which is all resplendent lightsome and glorious as well without as within, and that not with a secundary but with a primitive and original light. For if the Sun be, as he is, the first fountain of light, and Poets in their expressions (as is well known) are higher by much than those that write in Prose, what else is it when Ovid in the 2. of the Metamorphoses saith of Phoebus speaking with Phaethon, Qui terque quaterque concutiens Illustre caput, and the Latin Orators, as Pliny Ep. 139—when they would say the highest thing that can be exprest upon any subject, word it thus, Nihil Illustrius dicere possum. So that hereby may appear to his Tzarskoy Majestie's near Boyars

and Counsellors what diminution there is to his Tzarskoy Majesty (which farr be it from my thoughts) if I appropriate Serenissimus to my Master and Illustrissimus to Him than which nihil dici potest Illustrius. But because this was in the time of the purity of the Latin tongue, when the word Serenus was never used in the Title of any Prince or Person, I shall go on to deale with the utmost candor, forasmuch as in this Nation the nicety of that most eloquent language is not so perfectly understood, which gives occasion to these mistakes. I confess therefore that indeed in the declination of the Latin tongue, and when there scarce could be found out words enough to supply the modern ambition of Titles, Serenissimus as several other words hath grown in fashion for a compellation of lesser as well as greater Princes, and yet befits both the one and the other. So there is Serenissima Respublica Veneta, Serenitates Electoriæ, Serenitates Regiæ, even as the word Highness or Celsitudo befits a Duke, a Prince, a King, or an Emperour, adjoyning to it the respective quality, and so the word Illustris. But suppose it were by modern use (which I deny) depressed from the undoubted superiority that it had of Serenus in the purest antiquity, yet being added in the transcendent degree to the word Emperour, the highest denomination that a Prince is capable of, it becomes of the same value. So that to interpret Illustrissimus unto diminution is to find a positive in a superlative, and in the most orient light to seek for darkness. And I would, seeing the near Boyars and Counsellors of his Tzarskoy Majesty are pleased to mention the Title given to his Tzarskoy Majesty by his Cesarian Majesty, gladly be satisfied by them, whether ever any Cesarian Majesty writ formerly

hither in High-Dutch, and whether then they styled his Tzarskoy Majesty Durchluchtigste which is the same with Illustrissimus, and which I believe the Cæsar hath kept for Himself. But to cut short, his Royal Majesty hath used the word to his Tzarskoy Majesty in his Letter, not out of imitation of others, although even in the Dutch Letter to his Tzarskoy Majesty of 16. June 1663, I finde Doorluchtigste the same (as I said) with Illustrissimus, but out of the constant use of his own Court, further joyning before it Most High, Most Potent, and adding after it Great Lord Emperour, which is an higher Title than any Prince in the World gives his Tzarskoy Majesty, and as high a Title of honour as can be given to any thing under the Divinity. For the King my Master who possesses as considerable Dominions, and by as high and self-dependent a right as any Prince in the Universe, yet contenting Himself with the easiest Titles, and satisfying Himself in the essence of things, doth most willingly give to other Princes the Titles which are appropriated to them, but to the Tzarskoy Majesties of Russia his Royal Ancestors, and to his present Tzarskoy Majesty his Royal Majesty himself, have usually and do gladly pay Titles even to superfluity out of meer kindness. And upon that reason He added the word most Illustrious, and so did I use it in the Latin of my speech. Yet, that You may find I did not out of any criticisme of honor, but for distinction sake use it as I did, You may see in one place of the same speech Serenitas, speaking of his Tzarskoy Majesty: and I would have used Serenissimus an hundred times concerning his Tzarskoy Majesty, had I thought it would have pleased Him better. And I dare promise You that his Majesty will upon the first

information from me stile him Serenissimus, and I (notwithstanding what I have said) shall make little difficulty of altering the word in that speech, and of delivering it so to You, with that protestation that I have not in using that word Illustrissimus erred nor used any diminution (which God forbid) to his Tzarskoy Majesty, but on the contrary after the example of the King my Master intended and shewed him all possible honor. And so God grant all happiness to His most high, most Potent, most Illustrious, and most Serene Tzarskoy Majesty, and that the friendship may daily increase betwixt His said Majesty and his most Serene Majesty my Master."

Such was concerning this matter my Lord Ambassadors answer, who thought fit also on his side to give them notice (seeing they were so scrupulous about the Tzar's Titles) to use for the King's Majesty the Title of Defender of the Faith, which hitherto they had alwaies omitted. The King my Master, saith he, hath one essential Title, and which He prizes more than those of all his dominions, Defender of the Faith, an immemorial, indubitable, successive Title from his Ancestors, and as alwaies heretofore, so in His last Letter to his Tzarskoy Majesty He useth it; in this Court ever since my coming I think by some inadvertency omitted. I desire that in styling his Majesty my Master, and in all Letters to Him henceforward, it may be inserted according as belongs to him." (pp. 214-20).

The 'Reparation' was only speciously and half-heartedly and most ungraciously rendered; the 'Privileges' were absolutely withheld. The latter led to renewed Speech-making and Letter-writing. The Ambassador ultimately addressed 'the Tzar' in a semi-private audience, and "to give more weight to the matter" he spoke "as if in the King's own person, after he had made a preface from himself" (p. 227).

Of this Speech—which as usual was drawn up by Marvell ‘two copies were given to the Commissioners, one in English and the other in Latin.’ It does not seem expedient to reproduce more than the English version, as follows :

“May it please Your most Potent and most Serene
Tzarsoky Majesty.

Having continued here ten weeks since your Tzarskoy majesty appointed me your near Boyars and Counsellors Commissioners, and finding my self still further off every day from any good success of my Negotiation, I have been forced, as those who cannot get over the violence or winding of the river, to make up to the fountain. Your Tzarskoy majesty is through your so great Dominions the only Fountain of Power and Reason, and as all your subjects ought to humble themselves to your power, so dare I subject my self to your Reason. Forasmuch as it seemes to me that God has given, as to *Solomon*, not only riches and honor to your Tzarskoy majesty, but also an understanding heart; so that as there was none among your Tzarskoy Progenitors before, so neither can any arise after like unto you. Therefore have I desired and obtained this private Audience from your Tzarskoy majesty. And even so did that first and great founder of the Amity betwixt the *English* and *Russian* Crowns; & of the Privileges to the *English* Nation, *Tzar Ivan Basilovich*. So did He use to discourse and converse in private with the Ambassadors of the Kings and Queens of *England*, and by that means, notwithstanding the ill offices of some of his Counsel and the then Lord Chancelour, he took such true measures of his own affaires, that ever since, the mutual friendship and commerce hath continued and flourished betwixt the two Crowns and Nations till your Tzarskoy majesty now reigning.

Neither do I doubt but that I, being come for the said purpose with as sincere intentions betwixt Princes mutually professing much greater affection, shall by God's blessing go away hence from the cleare eyes of your Tzarskoy majesty with as full satisfaction.

For whereas all other great Princes without any notice from his Royal majesty took care to follow him into his Kingdoms with Extraordinary Ambassages of Congratulation, the King my Master out of his singular kindness and affection did to your Tzarskoy majesty alone, of all the Princes in Christendom write first the tenth of *May* 1661. before You had sent your Ambassadors, to inform You of His happy Restauration & acknowlege your Tzarskoy majestie's brotherly kindness shewed to Him in His affliction. And further in the same letter signified that, though Sir *John Hebdon* had not presented any Letters of Credence to his Royal majesty from your Tzarskoy majesty, yet in confidence of the trust your Tzarskoy majesty reposed in him, his Royal majesty had upon his desire for your service granted the levy of three thousand horse and foot under Officers of great courage, ability and fidelity. Adding moreover that your Enemies should know by the instance of his Royal majestie's Ministers, that they should do a thing very grateful to him in making a good and lasting peace with your Tzarskoy majesty, and if by their default such peace were not imbraced, that they and all the World should see the great affection He hath for the prosperity of your affaires, which should be alwayes in his particular care. Also in the same Letter his Royal majesty acknowleges your Tzarskoy majestie's magnanimity in withdrawing your Protection from the *English* Merchants during the late Rebellion, and

desires that all his Royal majestie's good Subjects being now returned to their Allegiance, your Tzarskoy majesty would restore them their houses estates and privileges, and that You declare the same; upon which your Tzarskoy majestie's declaration he would send forthwith his Ambassador to expresse further His sense of your Tzarskoy majestie's affection, and to make all possible returns of the same. Hereupon your Tzarskoy majesty returned answer of the 28. *July* 1661. That your Tzarskoy majesty desired to continue with his Royal majesty the same friendship and correspondency, which had been betwixt both your Fathers of blessed memory, and that as to what his Royal majesty said, he would send his Ambassador about, your Tzarskoy majesty would be ready, so farr as is possible, to give assent thereto. After this your Tzarskoy majesty in your Letter of the 31. *July* 1662. sent by your late Extraordinary Ambassadors writ also, that taking into your princely consideration the flourishing Estate of your Tzarsva, and that intire brotherly love and amity and frequent correspondency, which inviolably was held and continued betwixt both your Fathers of blessed memory, and the happiness peace & tranquillity accruing thereby to both Dominions, your Tzarskoy majesty doth most earnestly & heartilie desire not only the continuation thereof, but a more nearer & dearer and firmer affectionate blessed brotherly love & amity, & frequent correspondency with his Royal majesty your dear & loving Brother, than formerly, with all readiness and freeness on all occasions to the utmost of Your power to answer the desires of his Royal majesty Your dear and loving Brother. Upon these assurances on your Tzarskoy majestie's part, his Royal majesty dispatched me hither, where what I

said in the face of the whole World by his Royal majestie's Command in his name, concerning the mutual and equal affection of his Royal majesty, is perfectly known to Your Tzarskoy majestie. Your Tzarskoy majesty, was then pleased to appoint me Commissioners, persons of great nobility and experience, for which I give Your Tzarskoy majesty thanks, and wish I could as justly give You thanks also for their affection (all of them) to the amitie and good correspondence betwixt the two Crowns, and for their expedition in the business committed to them. But when as I at my first Conference according to his Royal majestie's order moved first for the Restitution of the Privileges, signifying in the same writing that these being granted I had other things to profer on his Royal majestie's part out of his affection to your Tzarskoy majesty, I received from my Commissioners so unexpected an answer, that had heaven faln as the windowes of the Counsel-chamber broke in twice at the recital, it could scarce have been more strange or miraculous to me. It amounted in effect to an absolute denial of the Privileges. First indeed they say that they were taken away upon occasion of the late Rebellion. But after that they affirm that his late Royal majesty of ever blessed memorie by *Luke Nightingale* desired that the Privileges might be nulled; then they allege several miscarriages of the *English* Merchants; after that a petition of the *Goses* and all the Traders in *Russia*; then that the *English* Merchants are dead. In a second paper they speak of Your warrs with the *Crim* and the *Pole*, that his Royal majesty furnished not your Tzarskoy majesty with mony, [and] that the Merchants of the *Moscovia* Companie refused to lend mony towards your Tzarskoy majestie's warrs, being desired by your

Ambassadors. And several other reasons to make up the number though any one of them would have served, if it be indeed resolved before hand not to grant the Privileges, but altogether will not compound one solid argument, if weighed by so piercing and deep a judgement as that of Your majesty. So that my Commissioners, wholly cutting off all hopes of the Privileges for the present, insisted only that I should declare to them what else I had to offer from his Royal majesty. And I profering to them, that if they had any thing as that remained on their part, and was proper for them to propound for your Tzarskoy majestie's service, I should give them a fitting answer. And only desiring to be resolved by them, whether in case my proposals should seem to them equivalent to the Privileges, they had then power to grant them, they could not or did not give me any satisfaction therein. I appeale to your Tzarskoy majesty, whether I having a plenipotential Letter from his Royal majesty to your Tzarskoy majesty (which is in it self sufficient) and over and above that a particular Commission under the great seale of *England* for the Recovery of the privileges, it were fit for me further to divulge the secrets of his Royal majestie's singular affection and brotherly intentions towards your Tzarskoy majesty, to persons not impowred and fully authorized to conclude with me, or that had only a power to deny but none to assent to my proposals. And therefore this being the whole state of my business, and such being the answers which in your Tzarskoy majestie's name I have received from my Commissioners, so that the matter will now shortly return out of our hands to be decided betwixt his Royal majesty and your Tzorskoy majesty your selves, I shall as I have

the honour to represent his Royal majestie's person, so take the liberty to represent his words upon this occasion, as if He and You could meet together, and did in presence contemplate both Your unspeakable Majesties in that glasse of friendship, the most clear eyes of one another. As farr as my weak judgement can wade into the dephts of his Royal majestie's wisdom, thus would he say:

Had I desired anything new of your Tzarskoy majesty my dear and loving Brother, or to which your Tzarskoy majesty had not formerly ingaged your self, I might with less unkindness have taken Your so long deliberation, and perhaps have digested the refusal. But as for the Privileges, they have continued above an hundred years, and have by that their duration approved the solidity of that reason of State, upon which they were first founded, and it has been always dangerous by new experiments to shake the foundation of ancient counsels and friendships. And as for your Tzarskoy majestie's ingagement (to omit your Tzarskoy majestie's declaration in the year 1645, at your first coming to the Crown by the Governor of *Archangel* to the Merchants at *Archangel*, that your Tzarskoy majesty confirmed to them all the privileges granted by your Tzarskoy majestie's Father of blessed memory, and that You would be as gracious to them as ever Your said Father or any of your predecessors) did not your Tzarskoy majesty in Your first letter upon my desire of the Restitution of the Privileges answer me, that your Tzarskoy majesty desired to continue with me in the same friendship and correspondence that had been betwixt both our Fathers of blessed memory, and that upon my Ambassador's arrival and proposition You would be ready as farr as is possible

to give assent thereto? Did not your Tzarskoy majestie's Ambassadors, being demanded by my self concerning the Privileges, reply as their own opinion, that they questioned not but your Tzarskoy majesty upon my desire by an honourable Embassy, would for the love You had to me doubtless grant them? Did not your Tzarskoy majesty in Your Letter by them of the 31. of July 1662, written from Your privy Chamber under your Tzarskoy majestie's own hand, use those golden words which could indeed drop from no other pen or sense than that of your Tzarskoy majesty, and which are therefore ingraven in my heart as with the point of a diamond, and which being also so consonant to mine own intire affection to your Tzarskoy majesty, I commanded my Ambassador to return in the same terms in my name to your Tzarskoy majesty, that your Tzarskoy majestie taking into consideration the flourishing estate of your Tzarsva, &c. * Surely the same correspondence and friendship includes the same treaties and agreements, and therefore so You obliged Your self for the Privileges, unless (because your Tzarskoy majesty indeed limits Your self with that word afterwards) it be not possible to grant them. But that cannot be, your Tzarskoy majesty being so great a Prince, and having all power, and therefore so properly stilled *self-upholder*. If, *as farr as is possible*, signify a denial, I shall know how to understand it for the future. And as to those words in your Tzarskoy majestie's second Letter to me of the

* So the whole Letter was here repeated again as afore, forasmuch as it carries with it so strong a conviction as can receive no excuse: and indeed it seems the Commissioners found it to be so, seeing they never said one word as to those Letters.

31. of *July* 1662, how can there be a nearer and firmer correspondence betwixt Us, unless first it be as near and as firm as formerly? But suppose any person disaffected to Our mutual friendship could pick out some evasions in Your manner of expression, to seem to disingage You, yet let me tell You dear Brother such subtilties might perhaps be necessary or serve the turn with confining Princes, with whom You are alwayes either at open warr or suspicious friendship. But it would be much below You and Me, Friends of an hundred years, free from all reason of jealousy of one another, to leave such loop-holes in Our souls, and to penetrate and squeeze Our selves through our own words. Neither let it seem strange to you, or as an undervaluing of the mutual princely amity betwixt Us, that I seem to place it upon the restoring or not restoring of the Privileges, and have therefore commanded my Ambassador before any further overture of my good intentions toward your Tzarskoy majesty, to desire the Grant of those Privileges which belong but to my Merchants. For they were so from the first a voluntary grant, and I do not loue to go less as (God be praised) I need not, than any of my Predecessors. And those Privileges are but the Princely constant reward of that perpetual and vast advantage, which hath and may alwayes continue to the *Tzars* of *Russia*, and their whole *Tzarsva* by the *English* Merchants first discovery and opening of the Trade at Archangel, with the loss of many mens lives, shipping and estates; though great Princes even for an action once well done, and whereof the fruit dyes with that time and person, are used to recompense to perpetuity. But my chief motive for such a preliminary desire was indeed your Tzarskoy majestie's

honour, of which I shall always be most tender, that as your Tzarskoy majestie took away the Privileges out of Your high generosity and resentment of the late Rebellion, so it might appeare to the whole world by Your reinstating the *English* therein, without any farther reach of reason, only upon their return to their Obedience and my desire, how just and perfect You were in the proportioning of Your actions, and how like that great Prince you are, you know to place Your Obligations upon me. For that is amity to me which is the advantage of my Subjects, and if even in my Exile I could not but partake some joy in their welfare, certainly upon my happy return I shall by all means strive to procure and advance it. To what purpose are so many Treaties in the World betwixt Princes, but all for the constituting the conveniences and profit of their Subjects? Treaties of Peace, of Trade, of Assistance, nay even of Marriage of the Princes are they, because those Princes fall in love with one another, or are not all directed to the security or prosperity of the people? But lest therefore as I demand them for the benefit of mine, so you should refuse them for the benefit of your people, let us (if your Tzarskoy majesty please) try the arguments against them of several natures as they ly before me

They rebelled against me: 'Tis true, but it would be too much care in your Tzarskoy majesty, should You pursue the resentment for ever upon my subjects after I my self have forgiven them; and I being Head, and making up henceforward but one Body with my Nations, will your Tzarskoy majesty undertake to revenge upon me the disloyalty of people? *But they say that Nightingale brought Letter from my Father, and treated with the Boyars*

taking them away. That *Nightingale* was a Traytor therein and an Impostor, and I know your Tzarskoy majesty will according to the law of Nations, and as Princes are obliged in honour to one another upon such impostures deliver me that open false counterfeit letter. But if my Father had at that time for reason of State desired the taking of them away, whereas to the contrary, He blessed Prince even to His last breath prayed and laboured for the good of His subjects, and even as to this matter had prepared a Letter which I yet preserve among His other Reliques, wherein He desires of your Tzarskoy majesty the restitution of the privileges, and disavowes *Nightingale* as an Impostor, but had He I say then desired they might be revoked, I also do now desire they may be restored. *The Merchants are complained of for several miscarriages contrary to the condition of the Privileges.* None of those miscarriages are verified, but however I ordered my Ambassador to provide against the possibility of any such thing for the future, and I my self should also have been a severe Inspector of any such default, as intrenching highly upon mine own honour. *But the Goses and all the Tradesmen of Russia petitioned, that the English were become rich by these Privileges, and Your Majestie's subjects were impoverished.* How is it then that your Tzarskoy majesty said in your Letter above mentioned, that much happiness peace and tranquillity had accrued to both Dominions? why do they not also [speak] against the Privilege, which is enjoyed by the *Dutch*? why not against the *Cupshins* of *Persia*, for some of these in the mean time have privilege while the *English* are totally debarred it? did the privileges impoverish the Country? I should be glad to hear that since they were taken away

(which hath been time long enough to make an experiment) the Country hath thereby grown richer. But for my Subjects, though if by honest industry they could grow rich, they are rather to be commended: yet to the contrary neare thirty of them within this thirty years are undone by the Trade, having brought considerable estates into your Dominions. *The English Merchants to whom the Privileges were granted are dead.* One of them is still living however, which is so enough to continue the claim of the inviolable Tzarskoy privilege: and though all were dead, I understand it to have been granted to their Successors, and I have given my Ambassador order to name new. *In other Countries every where strangers pay double custome:* How comes it then that the *English Merchants Adventurers* pay no custome in *Holland*, and have besides free houses given them and freedom from excise, and all other immunities denied their own subjects? That likewise they have the same privileges and pay no custome at *Hamburgh*, in which places the *English* drive a much greater trade than here? Do not the *English Merchants* not only pay no custom themselves, but divide the customes of all other Nations with the *Shagh* of *Persia* at His Port of *Ormuz*? Do the *English* also impoverish all those Countries? *But then your 'Tzarskoy Majesty hath warre with the Crim and the Pole.* Your Tzarskoy majesty must pardon me if at this reason, and considering most of those before which are in a manner word for word what was returned by the Messenger of that Usurper *Cromwel*, I find my self something moved. Were there therefore no warrs when the *English* privileges were first granted by *Tzar Ivan Basilovich*? were there never in all the times they have been since

enjoyed? If your Tzarskoy majesty hath such enemies that seem so considerable to you, will it hurt you to continue me your Friend? And is six thousand rubles yearly (that is three thousand pounds) which is the uttermost the *English* customes have amounted to, since the ceasing of the privileges, is it I say so necessary a summe to so great a Prince for the carrying on of his wars, that the effects of my friendship and the commerce of the *English* Nation cannot countervail it? *But I denyed your Tzarskoy Majesty the loan of mony.* I hope so impossible a summe to the greatest Prince of Christendome to advance on the sudden, being I may name it to your Tzarskoy majesty ten thousand *Poods* of silver, to the value of above thirty hundred thousand *Rubles*, was not demanded on purpose to have a pretext to deny the privileges, and by proposing an impossibility to refuse what is rational. The less the courtesie is asked, the greater disobligation not granted, and posterity which sits in judgement upon the memory of the greatest Princes, will not so much blame Me for excusing so much, as You for denying so little. Your Tzarskoy majesty surely received from your own Ambassadors my Answer to that particular. *And the Merchants of the Muscovia Company refused a much less summe to Your Ambassadors.* Truly the former Merchants named in the privileges were dead all except one; these now living have been impoverished and disenabled by the want of the privileges this seventeen years, and *Eran Zelobuskey* offered them but ill security for the money: an obligation that it should never be that they should trade without custome.

These it seemes are the reasons, with which they strive to shake (to use your Tzarskoy majestie's own

expressions) that brazen wall which hath stood so many years, built by the wisdom of our ancestors, and now leaning upon the stability of Your own Princely promise: and shall such pellets be able to ruine it? Have I for this sent mine own ship into the Sound to fetch your Ambassadors? Have I lodged them in the Palace of one of my greatest Princes, layd them in mine own beds, mine own hangings, and treated them continually in mine own vessell? Have I done them the honor to enter in my Coach within the gate of my Court, given them private Audience my self as oft as they desired it, and as frequent Conferences with my Counsel as they pleased? I repent it not, I reproach it not, I bear more honour to your Tzarskoy majesty my loving Brother than to do so. But I doubt that some of them have not truly informed You of all the honour they received, much more than I tell You. Have I not after this sent Ambassador to You my Cosin, and (whatsoever may have been told You to the contrary) my privy Counsellor, and that ever since my return into *England*, one of the principal Noblemen of Our Kingdomes descended of *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*,—*Charles Earle of Carlisle*, Viscount *Howard de Morpeth*, Baron *Dacre of Gillesland*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of *Comberland* and *Westmorland*, having destinated him not only for this Ambassy, but to have been my perpetual Remembrancer, could I have been forgetful of any thing that tended to your Service. Have I committed to him the secret of my heart in all things wherein I might pleasure you, and shall your Tzarskoy majesty by him refuse me so small, and perhaps the only thing which ever I can have occasion to ask of you, the Privileges? This indeed would repent me, for the World will

take more notice of it then can stand with Mine and Your honour, and it will be the subject of much discourse and wonder when men shall consider what advantage this your Tzarskoy Crown hath received from time to time from my Predecessors. They discovered the port and opened you the Trade and Market of all *Europe* at Archangel. They fought your Enemies ships in the Eastern-seas, when the Princes there adjacent had leagued together to shut up the *Narve*, and delivered the prisoners to the *Russian* Governours at the *Narve*. They lent summs of mony for the wars, they furnished Souldiers and Commanders to fight your Enemies, they made peace for you with neighbour Princes. They suffered the Merchants to supply the Country in the times of great dearth with corn, who sold it to the Nation at the rate it cost them : and several other things to be transported hither for your accommodation in peace or warr prohibited to all other Nations. I could mention yet an higher Obligation than all these, upon the desire of one of your Tzarskoy ancestors, were it so seasonable to relate it. And I my self who ordered my Ambassador to tell You that herein I desired to exceed all my Ancestors, yet am refused the Privileges, the purchase of my Subjects industry and their vast expense and great losses in finding out and carrying on the Trade to this present. I my self, at my first coming to the Crown, granted to Sir *John Hebdon* without credentials three thousand horse and foot of the flower of the *English* forces for Your service, which what they can do and are, let the world witness. And had your Ambassadors either demanded any thing of me but an unproportionable and unseasonable summe of mony, or had they but acquainted me with the posture of your Tzarskoy

majestie's affaires in any measure, You should not have found me wanting. However before I sent my Ambassador over, I did my best to inform my self otherwise: I found that the *Pole* was likely still to molest You, and that notwithstanding the late Peace with *Sweden* some points remained yet undecided. Reflecting upon which I thought, for the reasons Your Majestie knowes as concerning the *Pole*, that he would not think me a competent Mediator betwixt You, seeing besides that the King of *Poland* only hath not yet sent me an Ambassage to congratulate my happy Return. For the *Swede* I saw no reason why mine interposition betwixt your 'Tzarskoy majesty and Him might not be acceptable and seasonable on all sides, if your 'Tzarskoy majesty thought it necessary to quench sparks of contention before they broke out further. . Moreover I consider the opportunity that I have and shall always of assisting You with Commanders and Souldiers, ships, armour and ammunition against any enemies You might have for the future, and the influence and authority that I should have from time to time with most Princes of *Europe* or out of *Europe* that could annoy You, for the composing of any differences And upon all these things I had given such order, as I thought fitting, to my Ambassador. And doubtless considering mine own Obligations to your 'Tzarskoy majesty, and the promise I had made You in mine own Letter formerly, which I took my self bound to accomplish, and the choice of the person of my Ambassador, You would not have found me ungrateful in any thing of this or other nature which could not occurre to me.

Having represented these words as from his Royal majestie's own mouth to your 'Tzarskoy majesty, it

becomes me not to continue them with any of mine own, further than to desire that your Tzarskoy majesty will seriously and speedily, according to your great prudence wherewith God hath inspired You, reflect upon them, and give me a quick dispatch one way or other, that I may not lose the very first season of the year to depart hence, as his Royal majesty hath given me positive order.

Given at *Mosco*, 22. *April* 1664.

CARLISLE." (pp. 248-77).

The Tzar was eager to involve England in certain chronic rebellions and wars in and with Poland and elsewhere: "My Lord having newly received power and authority from the King to offer his mediation betwixt the Tzar's Majesty and the King of Poland, thought that so kind an offer might perhaps bring his business to a better end than he had done hitherto" (pp. 284-5): and so a Conference was sought. I give again *in extenso* G. M's. closing narrative, as it introduces two Documents prepared by Marvell:

"The Proposition given by my Lord in writing at this Conference was written after this manner:

HIS most Serene Majesty my master desiring to fulfil all parts of a most sincere brotherly affection toward his most Serene Tzarskoy Majesty, according to His promise in his former Royal Letters, and by me his extraordinary Ambassador, taking into consideration the present war continued betwixt his Tzarskoy Majesty, and the King of Poland, to the so great detriment of the common Christian Interest, hath therefore, although he knows that his Tzarskoy Majesty doth neither want sufficient forces nor most prudent counsels, whereby He may probably bring that war to a conclusion, yet for the better facilitating of a firme and honourable peace betwixt his Tzarskoy Majesty and the King of Poland, impowred me (if it may be acceptable and desirable to his Tzarskoy

7 Majesty) to offer his Mediation toward so good a work, and hath therefore laid aside all respects to the contrary, believing that so laudable a design will so much the rather find his Majesty of Poland all effect and acceptance. And this being but as an earnest of all those other counsels and good offices, which his Tzarskoy Majesty may promise Himself continually from his Royal Majesty, I do no ways doubt, but his Tzarskoy Majesty will manifest a just value of his Royal Majestie's most sincere and constant brotherly affection. Unto which I shall always strive to be in my place instrumental, according to my duty to his Royal Majesty, and my great devotion towards the service of his Tzarskoy Majesty, so great a Prince, and so dear a Friend and Brother of his Royal Majesty.

Given at Mosco, 1. June 1664.

The Commissioners Answer to this matter was, that his Tzarskoy Majesty was well pleased with this profer of his Royal Majesty, that his Excellency in prosecution thereof should send a Post to his Majesty of Poland by way of Smolensco, and proceed himself in the business as might be meet and fitting. But it seems they did not or would not mind what his Excellency had required, before he would ingage his Prince in so long and chargeable a designe. Therefore he made them understand that otherwise he could not undertake it, because his Royal Majesty took it for granted, that he had before this effected his business, which was the reason of this His last generous profer. The Commissioners postposing any thing to the Customes taken and the English Merchants, my Lord took occasion to give over his Profer and to take his Leave of the Tzar, having

left into the hands of his Tzarskoy Majestie's near Boyars and Counsellors some Memorials of remaining business (besides that point which he most insisted upon) that in time they might be redressed.

The 24. of June, He had his last Audience where he took his Leave of his Majesty in few words.

Most Serene and most Potent Tzar.

The King my Master hath commanded me to make hast from hence about his other affaires committed to me, and since your Tzarskoy Majesty hath not been pleased to grant what I was sent for, the greatest kindness You can shew the King my Master and the greatest favour to my self, is the allowing me this liberty of taking my leave of your Majesty, and permitting me to depart with speed. I have nothing to desire of your Tzarskoy Majesty at parting, but that, as is due and right, there may be the same liberty to all other his Majestie's subjects, whensoever the respective time of their obligations shall be expired, and that to those who must in the mean time remain, speedy and equal justice may be afforded, which hath not been hitherto. I return my thanks for the plentiful entertainment I have had in your Country. I shall very truly give the King an account of all the honours and favours I have received, and with the same truth and candor give an account of all things that have passed in my Negotiation, and shall pray to God to bless your Majesty with a long and happy Government.

Whereupon the Tzar being on his Throne, desired the Ambassador to salute his Brother the King of Great Britain, and delivered the Letter he sent him with his own hand. He pretended to be much troubled that the state of his affaires would not

permit him to comply with his desires, and prayed God for the prosperity of his voyage. Upon which his Excellence kist his hand, as did likewise all his Gentlemen after him, and being returned they brought him his dinner from the Palace.

This being the negociation and success of the Embassie, let us now take a prospect of the most memorable passages that hapned during our residence at Mosco. (pp. 285-90.)

The Embassage left Moscow; but observes G. M.:

“It is a maxime, it seemes, in the Court of Moscovie, that the better to set off the honour they bestow upon Publique Ministers, they must now and then abuse and affront them, and as my Lord Ambassador was received at Mosco according to this rule, so the Court thought it expedient he should be used after the same way at his departure.” (p. 312).

Nor was this all; difficulties arise “upon occasion of one Calthof, who had put himself amongst his [the Ambassador's] gentlemen, with design to return into England with them” (p. 313). The following is the ‘relation’ and documents that ‘the Secretary’ was called on to prepare in connection therewith:

“This Calthof had been in the Tzar’s service for some years, and the time for which he had obliged himself being expired, his Excellence interposed for his dismissal, and obtained it. Nevertheless the Tzar having notice that he was going, he sent a Messenger immediately after, as we were marching out of the Town, to recal him, and (which was the wonder) the Messenger did not lose his way. The Ambassador not conceiving it proper to oppose himself directly against the pleasure of his Tzarskoy Majesty, returns Calthof to him, but with expectation

he should be presently released. But five days afterwards being arrived at Twere, his Excellence understood they had upon a false pretence clapped him in Prison, and used him very ill. For which cause he dispatched a Post to Mosco with this Letter in Latin directed to Larivon Lopookin, Diack or Chancellor of the Embassy-Office.

Domine Cancellarie,

Nescio quo fato aut consilio factum sit, quod improspere nostræ Legationi ultimus hic de *Calthofio* cumulus accesserit, nisi fortassis decorum existimetis, ut exitus introitum nostrum referret, & postrema primis per omnia responderent. Serenissimus Rex meus disertis verbis mihi mandaverat ut *Calthofium* mecum reducerem. Dominis Consiliariis, & Tibi præsertim Domine Cancellarie, sæpius declaravi tempus effluxisse quo se *Calthofius* Czareæ suæ Majestati devinxisset, ideoque petii ut mecum posset reverti. Cancellarius etiam Czarei Arcani significavit, nullam moram esse quo minus exiret. Quomodo postea successerit non potes ignorare. Ecce primarius Scriba in ipso itinere accurrit, & Czareæ suæ Majestatis nomine *Calthofium* postulat. Ego qui optimè novi quantum reverentiæ & securitatis Legatorum dignitati debeatur, ne tamen importuno loco cum Czareâ suâ Majestate altercari viderer, *Moscuam* illum remisi, ubi contrâ quàm speraveram, & contra jus & æquum, falso prætextu eum in Custodiâ detineri audio. Quorsum hæc vergant nescio, neq; vos ipsi scitis qui facitis. Me verò interim omnium infelicissimum, qui pro summo meo Czareæ suæ Majestati inserviendi studio cum tam infausto nuncio sim reversurus. Majus est hoc negotium quàm primo intuitu videtur, & in hoc *Calthoflo* omnium Sacræ suæ Majestatis Subditorum hic degentium res agitur, num pro liberis deinceps, an verò pro servis & captivis sint habendi. Oro te Domine Cancellarie, pro solitâ tuâ humanitate, & pro muneris tui officio, ut hæc Czareæ suæ Majestati sine hâc acerbitate (quam tamen ipsa rei natura mihi expressit) sed eâdem cum efficacîâ protinus velis remonstrare, ut Czarea sua Majestas maturè de hâc re providere & consulere queat, & *Calthofius* (quod adhuc expecto) bonâ cum Czareæ suæ Majestatis gratiâ, me antequam limitem transierim, assequatur.

Twere, 30. Junii. Anno Dni 1664.

CARLISLE.

My Lord Chancellor

By what destiny or design the unsuccesfulness of my Embassy should be accumulated with this violence to Calthof, I cannot imagine, unless You esteem it perhaps decorous, that my exit should bear resemblance with my entry, and my last usage be as disobliging as my first. The most Serene Prince my Master gave it me expressly in command, that I should bring Calthof back with me. I have often declared to the Lords of the Counsel, and to you my Lord Chancellor more especially, that the time for which he had obliged himself to his Tzartkoy Majesty was expired, and for that reason I desired his return. The Chancellor of his Tzarskoy Majestie's Cabinet acquainted me he might go if he pleased, there should be no impediment. But what is happened since You cannot be ignorant of. When I was even in my Journey, the principal clerk of the Embassy-Office pursues me, and in his Tzarskoy Majestie's name demands Calthof. Yet though I understood well the reverence and security was due to the dignity of an Ambassador, nevertheless lest I should seem upon slight occasions and unseasonably to contend with his Tzarskoy Majesty, I returned him to Mosco. Where I am since informed he is upon a false pretence detained in custody, not only contrary to my hopes and expectation, but to all law and equity whatsoever. How farr these injuries may extend I know not, nor even You Your selves that contrive them. In the mean time I am most unhappy, who notwithstanding my great zeal and affection for the service of his Tzarskoy Majesty, must be constrained to return with this unwelcome tidings. This is a greater busines than it appears to be at first sight, and in this Calthof the interest of

all his most sacred Majestie's Subjects living in this Country is at stake, and it is a question whether for the future they be to be esteemed freemen or slaves. I conjure You my Lord Chancellor, by Your usual humanity, and by the duty of Your place, that You represent these things to his Tzarskoy Majesty, not with that sharpness (which notwithstanding, the nature of the busines extorted from me) but with such efficacy, that his Tzarskoy Majesty may apply some remedy in time, and that Calthof (which I expect) by his Majestie's most gracious permission, may overtake me before I am out of His Dominions.

Twere, the 30. of June 1664.

CARLISLE. (pp. 313-18).

This Letter "was so farr from making any favourable impressions in the Tzar, that it exasperated him to that heighth, he resolved immediately to dispatch an Ambassador to the King of England to complain of his Excellence's proceedings" (p. 318). The explanation of the exasperation is somewhat amusing and amazing, and must be given:

"The design was principally taken upon a pleasant mistake on their side, of *qui* for *quid*. For this Expression in the Letter, *Quorsum hæc vergant nescio, neque vos ipsi scitis qui facitis*, which signifyes as it is translated, "how farr these things may extend I know not, nor You Your selves who contrive them," the Court of Muscovie mis-interpreted it thus, I know not what may be the end of this busines, nor do You know Your selves what You do. Which they conceived the highest piece of insolence, that he should dare to say, the principal Boyars and Councillors of so great a Prince were ignorant and impertinent, as if they had done all things at random without deliberation or reason. And this translation in appearance was Golozofs the great Master of

Latin in that Court, and by whose instructions they had played the Criticks so exquisitely in the word *Illustrissimus*, and who was much incensed against the Ambassador, since his refusal of the presents. So as there might be some prejudice or malice in the translation of the Letter." (pp. 318-19).

The Ambassador was not to be moved by the barbarian 'exasperation.'

"Observing Calthof was not returned, he sent another Letter to Mosco, making mention of the extraordinary entertainment he had received from the Governours of Novogorod and Plesco, as also of the designe on foot for the carrying back his tents, and these were the very words of the Letter, which had the same superscription with the former."

Again only the English version need be given :

My Lord Chancellor

Though the esteem I have and ought to have of the justice and prudence of his most Serene Tzarskoy Majesty, persuaded me that Calthof would be dismissed (if not before) at least as soon as my Letters from Twere on the 30. of June were arrived, yet being advanced as farr as Plesco, and having no advertisement thereof, I have dispatcht this messenger again to Mosco for that very affair. Which (though to you it may not appear so considerable as it ought) yet to me it is of that importance it can not be pretermitted without neglecting the commands of the most Serene King my Master, and the liberty of Calthof his subject. And indeed it would be unjust and contrary to the mutual amity betwixt the King my Master and his Tzarskoy Majesty, should he who is manifestly now under no farther obligation, or

engagement to his Tzarskoy Majesty, be contrary to his own will, my intercession, and Your promises, detained any longer. I do make it my request therefore, my Lord Chancellor, that if Calthof be still amongst You, You would represent these things so effectually to his Tzarskoy Majesty, that the amity of our sovereigns may receive no diminution from so small and inconsiderable an occasion. For my own part, lest you should think me better at remembring injuries than benefits, I have taken this occasion to signify to You, and by consequence to his Tzarskoy Majesty, the great civility Boyar, Knez, Ivan, Borissovitz, Repenini shewed me in my journey by Novogorod (which I shall always acknowledg,) and the greater (if greater can be) of Knez, Pheodor, Gregorevitz, Romadonofsky in this place, both of them loading me as it were with testimonies of honor and respect. Nor do I think it imputable to them, if the tents (for of his Tzarskoy Majestie's coach I am not so solicitous) be taken from me at the Borders at Nihuisen, though if I well understood Ockolnickey, Basilius, Volinskoy, his Tzarskoy Majesty was pleased to spare me them as farr as Riga, and for which reason I had neglected to furnish my self at my own charges. It is true I did refuse (as became me) his Tzarskoy Majestie's presents that were sent me, but not those conveniences that were necessary in my journey. And though I did not for the reasons fore-mentioned accept of his furs, it might have been allowed me to have slept under his tents. However if it be peremptorily decreed, I am not so lost and effeminate but rather than request those things from the Swedish Governour, that I thought were to have been supplied by his Tzarskoy Majesty, I can like a souldier for some days take my fortune in the fields.

I do notwithstanding return many thanks to his Tzarskoy Majesty for all the honors and favours, I received from him, and shall make a faithful enumeration of them to the King my Master.

Plesco, the 14. of July 1664.

CARLISLE. (pp. 327-30).

The Embassy next proceeded to Sweden; and again G. M. furnishes narrative and documents, which belonging to and introducing Marvell, must find place here.

“His Excellence being arrived at this Court, he was for three days entertained at the charges of the Swedish King, and on the third which was a Sunday, he had audience from his Majesty. I shall not delay my self so much as to make any discription of their ceremonies, they being the same that are ordinarily used in other Courts of Europe. This only I shall say in relation to the person of the King, that at that time he was not fully arrived at the ninth year of his age, and yet was at that age indued with all the perfections so young a Prince is capable of. He was very handsom, and had a certain kind of cheerfulness and alacrity in his looks, that made all those that were present admire him. In short he is a young King, in whom all the heroick virtues of his ancestors seem to revive. His hair was very light, his habit cloth of silver, with his cloake and sword, and a faire plume of white feathers in his hat. He stood before his chair of State under a canopy with the Regents of his Kingdome on each side of him, besides a great number of other of his Nobles. His Excellence, assoon as he approached, after his reverences, made this complement to him, which the young Prince received with an admirable gravity and grace :

Most Puissant and most Serene King.

The King my Master has sent me to Your Majesty to cultivate and celebrate the Friendship already happily established betwixt Your Majesties, to congratulate in His stead and partake of Your Majestie's present felicity, wishing You the same for the future, and to assure You, that wherein the affection of the King my Master may add to all Your blessings, He will no wayes be wanting. And when His Majesty saith that, He speaks not only of that present amity of State betwixt You, He thinks that friendship but narrow which is confined in Treaties, but He understands therewith a personal and most particular affection to Your Majesty, an affection large and deep as the hearts of Princes, without condition, without reserve. upon all occasions wherein He may gratify Your Majesty. And even the seeming lateness of these professions is so farr from any contrariety on his Majestie's part, that indeed He hath herein given that precedence to this Embassy, which the end hath over the beginning, to be first in intention though last in execution; and if there be any fault it must rest wholly upon my misfortune, coming from a climate and people where it costs so much time to do nothing. But therefore I cannot but so much the more esteem the honour I now have to contemplate so great a Monarch, who are in so young years so accomplished a Prince, and as he once said of that little Hercules,

Parvusque videri
Sentirique ingens.

And in so excellent a model represent all the magnanimity and grandeur of Your Royal Ancestors. I congratulate the happiness of Your Kingdom, for

which it seemes that God's Providence would, to be the more exemplary, alter its usual maxime: and what He once threatned as a malediction, hath made it the greatest blessing of Your Subjects to have a Prince in His nonage to rule over them: and in conclusion, I profess and offer my self to Your Majesty as a most ready, willing, and (I heartily wish) as proper an instrument in all occasions to witness and approve his Majestie's most sincere and constant desires of a most perfect correspondence with Your Majesty, to Your mutual contentments and the further welfare of both Your Kingdoms.

His Excellence having delivered himself in English with his hat on, *his Secretary rendered what the Ambassador had spoken in the following Latin:*

Domine Rex

Dominus Rex meus ad Majestatem Vestram me legavit, ut excolerem & concelebrarem amicitiam inter Majestates Vestras jam optimis auspiciis contractam, ut gratularer, & sua vice participarem præsentem Majestatis Vestræ felicitatem (eandem etiam in posterum augurando,) utque Majestati Vestræ confirmarem, quod si quo modo fortunis Vestris superaddere suo affectu, & contribuere possit, nulla in re Majestati Vestræ defuturam. Et quum Majestas sua hæc dicit, non tantum de presenti publica inter Majestates Vestras & sua Regna societate loquitur, angustiore illam amicitiam existimat quæ fœderum hactenus & tractatum veluti cancellis circumscribitur. Sed intimam quandam & singularem benevolentiam innuit, benevolentiam quantum ipsa Regum corda effuissimam & profundam, sine conditione, sine limite, quâcunque in re Majestati Vestræ gratificare & commodare possit. Ne verò hoc tardius quam pro summo, quo Majestatem vestram complectitur honore profiteri videatur, hoc ipsum Majestati Vestræ honori datum est ut quo modo finis initia antecedit, ita hæc ad Majestatem Vestram Legatio, posterior quidem Executione, sed meditamento & consilio prima existeret. Si autem alicubi hujus moræ culpa residat, sola mea fortuna argui potest, utpote qui ab illa regione & gente recens adveniam ubi ad nihil agendum non nimori tempore opus erat. Sed eò jam

impensiùs mihi gratulor dum Majestatem Vestram tandem contemplor, in tam tenerâ ætate jam consummatum Principem, de quo uti de parvo illo *Hercule* meritò dici potest.

Parvusque videri

Sentirique ingens.

Et in quo tanquam in perfectissimo modulo heroicam omnium Majorum Vestrorum magnanimitatem, cæteraque Regii tam animi quàm corporis lineamenta recognoscimus & videmus. Nec possum Regni Vestri fortunas satis laudare, quibus ut magis velificetur, ipsa Divina Providentia cursum suum mutavit, & quod suo olim populo interminata est in summam subditorum vestrorum fælicitatem convertit faciendo ut *Pupillus super eus regnaret*. De cætero memet ipsum offero & profiteor uti paratissimum utinam & aptissimum instrumentum ad contestandum & approbandum omni occasione constantissimum & sincerissimum Majestatis suæ votum perfectissimæ, cum Majestate Vestra amicitie & societatis ad mutuum Majestatum Vestrarum gaudium & quodeunque ulterius Regnorum Vestrorum emolumentum.

After this Interpretation, the Count Magnus Gabriel de la Garde returned an answer in the Swedish language in the name of his Master the King, which answer was likewise rendred in Latin. He said the King his Master thought himself much honored by so splendid an Embassy, in which his Majesty of Great Britain had done him the honour to salute him, and congratulate the felicity of his Government. That he also bore his part in the prosperity of the King of Great Britain, and that on his side he should be always ready to entertain a nearer and more strict amitie with him. And at length he intimated how great value and esteem the King his Master had for the person of the Ambassador.

The next day my Lord Ambassador had audience of the Queen Mother in her own appartement. She is a Princess which, besides the graces of her minde, is no less embellisht with the advantages of her person. She was under a canopy before her chair

with several Ladies and Gentlemen of the Court attending her. His Excellence being advanced near, delivered his Compliment bare in this manner.

Madam,

The King my Master hath laid a peculiar command upon me to salute and congratulate Your Majesty on His behalf, both in respect of Your quality as so great a Queen, and of Your relation to the Government of this Kingdom with which He is at amity, and of Your happiness of being Mother to a Prince his Friend, who makes already so great a part of the discourse and hopes, as He will one day of the history of Christendom. His Majesty my Master rejoices extreamly in the happy constitution of all Your affaires, and under God attributes it much to Your Majestie's prudence, that in the conjuncture of so young a King, yet there is no possibility of other contention here, then that decent contest, whether You or the Kingdom have a greater share in Him. And his Majesty my Master offers himself as a third to foment so amiable a controversy, being resolved never to hold himself in neutrality thorough such blessed wars of friendship and affection, as in all other things, He saith he shall be most happy to witness the singular esteem and honour, that for all these reasons He beares to Your Majestie's person. The Queen my Sovereign Lady hath charged me with all commands of the like nature to express how amorous and how great an admirer She is of Your Royal person and virtues, and most desirous of shewing by all means the great honour She retains and cherishes for your Majesty, to whom I beg leave on mine own part to present all due honour and service.

This Complement his Excellencie's *Secretary* immediately interpreted into French." (pp. 353-61).

Further :

"The 11. of October in the night, his Excellence tooke his leave of the King and Queen Mother, and this was the complement which he addrest first to the King in English.

Sir,

His Majesty having thus far satisfied by me the obligation due to that sincere Friendship betwixt the two Crowns, hath now commanded me hence. It was necessary He should command me, otherwise like those that observe the stars, I might have forgot my self in admiring your luster, so pleasant hath it been to me to see Your young Majesty sparkle among the Regents, and make up with them the proper number of the Northern Constellation. I shall confirm his Majesty in all that he hath heard hitherto of Your Majestie's Greatness and Virtues, in which I assure You none doth more rejoyce and take part than his Majesty. And He hath in the mean time commanded me still to reiterate the same professions of a cordial and universal affection and friendship toward Your Majesty. For mine own part I shall only desire this character from Your Majesty, that seeing the friendship betwixt Your Majesties was so great that it could not be augmented, however I have not diminished it. In conclusion, I render mine own thanks to your Majesty, entring however all Your Royal favours upon His Majestie's account, and shall heartily pray, that the same amity may still last betwixt the two Crowns, the same Union may alwaies continue in your Majestie's Counsels, that your Majestie's Felicity and Virtues

may still encrease at the same proportion, and that the triumphs of your Peace may surmount and outlast the trophies of all your Ancestors.

This afterwards was rendered in Latin in this manner.

Domine Rex,

Ovum Majestas sua Dominus meus clementissimus mutuis amicitiae inter duas Coronas Officiis hactenus per me satisfecerit, Suo jam mandato accersor. Accersi hinc & revocari opus erat, ne quod Stellarum studiosis usu venit in splendore Majestatis vestrae contemplan-do semper defixus haererem, tantae voluptatis fuit Majestatem vestram admirari, ut inter Regentes scintillet, & justum cum illis Septentrionum suorum Sydus ac numerum implere videatur. Majestati suae de Prosperitate & Virtutibus vestris omnia fidelissime narrabo, quo nihil optatius aut jucundius Majestati suae potest accidere. Ego interim Majestatis suae jussu eadem qua prius asseveratione integerrimam & constantissimam suam amicitiam Majestati vestrae confirmo. Et quum ea sit inter Majestates Vestras mutua benevolentia ut augeri nequeat, sperabo saltem eam per me non esse imminutam. Majestati vestrae gratias de regiis suis beneficiis summas ago, quas quoniam ipse referre non possum, Regem etiam spondeo debitorem. Quod reliquum est Deum Optimum Maximum discessurus veneror, & precor ut eadem amicitia inter Majestates vestras & suas Coronas aeterna permaneat, ut idem animorum & consiliorum consensus in hoc suo Regimine perpetuetur, ut Majestatis vestrae Gloria & Virtutes paribus incrementis semper eodem modo assurgant, utque pacis vestrae Triumphus Majorum Vestrorum Trophaea excedere possint & superare.

To this it was answered in Swedish and in Latin, That amongst the great marks his Majesty had received of the sincere amity of his Majesty of Great Britain, he esteemed it a particular one, that he had chosen his Excellence the Earle of Carlisle amongst all the Nobility of England for his Ambassador Extraordinary towards him. And having made reflexion upon the prudence and dexterity which he had used to unite the interests of the two Kingdoms

of Swedeland and England, he heartily wished he might have had a longer enjoyment of his presence there. But seeing he was recalled by his Majesty of Great Britain, the King of Swedeland thought himself obliged before his departure to give him assurances of his good affection towards the King of England. And lastly, he wished my Lord Ambassador a happy return into his own Country, and withall assured him, that he might be alwaies very confident of his favour.

This Audience being ended, his Excellence was conducted towards the Queen Mother, of whom he took leave in these terms.

Madam,

Being now upon my departure, I ought by commandment of his Majesty and likewise of the Queen, to represent again in the most lively and effectual expressions Their great affection to your Majesty, and what part They take in your Majestie's interests, the same with the interests of the King and Kingdom. But as there are no words sufficient to depaint so real an affection, and being moreover obliged in his Majestie's name to give You thanks for all the honours which in respect to Him your Majesty hath conferred upon me.—I find now a decency even in my defects, and that my want of language hath been but a foresight of the King my Master, and a fit complement upon His part, seeing upon so extraordinary occasions as these, the boldest eloquence would lose its speech, and had I an hundred tongues I should be struck silent. Therefore I shall only pray for your Majestie's happiness and prosperity, and as the greatest part thereof, for the health of the King Your Son, upon Whom all

the joyes and cares of your Majesty do so worthily center. And wheresoever I go, but especially to Their Majesties, I shall make report of your Majestie's unparallelled Virtues, and shall my self preserve an immortal memory of all Your Royal Favours.

— This Complement was also interpreted in French.

Whilst the Ambassador was making this Complement, there happened an accident that surprised all the Company. For about the middle of his Speech where he saith, That the boldest Eloquence would lose its Speech, his Excellence made a long pause, as if by that he had designed to have verified what he had said. For my part at first I believed it was the sincerity of my Lord Ambassador's discourse that produced this effect, and that it being too great a task for him to represent to the Queen, the great honour his Master the King of England had for her, and the great sence himself had of the favours which he had received from her Majesty, his Speech had failed him, according to that saying of Seneca, *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent*; Small cares may be expressed, great ones are unutterable. But when I saw *the Secretary fall himself upon the same rook, and stop in the same place when he interpreted the complement in French*, then I concluded the thing had been so contrived. At length both of them having recollected, they finished the harangue, which in her Majestie's name was thus answered; That her Majesty was very much obliged both to the King and Queen of England by the new assurances of friendship, which his Excellence had given her in their behalf; That her Majesty desired his Excellence to testify to the King his Master with how much joy and satisfaction She received those declarations, and

that for her part She would not fail to employ the utmost of her care for the religious conservation of the happy correspondence, which was now established betwixt the King of Swedeland her Son and his Majesty of Great Britain ; That She desired also, that he would signify to her Sister the Queen of England, with what zeal She honoured her Person and Virtues, and what delight She took in her prosperity ; and lastly, 'That her Majesty was very well pleased with the generous comportment of the Ambassador, and that she had a very great esteem of his person, and merits.

His Excellence having taken his leave in this manner of their Majesties, he was conducted into a large dining room, where in their Majesties name he was treated with all kind of magnificence and Pomp, in the company of the principal officers of the Court." (pp. 368-75).

Following on this is the 'relation' of "My Lord Ambassador's Residence at Copenhagen." Take this much—i.e. omitting the Latin version.

"Being arrived at this Town his Excellence was treated (as at Stockholm) three days at the King's charge, and had his Audience on the third. The Ceremonies were all in the same fashion as in the Court of Sweden, and there being no Present to be made here more than was there, his Excellence had no more to do, but to make his complement from the King his Master. The King of Denmark appeared to us very grave and majestick, and of a large stature. He was booted *à la Cavaliere*, and though he was then at least three-score years old, yet he scarce looked to be fifty. He had a sword by his side, a long coat covered with broad gold and silver lace,

and a noble plume of white feathers in his hat. He stood under his Canopy with five or six of his chief Ministers of State on one side of him, and in the midst of the Hall some ten or twelve of the Life-Guards. The Ambassador being come into the Hall made him a low reverence, and the King saluted him again: and when he was come up near him, under his Canopy of State, he put on his hat at the same time his Majesty put on his, and delivered his Complement in these Terms.

Sir,

Among so many Prerogatives of the highest Fortune, yet Princes have one disadvantage, that They can seldom attain to that reality and intimacy which we may see among private persons. The equality of their Sovereign Power exposeth them to perpetual competitions, the interest of their People obliges them to a constant jealousy, and even the Fidelity and prudence of their Ministers seems rather made to entertain them in mutual cautele and suspicion, than in perfect friendship. But betwixt the King my Master and Your Majesty it is all otherwise, & You are perhaps the only two Princes in Christendom, who in so great a nearness yet can never juttle. And having betwixt You all the Endearments of which private persons are capable, Your Royalty only inclines and inables You to cultivate and express them in a more honourable manner. What subjects of one King could ever live so peaceably and kindly together as those two Excellent Princes, His Majestie's Grand-Father and Your Majestie's Father, by Whom those bonds of Hospitality and Consanguinity were so closely woven betwixt You, visiting one the other in their King-

doms as familiarly as Neighbours in the same City, and taking Counsel together as confidently as Brothers in the same Family. And ever since, what mutual good Offices, what communication of Counsels have there been betwixt both Kings, both in adverse and prosperous fortune (with so much constancy especially on Your part in that most turbulent storm of the English Monarchy, that His Majesty must keep it in a most grateful and eternal memory) and so universal a sympathy upon all occasions, that all Antiquity would be troubled to furnish a paralel for so golden and real a Friendship! And as the bonds of reciprocal Obligations and those animated ligaments of Blood and Nature have knit both Your Majesties in the most refined union, so as to the grosser interest of Commerce and Navigation, I may say without a similitude, that it hath been moored on both sides even with anchors and cables betwixt the People. Therefore those affaires having been regulated and constituted at the time of the Extraordinary Embassage sent by Your Majesty to England, His Majesty hath now sent me to return that honour and obligation, and to assure Your Majesty, that as He shall most faithfully observe that inviolable League then perfected by the prudence of Your Ambassador, betwixt Your Majesties, so shall He most gladly approve on all occasions to Your Majesty, that antient radicated and private affection, which hath from Your Ancestors hitherto flourished so happily betwixt You. His Majesty is only troubled, that what by the composition of his own affairs and what by my slow arrival, this Office is performed later to Your Majesty. But He hopes your Majesty will consider, that however the Embassy was then sent when his Letter was first subscribed, and that to recompense and

excuse my necessary delay, He hath taken care to supply it in the mean time by his Extraordinary Envoyè, who (I doubt not) according to his great abilities and affection hath already herein sufficiently informed Your Majesty. So that I need say nothing more at present than at the beginning, that as both Your Majesties Sovereign Power is free from all shock and competition, and your Peoples mutual interest dispenses you from all suspicions and jealousy; so I even out of fidelity to the King my Master, beside mine own proper inclination, find my self bound to contribute all things toward the entertainment and certainty of the most perfect Friendship betwixt your Majesties, and shall make it my business to give all the real proofs and testimonies thereof, during the time allotted me for this Employment.

This Speech was rendred into Latin." (pp. 385-90).

Further :

"After this was done, the Chancellor of Denmark in the Name of his Master made a reply, which was turned into Latin also. Amongst other things, he declared the sence his Master had of the great Expressions of kindness which he had received from his dear Friend and Allie, the King of Great Britain; That there was nothing his heart was more inclined to, than to entertain a happy Correspondence with him, and that he would be always ready to embrace a conjunction of interests with the King of England. Lastly, that his Majesty was very well satisfied with the abilities and affection of his Excellence, and that he might assure himself of his Royal favour, and Good will. In the mean while, the King and the Ambassador observed one thing punctually (as had been done in Sweden) that every time the word

Majesty was pronounced in English, Danish, or Latin, both the one and the other pulled off their hats, and afterwards put them on again at the same time exactly.

After the King's answer was made, his Excellencie's Son, and all the Gentlemen went in order, to make their Reverence to his Majestie; and that done, his Excellence was conducted towards the Queen, whose character is very well exprest in the complement the Ambassador made her, with his head uncovered, which was interpreted in French.

Madam,

The King my Master hath commanded me to wait upon Your Majesty, and in His Majestie's Name to make to You all the most entire professions of Friendship, Affection and Esteem which are due to so Great a Queen, so near a Kinswoman, and so admirably accomplished a Princess. But, seeing it is impossible to execute those commands worthily and to the full, unless His Majesty could not only imprint His Character upon me, but inspire me too, with his great Soul and Royal Understanding, I must beg Your Majestie's pardon, if I fall short, where His Majestie's sense is so far above expression, and Your own perfections are so ineffable! Therefore I shall only in my ordinary and safer way, assure Your Majesty, that no Prince in Christendom doth interest Himself more in your Majestie's health and prosperity than the King my Master. And no less the Queen, who as She makes His affections the rule and model of Hers, hath yet moreover a singular affection and admiration of Her own for your Majesty, hath commanded me to express how much She regards and loves you, considering your Heroical Person, as

the Example of Queens, and Glory of Women. After which, whatsoever of thoughts or words can remain to my self, wherein to testify mine own great Veneration and Service to your Majesty, I shall consecrate to your Fame upon all occasions, but present them to your Self involved rather in a most devout and respectful silence. .

To which, in the name of the Queen he received an answer with expressions of her acknowledgment and affection.

From thence the Ambassador was conducted towards his Royal Highness the Prince Christian, who was at that time about eighteen years of age: To whom his Excellence made this harangue with his hat on.

Sir,

The King my Master hath commanded me particularly to wait upon your Royal Highness: and as He professes a signal obligation to His Majesty your Father, that according to the old familiarity and kindness betwixt the two Kings of England and Denmark, He was pleased so lately to intrust so great a pledge as your Royal Highness with Him: so He desires you to believe, That in that your too short stay with Him, He nevertheless took such true Impressions of your Royal Highnesses most hopeful, vertuous and princely disposition, that, were there not all those other obligations of Friendship, Kindred, and Confederacy betwixt Him and the King your Father, He should for your own sake have a most Sincere and Personal Friendship, Kindness and Esteem for your Royal Highness, and accordingly wishes you all the happiness and health as to Himself, and offers Himself upon all occasions

to manifest His Royal inclinations and hearty affection towards your Royal Highness. For mine own part, I shall from this present, as I was from the first minute I had the honour to see you, desire to be entred into the list of your Highnesse's servants.

To which his Highness returned his Answer himself in two or three words.

After which, his Excellence complemented Prince George in his own appartement; he is a handsom young Prince of great hopes, and who is now much about fifteen or sixteen years of age. This was the Complement his Excellence made him by Command from the King his Master.

Sir,

The King my Master hath given me particular order to wait upon your Highness from Him, as well out of Affection as Curiosity. For, whereas your Highness being the second Son of Denmark hath thereby a very just title to his Majestie's Affection, so he having heard so much of you, as of a most accomplished Prince in so tender an age, was very curious to know the truth of it. I am most happy in this occasion to be able to certifie His Majesty, with how much reason Fame hath said what she hath of you, and I assure your Highness, that his Majesty will take great interest and pleasure in it, and desire nothing more than to be a witness thereof Himself, by seeing you one day in his Court, as you are already in His heart. For mine own particular, I am perfectly your Highnesse's most humble servant. (pp. 394-99.)

Finally :

"About the latter end of our residence there, there was a publick combat performed in the presence

of the King, with portable Pumps, or Engins, such as are used frequently in the quenching of great fires. It was managed before the Pallace, betwixt six or seven men one against another, having several others appointed for the management of their Pumps, and for supplying them with water from the Canal. Every one discharged upon his adversary by lifting up the Pipe, and levelling it against his Enemy, exposing themselves to the force of the Engins within fifteen or sixteen paces, and plying their business so well, that they left one of the Champions but one eye to guide him back again to his House.

My Lord Morpeth departed for England on the first day of December with four or five Gentlemen and some Footmen in his retinue. His Excellence sent him by land, that he might have the advantage of seeing some remarkable places in the way betwixt Denmark and England, but especially in Flanders thorough which his design was to pass. The Ambassador in the mean time prepared to make his own Voiage by Sea, but the weather proving cold, and the Sea frozen before Copenhagen so hard, that our ship which was to carry us was become unmoveable, his Excellence took a resolution of following his Son by land, and according to that design took his leave of his Majesty the 11. of December in this manner.

Sir,

Being now ready to lay off the Publick Character which his Majesty my Master had given me, I am obliged by his commands to reiterate the assurances of His most sincere and constant affection to your Majesty. For the performing of which I shall not need much oratory, both because his Majesty himself

desires rather to fulfill that Friendship in the effects, than to express it in words ; neither is it so pertinent to vary that in language, which is immutable in the intention, beside that Your Majesty is your self already sufficiently perswaded of it. So that without affecting any ornament, I shall only make use of that force which the occasion naturally gives me, the words of those that are upon departing being alwaies the most real, serious, and weighty. I say therefore that his Majesty my Master is by blood, by alliance, gratitude, inclination, and interest a Friend to your Majesty, and that he will not faile upon all occasions to make good all those relations to your Majesty. And as beside all those there seems to be so near a similitude in Your Stars and fortune, that both Your former adversities kept time together, and had but too great an influence on each others affairs ; so doth He gladly see and hope and will alwaies endeavour upon his part, that His and Your present prosperity may have as strong a sympathy and reflexion. Nor will He think himself the less obliged to this by the great honors and favours which Your Majesty hath for His sake shown me, who am by my employment but his Majestie's shadow, and that too made darker by mine own imperfections. But therefore I shall not faile to give his Majesty a most exact and full account of all Your Majestie's affection to Him, and of all Your Royal graces to my self. Being most obliged and most desirous to perform all offices whereby I may encrease (as far as that which is perfect can be encreased) the good correspondency betwixt both Your Majesties. And for mine own particular I pay, and shall perpetually, my thanks to your Majesty, and shall alwaies pray for your Majestie's health, long life, and prosperity, and that

the solidity and strength of your Government may be the delight and pattern of all other Princes.

This complement was thus expressed in Latin by my Lord Ambassador's Secretary.

Domine Rex,

Depositurus hanc Legationem Majestati Vestræ iterum sincerissimum & constantissimum Majestatis suæ Domini mei Clementissimi affectum in hâc ultimâ salutatione confirmare debeo. Ad hoc autem faciendum non est apparatu & ornatu Oratorio opus, tum quòd Majestas sua amicitiam erga Majestatem Vestram reipsâ potiùs approbare, quàm verbis adumbrare cupiat, tum etiam quod immutabilem illam Regii sui animi sententiam & tenorem dicendo variare minus decorum videatur, præsertim quum Majestas Vestra jam antea de illæ re abundè sibi persuasum esse testetur. Quapropter neglectis omnibus artis pigmentis eo tantùm utar orationis auxilio, quod ipsa hujus occasionis natura suppeditat. Quæ enim in procinctu & ab abituris verba dictantur, uti simplicissima in se atque intentissima, ità majorem vim, efficaciam, & pondus apud alios habere & obtinere solent. Dico igitur Majestatem suam sanguinis nexu, fœderum societate, obligatione beneficiorum, spontaneâ animi propensione, & communibus rationibus Majestati Vestræ esse conjunctissimam, neque ergo commissuram ut in ullo hujus amicitiae officio suæ partes desiderentur. Et quum præterea occultior quidam Utriusque Syderum consensus esse videatur tantus, ut adversæ Alterius res Alterum pariter tanquam ejusdem mali contagione olim afflaverint, ità futurum sperat & Ipse allaborabit, ut prospera Utriusque fortuna non minùs ad mutuum Amborum ornamentum & utilitatem redundet. Neque imminuetur hæc Majestatis suæ erga Majestatem Vestram benevolentia, quum audiverit quantos honores suâ causâ Majestas Vestra mihi exhibuerit, qui in hoc Legationis munere umbram tantùm Majestatis suæ gero, & illam quidem propter defectus nostros adhuc obscuriorem. Ideoque de summo erga Majestatem suam Majestatis Vestræ affectu, deque tot honoris & benevolentiae erga me ipsum indiciis nihil reticebo, quandoquidem officii mei esse duco & maximè cupio omnia conferre ad augendam (quantum quidem perfectissima possunt augeri) mutuam inter Majestates Vestras amicitiam. Ego autem Majestati Vestræ Serenissimæ gratias nostras & nunc ago, & in posterum semper sum acturus, & Majestati Vestræ prosperam Valetudinem, longam Vitam,

perpetuam Felicitatem precor & voveo, atque præsens hæc Regiminis sui firmitas omnibus aliis Principibus exemplo & voluptati esse possit.

The Chancellor returned an answer in the name of his Master, full of all manner of protestations of mutual amity, which was rendered into Latin likewise. After which the Ambassador's gentlemen advanced to make their reverence to his Majesty. That done, the Ambassador went to take his leave of the Queen: which he performed in these terms.

Madam,

I could never answer it to his Majesty, should I not in best manner re-assure your Majesty of that great honour and esteem He hath for You. But your Majesty having done the King my Master that right as so easily to believe it, hath thereby acquitted me of my commission, and your own Royal perswasion hath excused the Embassador; yet nevertheless, I cannot omit to witness how much his Majesty rejoyces to have heard so lately of the health and prosperity of your Majesty and your whole Family, which as it is without competition the most flourishing Family of all Europe, and worthy only to have sprung from such a Mother, so his Majesty wishes to all of them, as fair and suitable fortunes, as the greatness of their perfections, vertues, and extraction doth promise and challenge. And yet, this is but one part of that happiness, which in all other things He prayes for your Majesty and which upon all occasions His majesty himself will endeavour, and count Himself most happy, to promote to the uttermost. For my self, I have so much to acknowledge for all the honours that your Majesty hath, in respect to my King and Master, done me, that should I take the time to do it, it

would frustrate my departure, and the frost or my thanks would be the same thing. But I assure your Majesty that I carry with me an heart most sensibly touched with Gratitude and most humble Devotion to Your majesty, and that I shall not fail to inform the King my Master of all those Obligations.

The Answer that was returned in the name of the Queen consisted only like the former of affectionate Expressions toward their Majesties of Great Britain, with assurances of the favour She had for the person of the Ambassador. After which his Excellence was conducted to his Royal Highness in his Appartement, of whom he took his leave in this manner.

Sir,

Your Royal Highness knows the King my Master so well, that I need no new Credentials when I renew to your Royal Highness the assurances of his esteem and affection. But if I stood need of witnesses, I would cite only Your own merits, it being absolutely impossible; that a Prince so clear sighted as the King my Master, should have an indifference for a Prince of the Qualities and Birth of your Royal Highness. Or if the examples of others could prevail herein more with his Majesty, than His own Inclination and Judgment, He could not fail of loving and esteeming your Royal Highness, seeing all those who have had the honour to know you do no less. But his Majesty pretends not to imitate others, but to set them an Example, and excel them all in all the most Essential Proofs of Affection toward your Royal Highness. In the mean time, He entreats your Highness to furnish him, as He Himself will constantly search, occasions of expressing it, never finding himself more happy, than

when he may in any way oblige You. For mine own part, who can never sufficiently acknowledge the favours your Royal Highness hath done me, I desire nothing with more ardour and passion than to continue in Your good Grace. And I beseech you to honour me with Your Commands, for I now divest my self of my Publick Character, to enter henceforward into the Quality of the most humble servant of your Royal Highness.

To which the Prince made answer himself in two or three words as he had done before. And from his Highness the Ambassador departed towards Prince George with this complement.

Sir,

I am very happy that the last employment of this Embassage is to salute your Highness once more in his Majestie's name; and I assure your Highness, that I hold it for a recompense too glorious and too pleasant of all my labours, that I am to conclude them in this manner. For in this grand Tour of the North that I here make an end of, I have indeed seen several things very remarkable, but chiefly the King your Father, a Prince of an admirable generosity, constancy, and goodness; the Queen the most adorable Princess of the World, and whose unparallel'd vertues give no less courage to Fame, than despair to Imitation; His Royal Highness who hath travelled thorough all hearts, and without any forces but those of his own merits, hath won himself an universal Empire over the Esteem of all Europe; the Princesses wonders of Nature, and miracles of Education. But after all this I must avow, that I never yet saw a Prince so little and so great as your Highness, or whose young mind did in his greenest

years promise and threaten so much and so handsomly. I leave it to your Highnesse's Judgment with how much pleasure and contentment the King my Master will hear these news, for I assure your Highness, that he takes and will take more and more interest every day in all that concerns You. And for mine own particular I beseech your Highness to retain me in your favour, and to dispose alwaies of my person, as consecrated to your Highnesse's service.

Whereunto answer was given in the name of the Prince with great acknowledgment, affection and respect towards the King of England, and his Excellence had also therein several expressions of the particular affection his Highness had for his person." (pp. 412-24.)

For the biographic value of all this hitherto utterly unknown and unused material, the Reader is referred to our Essay in the present Volume; and so closes this matterful filling up of a long gap in previous Biographies and Correspondence of Marvell.

Thus returned from 'the Embassy' Marvell must—we may suppose—have resumed his wonted Correspondence; but our next Letter—as already stated—is of 'October 15, 1665,' and plunges in *medias res*. Among the doings of the House reported is 'the restraint of Nonconformist Ejected Members from living neare townes corporate'—which restraint in its stone-blind fatuousness and wrong, gave Nonconformity that hold of the country in its masses that rooted Dissent in England. To-day some of the most potential Congregations of Nonconformity are traceable to this very 'restraint.' How Marvell must have been stung by the ignorant or cruel Churchism of 'the majority' in the House! It will be noted that Parliament was now sitting at Oxford—having assembled there on 9th October. The Plague sent them thither. Doubtless bookish Marvell spent many an hour in the Bodleian. There seems some slip of the pen at the close in *Octavus Martini* (printed by Captain Thompson 'October Martini'), the meaning, the octave of [St.] Martin—St. Martin's day being

11th November. By a proclamation of 15th October Michaelmas term was adjourned from London to Oxford. Probably 'taking away of damage cleare' signifies free of charge.

Letter XLVIII. For the Right Worshipfull Robert Bloom, Mayor, and the Aldermen his Brethren of Kingston upon Hull.

'October 15, 1665.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE not received any from you in answer to my letter before the sitting of Parliament. Our House, upon his Majesty's representation of necessity of further supplies in reference to the Dutch warre, and probability of the French embracing their interest, hath voted the King 1,250,000*l.* additional, to be levied in two years; beginning from 25 of December next, and to be raised in the same way of sessiments, at 12,000*l.* a month: the Bill had yesterday its second reading; to-morrow the House is to be in a committee concerning it. There are several other Bills in hand; as for the incouragement of sowing Flax or Hemp; the taking away of Damage cleere; the Penaltys of Swearing, Drunkenness, and other Profanations; the restraint of Non-conformist ejected Ministers from living neare Towns-Corporate, &c. We shall have a short session; I believe not above a moneth. The term does not begin here till *Octavus Martini*, and little to be done, but only the continuance. I am in some haste, but very cordially,

Gentlemen,

Your most affectionate friend,

ANDREW MARVELL.

Oxford, Oct. 15, 1665.

Prohibition of 'the importation of Irish cattle' is attempted—without success, i.e. Parliament passed it, but, as our next letter shews, the King withheld his sanction—wisely. The Bishop of Munster—militant Bishop—needs no annotation.

Letter XLIX. TO THE SAME.

'October 22, 1665.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you I received yours of the 13th October. The House is still making all the expedition possible in the Bills before them, insomuch that I believe by Saturday next, or Tuesday se'nnight, we may be ready for dismissal. Yesterday they finisht their Bill of the additionall assessment, and sent it up ingrossed to the Lords. There is another Bill also in good forwardnesse to prohibit the importation of Irish cattell, the fall of lands and rents being generally ascribed to the bringing of them over into England in such plenty. Another Bill to prevent the imbezelling of prize goods, in which of late there have been so great faults committed; also the Bill I mentioned to you concerning ejected ministers. Not much else of public concernment. The King hath caused the Dutch ambassador's secretary here to be committed. The French ambassadors are discountenanced at Court. The Bishop of Munster proceeds prosperously; so that 'tis the news here, that in Ouer-Yssel and those parts, they haue drownd their country to prevent his further irruption, and that they presse the States-Generall to make up a peace and restore the Prince of Orange. Our navy is speeding to chase the Dutch again of our seas. I am,

Gentlemen,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Oxford, Oct. 22, 1665.

The Session of Parliament at Oxford is closing. One of its 'ten Acts' passed was 'for restraining of printing without licence,' on which Marvell delivered himself articulately in 'The Rehearsal Transpros'd' onward. His Majesty was most gracious: the £1,250,000 was for the Dutch War, the £120,000 'for his royall Highness' was in reward of the battle with the Dutch off Lowestoffe on 3d June.

Letter L. TO THE SAME.

'Nov. 2, 1665.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

BEFORE my departure from Oxford, I would not omitt to let you know that on Tuesday last his Majesty was pleased to put a period to this session of Parliament. The ten Acts past were these: For 1,250,000*l.* to his Majesty; for 120,000*l.* to be bestowed on his Royal Highnesse; for Attainder of Dollman, Scott, and Bamfield, Englishmen that act[ed] in Holland against his Majesty; for uniting of Vicarages; for debarring ejected Non-conformists from living in or neare Corporations, unlesse taking the new Oath and Declaration; for speedyer Recovery of Rents; for preventing unnecessary Suits and Delays in Law: for taking away of Damage cleare after seaven yeares; for restraining of Printing without Licence; and for naturalizing some particular Persons. The Bill for better preventing the Increase of the Plague could not passe, because the Lords would not agree with us, that their houses, if infected, should be shut up. His Majesty was pleased, at our departure, to witnesse his great satisfaction in all our proceedings, and signified that he thought he should not call us together again before Aprill, but in the mean time did prorogue us onely till the 20th of February next. Our House, at their rising, ordered some of their members to

attend his Majesty, and request him that the officers of the Navy and Ordnance might give in their accounts the next Session. Our Bill against the importation of Irish cattell was not past by his Majesty, as being too destructive to the Irish interest.

This is the summe of what hath been done this short Session. I have no more at present but to beseech God to continue you in all health and well-fare, and to re-assure you that I am,

Gentlemen, my very worthy Friends,

Your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Oxford, Nov. 2, 1665.

Another Letter on the interminable 'Spurn-head Lighthouse.' The 'Sir Philip' was Sir Philip Froude, who proves himself about the most mulish-obstinate and perverse mortal ever 'honest man' had to do with. Very rich will be found later Marvell's reports of interviews with him. Little did the Knight know the penetrative eyes that were looking through him :

Letter II. To TRINITY HOUSE [no address].

'Dec. 9, 1665.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

COL. GILBY incloses to you a paper of Sir Philip's, which deserves no great reflexion, except the last proposall. Wherein two things, the taking of an halfpenny and a penny, and the other that the worke should be at your charge only, are worthy consideration. And to those or what else you may think worthy returne, be pleased to write your answer in a distinct paper as it may be fit to be shown fully to him as your sense (your open sense) but if you think fit to give us any private items or set us more loose in some things contained in such

paper, write that in your letters apart. We have, since he gave us in his paper, had discourse with him to-night for some considerable time. We can not make him believe that farthing and halfpeny can raise 600li. a yeare, nor if it would, to be content with 600li. a yeare. But pray tell us once more in certainty whether it must consequently make 600li. a yeare, and whether if we were drove to that and he would accept it, you would secure 300li. a yeare to him, and the whole thing make your best of it to remaine yours. We shall, I think, be now modelling articles daily as concerning a Patent (that we may once exclude all apprehension of others concurrent, if not sufficiently barricaded out already by his and your double interest), and act for your and his profit, the person in whose name these are to be past being to give security to the other for his proportion. And if you have any thing of that nature that occurs to you, you will do well to suggest it to us. But Col. Gilby and I can not yet get over one another's argument. One saith if this passe in your name your testimony will not be valid in your own cause. The other saith that a Patent and subsequent let in the name of one of the Court will not passe so well (especially not in the House) as upon a reall and maritime interest. But this we shall decide easily betwixt us by your other good advice. I believe there is nothing but reality [sic] among the partys, and that you are not in danger at present. And for the rest, give my partner and me what scope you can, but no more than will consist with your and our discretion.

I am, Gentlemen, &c.,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

The House is once more at Westminster, and so the Letters are resumed, albeit as Parliament assembled on 21st September, some are probably lost, 'Chimney-money' and 'Popery' engage earnest attention. Things are ripening. History is being made. Only the last month (1st September onward) the Fire of London had swept desolatingly. We cannot wonder that Letters were suspended during these panic-weeks. *En passant*, for simpleness with a strange power, for a naturalness that conceals the art of it, there is no description of the 'great Fire' comparable with that of Pepys' (ii. 439-53 onward). The 'Canary Company' disputes come often up in Pepys and elsewhere.

Letter LII. For the Right Wor'pfull Richard Franke, Mayor, and the Aldermen his Brethren,
of Kingston upon Hull.

'October 23, 1666.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

REALLY busynesse does so multiply of late that I can scarce snatch time to write to you. We are yet in the debate of what recompense for the chimney-money. The last in debate by seald paper, in things of legall and publick concernment, but nothing yet resolved, nor yet the act brought in how to take away the chimney-money to be debated upon. The committee hath voted the Canary Company grievous, illegall, and a monopoly. A conference to-day with the Lords, to satisfy them, in answer of theirs, of our reasons for prohibiting French commoditys. Bill for encouraging flax and hemp, with 2s. 6d. for Tithe of an acre, ordered to be ingrost. Committee about the Fire of London, and another committee to receive informations of the insolence of Popish Priests and Jesuites; and of the increase of Popery.

Have much business, excuse my hast. I will make you amends as soon as I can, remaining,

Gentlemen, &c.,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Wesminster, Oct. 23, 1666.

'Popery' is more and more stirring the House and the Nation. There are patriots in both Houses; and one is glad to find the 'golden calf' of an unkingly royalty not bowed down to by all. Marvell interprets truly a deepening feeling: 'our House's sense of the burthen to be laid upon the subject,' &c. It was hideous to have millions granted for the carrying on of the War—as was alleged—profligately wasted on harlotry and all abominations. The chasm of separation between the monarch and his subjects was widening daily. Let Sir John Denham's and Marvell's Satires be turned to for evidence and cause. The Fire of London maddened the Nation over the 'insolence of Papists.' Yet must it with candour be owned that the cry of 'No Popery' was used and fostered by some in Parliament for bye-ends.

Letter LIII. To THE SAME.

'October 27, 1666.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you we have advanced very little either in the sale of the chimney-mony, or finding out a compensation, if sold, in lieu of it for his Majesty; and so consequently neither in any other way of raising the 1,800,000*l.* formerly voted, which is not from any want of ardor in the House to supply the publick necessities, but out of our House's sense also of the burthen to be laid upon the subject, and a desire therefore to do it in the most prudent, eligible, and easy manner. What hath past else of most consideration is the votes yesterday upon the opinion of the committee for receiving information of the insolence of Popish Priests, &c. that his

Majesty be desired to issue out his Proclamation that all Popish Priests and Jesuits, except such as not being natural-born subjects of his Majesty's dominions, [or] belong to the Queen-Mother and Queen-Consort, be banisht in 30 days, or else the law to be executed upon them; that all Justices of Peace and Officers concernd put the laws in execution against Papists or suspected Papists, in order to their conviction, and Judges in their circuits, to give in charge, &c. that all officers, civill or military, not taking the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy within 20 days, be displaced; that all Papists or suspected Papists, who refuse to take the oaths, be disarmed; that *dedimus potestatem* be issued out to the Lord Generall for the army, Lord Chamberlain, &c. for the King's Houshold, to administer the said oaths, &c.; that all muster-masters lose their places, who shall muster any that have not taken the oaths and the sacrament, after the rites of the Church of England: and herewith the House sent to desire the Lords' concurrence, to which have yet received no answer. Also 'twas ordered to desire his Majesty to renew his Commission for all members of our House to take the said oaths. Many informations are daily brought in to the two Committees about the Fire of London, and the insolence of Papists. I remain,

Gentlemen, &c.

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Oct. 27th, 1666.

'Money' for the King still occupies 'the House,' and 'the House' knows the vile uses to which its treasure is being turned, and the 'necessity of the Nation' presses on some consciences and stout hearts. The marvel is that 'the House'

and Nation did not rise up in rebuke and revolt and demand a clearing and cleansing out of the royal Palaces. 'Divine right' becomes hideous as exemplified in such a monster as Charles II. The People's patience has the stamp of God's own patience. Even Marvell still trusted 'the King's' promises! 'Intricated' as used by Boyle is quoted by Richardson (*s.v.*) and see Daniel for an instance of 'intricate' as verb active.

Letter LIV. TO THE SAME.

'November 13, 1666.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THOUGH, by reason of some extraordinary occasions, I was hindred from writing last Saturday, yet, if my time had serv'd me, I should not have had much matter to fill up a letter; for our House hath been ever since my last intricated still in the way of raising this mony for the King: whereby we have onely gained that however, almost all possible expedients having been under debate, we are the riper to come to a result. For as yet the Committee of the whole House, much lesse the House, have neither rejected nor embraced any one of the proposalls that have bin under deliberation. The redemption of the chimney-money at eight years purchase we are very fond of, but to make the King a compensation of 200,000*l.* a yeare perpetuall, which it is estimated at, to be upon as secure and certain a bottome, is the greatest difficulty, beside many others in the execution of the purchase. Forain excise, home excise, a poll-bill, subsidys at the improved value at sixpence per pound, privy seals, sealed paper, a subsequent land-tax, have been all more or lesse disputed, with different approbation, but where we shall pitch I am not yet wise enough to tell you: for indeed as the urgency of his Majestye's affairs exacts the mony, so the sense of

the nation's extreme necessity makes us exceeding tender whereupon to fasten our resolutions; but I am prone to imagine that the chimney businesse will faile us, and that we shall after all be forced upon a subsequent land-tax, together with a poll-bill, or some other of the most tolerable projects to raise a summe of ready mony. One thing I observe, that as the House is much in earnest to furnish his Majestye's present occasions, so they are very carefull to prevent the perpetuating of any Imposition.

This day hath been wholly taken up in calling the House over. The defaulters are to be called over this day se'nnight, and then they, and who shall absent themselves in the mean time, to be proceeded against. I suppose you know that the King hath promist his proclamation about the Papists and French commoditys, in pursuance of the votes of both Houses.

I am, &c.

Westm., Nov. 6, 1666.

New and newer devices for 'money, for the King:' mutterings still of 'the insolence of Papists;' 'things incredible if they were not true;' and so the Farce-Tragedy goes on.

Letter LV. TO THE SAME.

'November 13, 1666.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

PERHAPS you may have already, from some hand, part of our further proceedings. However, I shall go on to continue from my last Letter. The House resolved, that a Poll Bill, an imposition upon seald paper, an imposition (which is likely to be by way of excise) upon forain commodities, and an eleven

moneths tax upon land (but of how much *per mensem* not resolved ; but resolved not of an hundred and twenty thousand pounds *per mensem*) to begin from the expiration of the present taxes, should be the ways out of which to raise the 1,800,000*li.* Ever since that, we have bin in a Committee of the whole House, toward the maturing and proportioning of these particulars. First, for the seald paper, a Committee has bin orderd to inspect in all offices of judicature, &c., what quantityes and number issue yearly of all papers and parchments belonging to Law bnsiness, &c. that so a surer estimate may be taken of the revenues to arise thence, and of the proportion to be plac'd upon such papers, as they are of greater or less consequence. Then for the poll-bill the Committee hath prepared these votes, but not yet reported to the House, that all persons shall pay one shilling per poll ; all aliens two ; all nonconformists and papists two ; all servants one shilling in the pound of their wages : all personal estates shall pay for so much as [is] not already taxed by the land-tax, after twenty shillings in the hundred ; cattell, corn, and household furniture shall be excepted, and all such stock for trade, as is already taxed by the land-tax, but the rest to be liable. And thus we are still proceeding on the poll instructions, in order to preparing a bill. What the paper and this will not do, must fall upon the forain imposition, and subsequent land-tax. I have sent you here the proclamation against Papists ; what was in our votes, and not there published, I heare his Majesty is putting into the way of being executed by commission. The reports from the Committee of the Fire of London, and insolence of Papists, are almost ready for the House : things of extraordinary weight,

and which, if they were not true, might have bin thought incredible. I remain,

Gentlemen, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, Nov. 13, 1666.

'Poll-bill' with 'double on aliens *and Nonconformists of all sorts:*' that Act which gives us quaint entries in many a Parish-Register of 'burying in woollen;' such are the things discussing in 'the House.'

Letter LVI. TO THE SAME.

'November 20, 1666.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, we have in a manner bin wholly taken up with the instructions for the Poll-bill, which is now orderd to be brought in, and may I suppose by Thursday morning, be ready for its first reading. The chief of the instructions which the House voted upon report from the Committee of the whole House, were, beside that of twelve-pence on every head, and double on aliens and non-conformists of all sorts, twenty shillings in the hundred pound for personall estates, three shillings in the pound for all offices and publick employments except military; lawyers and physicians proportionable to their practise. Severall other limitations and restrictions. There is one Bill orderd to be brought in (perhaps you have heard of it) of a something new nature: that all persons shall be buried in woollen for these next six or seven years. The reason propounded is, because so a matter of an hundred thousand pounds a yeare of our own manufacture will be employd, and so much money kept at home from buying forain linnen, till our own trade

of flax, &c. be grown up, as is intended by the Bill for the encouragement thereof, of which I gave you notice formerly. I have sent you the two proclamations about Canary wines and French commoditys, if perhaps you have not yet had them from some other hand.

I remain, &c.

Westminster, Nov. 20, 1666.

Next is again a united Letter—intercession for ‘Hull prisoners in Holland’—sad incidents of petty Holland’s triumphs over mighty England, a ‘poor blind Sampson ‘grinding in the mill,’ and all the grist going to ————. I am aware of Holland’s (then) great maritime position, but it was none the less a scandal that England should have been outdone by such an insignificant country and relatively poor resources compared with her own.

Letter LVII. TO THE SAME.

‘November 22, 1666.’

GENTLEMEN,

WE have received your letter concerning the Hull prisoners in Holland; whereupon we went to Sir George Downing and delivered him the list. Upon perusall of it he said, that he was confident severall and the most of them were already exchanged, which he gathered upon observing the places where most of them were prisoners, orders having been given for the exchange of them in those Admiralties. He saith, that the first faire wind from Holland he will give us account, for he never hath a list of the names of those which are dismist, till they arrive here. And then, if any be left behind, he will procure their release also, with the soonest. For those which are prisoners in Zealand, he saith, there is indeed yet no order, but he will write speedily about them. We shall not faile to enquire of him

and put him in mind from time to time of it. We propounded to him whether those Dutch prisoners at Hull might not be a quicker exchange then otherwise. But he saith that signifyes nothing according to the method in which that businesse is put, the prisners, from whatsoever place of England, being discharged according to the severall Admiralties where they chance to be distributed in Holland at their taking.

This is all at present. We remain,

Your very affectionate friends,

ANTHO. GYLBY.

ANDREW MARVELL.

Westm., Nov. 22, 1666.

'My Lord Mordaunt' was John, 2nd son of John 1st, earl of Peterborough: created Viscount Mordaunt 10th July, 1659. On the 'Restoration' he was appointed Constable of Windsor Castle, and Lord-Lientenant of Surrey. Pepys' and his Editor, Lord Braybrooke, give the facts of the 'mis-governments' at Windsor (iii. pp. 18-19); Marvell scathes him in *Instructions to a Painter*, (ll. 349-5. Vol. I. pp. 300-1). William Lord Willoughby, 6th Baron succeeded his brother Francis (who was drowned at Barbadoes), in 1666. He was also Governor of the Caribee Islands. He died at Barbadoes 10th April, 1673. Pepys gives the 'ill' news' that were circulating from Barbadoes (iii. 20-1), and of the 'Smyrna ships,' and of the King of Sweden. Of the last he writes: "Some I hear do fright us with the King of Sweden's seizing our mast-ships at Gottenburgh." (*ibid*). Of 'the Scotch businesse' thus: "That which I hear from Scotland is, the Duke of York's saying yesterday, that he is confident the Lieutenant-Generall there hath driven them into a pound, somewhere towards the mountains." (*ibid*). The Covenanters had risen, and some of the bloodiest pages of Scottish history were now being written.

Letter LVIII. To THE SAME.

'December 1, 1666.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE not had much to acquaint you with of

late, nor yet much leisure, for we have constantly been taken up with perfecting the Poll-bill, at the Committee of the whole House; that we may be ready to return it to the House. We have and are now sitting all day to perfect it. I hope it will be done to-night. The committee of grievances hath had much work, and still continues, about lord Mordant's mis-governments at Windsor, and my lord Willoughby's at the Barbadoes; and to day we have very sad news, most part of it too true, of the Lord Willoughby's (and several ships, and great numbers of men) destruction by an hurricane in an attempt for St. Christopher's. The sea-news is not good from severall places; but we are most sollicitous for the Smyrna fleet which is upon returne; and the Gottenburg fleet, and the successe of that whole affaire. God grant good. For the Scotch businesse, truly I hope this night's news is certain of their totall rout. I remain,

Gentlemen,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Dec. 1, 1666.

Pray write us still, whether you heare any thing of the return of your Dutch prisoners.

Fighting among the snows away down in Scotland: in 'the House' chaffering over the 'Poll-Bill.' It was afterwards made a separate bill (see Letter LX. &c.) The Lords refused to pass it (see Letters LXI. and LXIII.), but the Commons remaining firm, the King gave way and desired the Lords to withdraw their opposition. By varying the Commissioners the King evaded the act (see Pepys Jan. 2, 1667).

Letter LIX. TO THE SAME.

‘December 3, 1666.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, we have been constantly busied in the Poll-bill, the House sitting morning and afternoon ; and it was yesterday perfected ready for ingrossing, but that in the conclusion there was offerd an inacting provisoe that for the better satisfaction of the people, &c. great summs of mony having been already granted, there should by this act be constituted so many commissioners of Lords and Commons, to inspect and examine thorowly, the former expense of the 2,500,000*l.* of the 1,250,000*l.* of the militia mony ; of the prize goods, &c. The debate thereupon was very long, and at last upon division of the House, those that were against it being but 83, those for it 119, ’twas caryed for the provisos being committed : so that some time more will be spent in the committee of the whole House, for fitting of this proviso to the Bill ; which I hope will be of very great service to the publick. This being all that occurs to me at present worthy your notice,

I remain, &c.

Westm., Dec. 3, 1666.

There is conflict between ‘the Houses’ over the word ‘nuisance,’ and the Commons ‘adhere’ to the word. The attendance by Members is slack. The ‘defaulters’ are to be ‘called.’

Letter LX. TO THE SAME.

‘December 15, 1666.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last the House hath sent up the Poll-bill and the Bill for the inspection of the accounts

by 24 commissioners nam'd in our House, to which they expect 12 Lords will be added. Also they have returned the Bill about Irish cattell again to the Lords, adhering to the word nuisance which the Lords changed to detriment and mischief, and at a conference, we delivered the reasons of our adhering. Also the Lords having sent us word they had not proceeded upon the Canary patent, because we sent up bare votes without our reasons; we have now prepared the reasons, to be imparted to them at a conference. To-day his Majesty writ to us to quicken us, signifying we should sit all but the great Holidays, and that we should conclude his businesse without any recesse; because on the 15th of January the commissioners of the poll are to begin. Thereupon our House forthwith called all the defaulters as the first call of the House, and the Sergeant at Arms to be sent for them, and they not to sit till they had payed him fees. And the House to be called the 2nd of January; those that have since absented to be summoned, and if not then appearing, to be proceeded against as the former defaulters. Then the House voted that whatsoever wants in the Poll-bill (which is by the Committee, but not yet by the House, estimated at 540,000*l.* of the 1,800,000*l.*) shall be made up by eleven moneths Land-tax, so the Seald Paper and forain Excise are out of doors. This is all.

I remain, &c.

Westminster, Dec. 15, 1666.

'Mordaunt' is again before 'the House'—an ugly business; but his uglier Master screens him, and alas! the passionate first indignation of 'the House' cools down (Pepys iii. 18, 52). Pepys tells graphically the 'scuffling' between Buckingham and Dorchester (iii. 32). Buckingham, was George Villiers, eldest son of George 1st duke of Buckingham. He succeeded as 2d Duke. His life was on a par with the King's. He died

16th April, 1687, and was buried 'honorably' in Westminster Abbey! Henry Pierrepont, 2d earl of Kingston, was created Marquess of Dorchester 25th March, 1644: died in 1680. The 'Hull liquor' i.e. Ale is once more acknowledged.

Letter LXI. TO THE SAME.

'December 22, 1666.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, there is not much new. We have now very neare finisht at the Grand Committee, the eleven moneths assesment to make up thereby the 500,000li. (at which we estimate the Poll-bill) 1,800,000li. Other bills of lesser moment are in sufficient progresse. Those of more publick concernment, as of Irish cattell, Commissioners for Accounts, &c. are yet in suspense betwixt the Lords and our House. This day we read ingrost, the impeachment of the Lord Viscount Mordant, Constable of Windsor Castle; consisting of severall articles of misdemeanor and illegall and arbitrary proceedings; which is ready to be carryed up. To-day the D. of Buckingham and Marquesse of Dorchester were, upon their petitions, freed from the Towr, having been committed for quarrelling and scuffling when we were the other day at the Canary conference. We have adjourn'd till Saturday next. I thank you for your kind present of our Hull liquor.

I am, &c.

Westm., Dec. 22, 1666.

Sir William Batten, of obscure origin, rose to be Surveyor of the Navy in 1642, but afterwards deserted the service of the Parliament, and treacherously carried one of their best ships to the Royalists in Holland. For this he was knighted ('honorable man'), and made a Rear-Admiral by Charles II., while Prince. Subsequently he was a Commissioner of the

Navy and M.P. for Rochester. He died 5th October, 1667. Pepys is full of him. By 'again releast' in reference to Buckingham and Dorchester, is simply meant 'releast again,' i.e., after their arrest, for there were not two arrests of each. Buckingham, with others, was a promoter of the opposition to the Court in this Parliament, and encouraged the people's cry against Popery, raised after the great Fire. Hence in part his arrest later : see Pepys, 3rd March, 1667.

Letter LXII. TO THE SAME.

'December 29, 1666.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

WE met again this day according to our adjournment last Saturday. This day a Bill was brought in by the City members, for regulating the building of the City, and was read the first time ; also a Conference was desired with the Lords, for impeaching John, Lord Viscount Mordant, of several high crimes and misdemeanors. The Lords thereupon agreed to a present Conference in the Painted Chamber, where our House exhibited the Articles of Impeachment against him. This was all was done to day, and then the House adjourn'd till Wednesday next. The news is not much. I suppose you know that the Duke of Buckingham and Marquesse of Dorchester are again releast from the Tow'r ; that the Duke afterwards, being at chappell before he had waited upon his Majesty, was sent to by the King, and forbid the Court, but I heare is since admitted. Part of the Gottenburg fleet is arrived ; I hope my next may give you account of the rest. Their convoy has taken three Dutch men of warre ; and a privateer of Sir William Batten's has taken three good prizes, brought into Portsmouth. One of our ships from

the Levant that could not keep company with the rest was taken by two French merchants; was worth 20,000*l*.

I remain, &c.

Westminster, Dec. 29, 1666.

The House of Lords is transgressing its legitimate bounds. The Commons asserts itself and 'prepared reasons.' One is glad to come on these hints of a better feeling. 'Nuisance' is re-affirmed. But a good issue is counted on from these 'clashings,' through ————— 'his Majesty's princely prudence!' I am compelled to find in these and kindred places 'The Rehearsal Transpos'd's' humourous sarcasms. For an explanation of this difference as to the word 'nuisance,' see Pepys, 9th January, 1667.

Letter LXIII. TO THE SAME.

'January 5, 1666-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, we met upon Wednesday, and having begun the calling of the House, a message came from the Lords, for a present conference upon foure Bills sent up to them: Coynage, which was of the least concernment; Accounts: Irish Cattell; and Poll. On Thursday the report was made of the conference about Accounts: the Lords, without communication with the House of Commons, had, instead of our Bill, petitioned the King to issue a commission under the great seale to the same purpose, and told us that the King had done it; our House voted thereupon without dividing, that this proceeding of the Lords was unparlamentary and a dangerous precedent, and ordered members to prepare reasons. Yesterday the report of the conference about the Irish Cattell: the Lords proposed, that instead of the word Nuisance, we should, both Houses, petition his Majesty that he would grant no licences. But

our House upon division 116 against some 57, caryed to adhere to our word Nuisance; and that the importation of Irish cattell should so be esteemed in law. To-day the report of the conference about the Poll-bill, wherein the Lords have made many materiall alterations, and returned it us. I observd one litle particular, that they have added to you, whom we had inserted Commissioners, Mr. Thomas Johnson and Mr. Henry Crevett. Their first alteration (which took up our Debate all this day) was that aliens should not pay double poll: but upon division we adhered that they should. There remains much, and when we have gone through all, we shall have severall conferences with the Lords upon all those Bills. These things I do not esteem too high to intrust with your discretions, but they may be fit for your privacy, if not secrecy. Neither would I have you doubt, from the good temper of the Houses, and his Majesty's princely prudence, of a good successe of these seeming clashings in opinions and proceeding. A Bill has bin read for setting the prices of wine as well upon the merchant as retaylor, Not much more worth notice.

I am. &c.

Westm., Jan. 5, 1666-7.

'Nonconformists' are NOT to 'pay double.' Astounding graciousness! Yet let this historical fact be remembered, That the proposal to tax Nonconformists double originated with the Commons, who were strong enough to carry their opposition to the Court Party in money matters and in the question of Irish cattle being a 'nuisance;' and that it was the Lords, where the Court Party was stronger that brought about the rejection of the shameless tax. Sir Thomas Higons (or Higgins) of Hampshire, was knighted 17th June, 1663. He was sent as Ambassador to Saxony and Venice. He married Bridget, sister of John Granville, 1st Earl of Bath (of whom before). He died in 1691. 'Mr. May' was Baptist May,

youngest son of Sir Humphrey May. Besides being Privy-purse he was Registrar in Chancery. He died 2d March, 1696-7. He was commonly called 'Bab May.' Buckingham was also 'Baron De Ros' (Pepys iii. 46). I do not care to investigate this 'illegitimizing' of *his* children, whatever it may mean; but this 'Lord Ross' seems to have been another than Buckingham—of whom it really needeth not that we go in search.

Letter LXIV. To THE SAME.

'January 12, 1666-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I AM in some, that is, much haste. The news that you heard of Tangier is false; and so of the French. We have not advanced much this week: the alterations of the Lords upon the Poll-bill have kept us busy. We have disagreed in most: Aliens, we adhere to pay double; Non-conformists, we agree with them not to pay double, 126 to 91; to allow no exemptions of patents to free from paying, we adhere; that the Lords name no Commissioners in the Poll-bill, we adhere; that is to say, no Commoners; and we have also rejected a long clause of theirs, whereby they, as well as the Commoners, pretend distinctly to give to the King; and to-day we sent up our reasons. Sir Thomas Higon brought in a Bill, having married with the Lady of Essex, to recover 5550l. disposed of by an ordnance of Parliament; which, as contrary to the Act of Indemnity, was thrown out 63 to 88. A dispute of election for member of parliament, Mr. May, the privy-purse, against one Mr. Austen, a gentleman dwelling neare the place: Mr. May lost it 63 to 138. A petition for French wines, ordered before the prohibition, and now in port, rejected. My Lord Ross his Bill for illegitimizing his children, to-day offerd us from the

House of Lords. The call of the House to be continu'd on Munday next.

I am, &c.,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Jan. 12, 1666-7.

'The Lords' give way and 'concur,' accepting 'nuisance' and all:

Letter LXV. To THE SAME.

'January 15, 1666-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

HAVING given you lately a silent alarme of some appearing difference betwixt the two Houses, I thought it worth a letter extraordinary to signify to you with the first, the happy compliance renewed betwixt them. For yesterday the Lords sent to advertise us, that they had concurred with us in the Irish Bill, and as to the word Nuisance in it; as also that in the Poll-bill they had concurd with us to charge aliens double; to leave out their own particular enacting clause, whereby they had pretended to give their own mony apart; to allow no patents of exemption to discharge the payments of this Bill; to strike out the Commissioners they had added among the Commoners, as Mr. Johnson and Mr. Crevett at Hull; onely they named Commissioners from among themselves, onely to tax their own personall estates and offices: to which our House, being very well pleasd with the rest, readily agreed. So that these two Bills being now happily dispatched, I hope also that the rest of our remaining businesse with them, will have the same successe; and that the remainder of the publick businesse in our House will go on as chearfully. Yesterday our House was called thorow. To-day was spent in a debate, by

reason of the dearness of coals, to addresse to the King for convenient convoy, and to desire that 4, 6, and 8 [men] might in coale-ships of 1, 2, or 300 tons, be protected still from pressing, from 1st September to 1st April; resolved in the affirmative upon division of 69 against 47. On Friday the defaulters upon the call of the House are to be called over; the House will be strict with them. I am,

Gentlemen, &c.

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Jan. 15, 1666-7.

The Act for Irish Cattell, with the word 'nuisance' in it, passed—a chuckle there! (See Letter XLIX.) From Pepys Buckingham seems to have been in favour of it and against Clarendon (October 27, 1666), and his cabals may have been the cause of the after-insistence of the Commons, who at first (Pepys, Oct. 8, 1666) do not seem to have taken it up so strongly. 'The moss-troopers on the Borders' require an Act. The Covenanters again. Lord Mordaunt is still talked and merely talked about.

Letter LXVI. TO THE SAME.

'January 19, 1666-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last his Majesty came yesterday to the Lords' House, and there past five publick Bills. The Poll Act; the Act for Irish Cattell, with the word nuisance in it; an Act for an Imposition of 12000l. yearly on French Wines; for Defraying the Mint, that so all persons who shall bring in any bullion or plate, may receive the full value in sterling mony, without any deduction for coynage; the Act for burying in Woollen; and an Act about the Mosse-

troopers on the Borders. Other private Acts he past, and then spoke to us; the chief matter of which was, that he was resolved to put an end to this Session on Munday senight, and that we should before then make ready what he was to dispatch. Then the Lords sent us down my L. Mordant's answer in writing to our Articles of Impeachment. We have not yet read it. Then having bin upon calling of the defaulters in our House, there was a debate, question, and division, whether we should go throw with the call. It past in the negative 118 to 108: but the first defaulters were calld over and referd to a committee to consider their severall cases. To-day we continued the Grand Committee for Bill of Sesment; a proviso to set apart such a summe of it to pay the seamen, took up most of our time, and is referd to a particular committee to rectify. Then we red the second time the Bill for attendance of members in parliament, and committed it. Our busines in the Lords' House, on which we lay the most stresse, is L. Mordant, Canary Patent, Bill of Accounts, and in our own House a Bill for rebuilding London, and this of Attendance.

I remain, &c.

Jan. 19, 1666-7.

'Nipt in the bud'—Yes, Mordaunt *is* to escape: 'Insolence of the Papists' again. A dispute at the conference on 26th [Marvell, 28th Pepys] between the Houses as to etiquette and allowance of counsel to Lord Mordaunt (Pepys and Letter LXIX.) seems to have stopped the proceedings: Pepys refers to the Munday resumption of the conference. Otherwise the matter might have gone on, for Parliament—longer time being given—was not prorogued till 8th February.

Letter LXVII. To THE SAME.

‘January 22, 1666-7.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I WRITE this word of a Letter to inclose the King's speech, and our Speaker's; though perhaps you may have them from some other hand. You see the time prefixed for our rising. The Lords sent us word that they had ordered the hearing of my Lord Mordant's businesse on Saturday next [26th]. Our House hath thereupon ordered members to manage it; but unless his Majesty prolong our days, that and severall other businesses of moment will be nipt in the bud. Our House yesterday perfected the proviso of 380,000*l.* of the Sesment Bill, to be appropriated for paying the seamen, from the first of January (this present month) for the year following, and so, perfecting the bill of assessment, ordered it to be ingrost and read the third time next Friday. To-day we have ordered an addresse to his Majesty for the wines I writ you of; and committed the Bill for prohibiting French wines and commodities. Then heard the report of the Fire of London, full of manifest testimonys that it was by a wicked designe; and ordered the report of the insolence of Papists for to-morrow, and then to take both into consideration. Thus much at present.

I am, &c.

Jan. 22, 1666-7.

‘Lord Mordaunt’ is ——— ‘to stand at the barre as a criminal’—not ‘sit in the House.’ Ahem!

Letter LXVIII. To THE SAME.

‘January 26, 1666-7.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY we sent the Bill of Assessment up to the Lords. To-day his Majesty sent us word by Mr. Secretary, that, out of his desire that the Bill for the Building of the City might passe, he had altered his resolution, upon request from the city, and gave us a day or two more. I believe it will be something longer. We made what progresse we could in it this morning, upon the amendment from the committee; but at eleven o'clock we went up to the Lords to manage the impeachment against Lord Mordant. Our managers observed that he sat in the House, and that he had counsell offering to speak for him; whereas he ought to stand at the barr as a criminall, and to have no counsell to plead, or manage his cause, but only for himselfe to resort to upon point of law. Hereupon the Lords retired, and debated; and will give their resolution on Monday morning. Then we returned, and have sat all day on the city bill, but are not got through the amendments; shall resume them on Munday. The Poll-bill is printed, but with so material errors that we must make an explanatory Act. I shall send it you as soon as possible.

Your most affectionate, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

Westminster, Jan. 26, 1666-7.

‘Bill against atheism and profane swearing;’ ‘Lord Mordaunt’s impeachment stops, because,’ &c.; national disasters but name-words somewhat unintelligible. These come up in the next Letter. ‘Antego’ was an old spelling for Antigua; ‘Monserat’ was Montserrat; ‘Mevis’ or Mewis, were islands of the Antilles. ‘St. Lucia’ must have meant ‘St. Lucia’ of the

same group. Colonized by the French it was taken by England and retaken 1666. Whether the reports of the capture of the others were correct does not appear.

Letter LXIX. To THE SAME.

‘Feb. 2, 1666-7.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HOPE you have received the Poll-act and the Breviate. If you find any thing perplext in it, I shall, upon your writing to me, resolve any scruple that you may have of its exposition. There is an explanatory Act for some things omitted or ill exprest in it. I now believe that the Bill for Building the City will passe before our rising. There is, toward the building of it, twelve pence allowd for ten years upon every chaldron of coales that comes within Gravesend. The Bill against Atheism and prophane Swearing we have sent up to the Lords. Our other publick businesses with them I doubt will scarce be perfected, as particularly my L. Mordant’s impeachment stops, because the Lords will not yet consent to have him come without the barre. We have lost Antego, Monserat and St. Lucia; and Mevis is besieged by the French. The Lord Willoughby (brother to the former) is going hence for the Barbados. We have some hope of a good alliance, or of a peace. God grant it. I believe we shall rise about the latter end of the next week. I am,

Gentlemen, &c

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Feb. 22, 1666-7.

The Dutch take ‘the Patrick,’ a ship of 56 guns she had a fireship in her company.’ Pepys (iii: 589) tells the story: Pointer (i: 216) writes: “Captain Seely, captain of the fireship that deserted the Patrick was this day (March 7th) shot to death on board his own vessel.” There are old Cromwellian-Puritan words at the close.

Letter LXX. To THE SAME.

‘Feb. 9, 1666-7.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY his Majesty was pleased to prorogue us till the tenth of October next. The Publick Bills which he past were eight; whereof the foure most considerable; The Assesment of eleven moneths; the explanatory Poll-bill; the Act for preventing Law-suits betwixt Landlord and Tenant in London. The foure others are of lesser moment. I shall looke that you have them all as soon as printed, and his Majestye's gracious Speech at our departure. Here hath been an ill accident lately. The Patrick, a ship of 56 guns, taken of Harwich by two Dutch men of warr. She had a fireship too in her company, which it seems ran away, and the Master questiond. The Captain of the St. Patrick was one Sanders. I hope ere long to write you some better news, and of higher importance, if it please God to give successe. I am sory to heare of severall fires of late in your town, but by God's mercy prevented from doing much harme. Though I know your vigilance, and have been informd of the occasions, I cannot but out of the earnestnesse of mine own sense advise you to have a carefull ey against all such accidents. We have had so much of them here in the South, that it makes me almost superstitious. But indeed, as sometimes there arise new diseases, so there are seasons of more particular judgments; and such as that of fires seem of late to have been upon this nation: but God's providence in such cases is well pleased to be frustrated by human industry, but much more His mercyes are always propitious to our repentance.

Excuse this digression, and if, during my stay here, I may be any way usefull to you, command,

Your most affectionate, &c.

Westm. Feb, 9, 1666-7.

Parliament is again to assemble. 'The Dutch' are said to 'appear again near Gravesend.' What an 'appearance' to look back upon across the centuries!

Letter LXXI. To THE SAME.

'June 27, 1667.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

HIS Majesty having issued out his proclamation for reassembling this Parliament, I have sent it you here inclosed, and withall desire you, that you will therefore reflect among yourselves, upon any thing in your present condition, which you may think worthy of publick consideration; that if you have any thing of that nature, I may be prepared in my place to co-operate towards your satisfaction; wherein you shall always find me as ready as obliged, being

Gentlemen, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, June 27, 1667.

The Dutch begin to appear again near Gravesend.

Marvell is in his place in 'the House.' "The Kingdom" says Pepys (29th July) "forced the Parliament men to come up to sit." The Dutch 'fighting in the mouth of the river,' but while our vessels altogether got rather the worst of it, the Dutch did nothing memorable, and retired in view of so many fire-ships.

Letter LXXII. To THE SAME.

'July 25, 1667.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THIS is onely to give you a short account that

this day we have met in Parliament. The King sent us a message, that conceiving the House might be thin, he would have us adjourn till Munday next, when his Majesty intends to signify his pleasure. The House therefore only ordered, that the members of the privy-councill of our House should go to the King, to desire that if there be a Peace, his Majesty would be pleased to disband all the new-raised land forces. This past *nemine contradicente*, and then we adjourned till Munday. The Dutch have been fighting with us at the mouth of the river, but I think with more damage to themselves than us. The peace truly I think is concluded; his Majesty will best tell us that news, as the best author. Yesternight at one o'clock a very dangerous fire happened in Southwark, but blowing up the next two houses in good time, there were but twelve consumed or ruined; besides the lives of some few persons. I cannot but advise you, to have especial care in your town of any such accident, or what you will call it; for I am sorry we can yet see no clearer by so many lights. The house is very full for the first day, and we expect every day fuller. I have no more at present, but am, Gentlemen, &c.,

London, July 25, 1667.

‘Peace’ is made, and Parliament ‘dismissed.’

Letter LXXIII. TO THE SAME.

‘July 30th, 1667.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

HIS Majesty was pleased yesterday to acquaint us, that having summonsd us in an exigency of his affairs, the Peace was now made, and therefore he could not please us better then by dismissing us at

this season ; that the Articles of Peace should shortly be in print, and that he hoped to meet us again in October ; and so prorogued us till then. When his Majesty's speech and the Articles shall be made publick, I shall take care to furnish you with them. I have nothing further than to assure you that

I am, &c.

London, July 30th, 1667.

Behind his public services and public correspondence, Marvell had many private friendships, with their usual lights and shadows. The Trotts (of whom in our Essay in the present Volume) seem to have been of his innermost circle. Two touching memorials of this remain, viz., Two Epitaphs on two prematurely-taken sons of this Family. The first is undated ; but as the second belongs to 'August, 1667,' they may find a place here, along with their translation (for the first time).

JOANNIS TROTTII EPITAPHIUM.

CHARRISSIMO FILIO, &c.

PATER & MATER, &c.

FUNEBREM TABULAM CURAVIMUS.

AGE, marmor, & pro solitâ tuâ humanitate,
(Ne, inter parentum dolorem & modestiam,
Supprimantur præclari juvenis meritæ laudes).

Effare Johannis Trottii breve elogium.

Erat ille totus candidus, politus, solidus,

Ultra vel Parii marmoris metaphoram,

Et gemmâ sculpi dignus, non lapide.

E Scholâ Wintoniensi ad Academiam Oxonii,

Inde ad Interioris Templi Hospitium, gradum fecerat.

Summæ spei, summæ indolis, ubique vestigia reliquit.

Supra sexum venustus,

Supra ætatem doctus,

Ingeniosus supra fidem.

Et jam vicesimum tertium annum inierat,

Pulcherrimo undequaque vitæ prospectu,

Quem mors immatura obstruxit.

Ferales pustulæ corpus, tam affabrè factum,

Ludibrio habuere, & vivo incrustârunt sepulchro,

Anima evasit libera, æterna, foelix,
 Et morti insultans,
 Mortalem sortem cum fœnore accipiet.
 Nos interim, meri vespillones,
 Parentes filio, extra ordinem, parentantes,
 Subtus in gentilitiâ cryptâ reliquias composuimus,
 Ipsi eandem ad Dei nutum subituri.

Natus est, &c.

Mortuus, &c.

Reviviscet primo Resurrectionis.

[TRANSLATION.]

JOHN TROTT'S EPITAPH.

TO OUR MOST DEAR SON

WE, HIS FATHER AND MOTHER

HAVE CAUSED THIS FUNERAL TABLET TO BE ERECTED.

Come, Marble, & with thy accustomed kindness,
 (Lest, between his parents' grief and modesty,
 The deserved praises of this noble youth should be concealed)
 Speak out the brief inscription of John Trott.

He was altogether white, polished, firm,
 Beyond the metaphor even of Parian marble,
 And fit to be carved on a jewel, not on stone.

From Westminster School to the University of Oxford,
 Thence to the Inn of the Inner Temple, he had proceeded.
 Of highest hope, of highest genius, he everywhere left traces.

Beyond his sex beautiful,

Beyond his age learned,

Witty beyond belief.

And now in his twenty third year he had entered,

With the fairest prospect of life on every side,

When Death untimely stood in his way.

Fatal pustules, of that body so artfully formed,
 Made mockery, & covered him with a living sepulchre.

His soul escaped free, eternal, happy;

And, triumphing over Death,

Shall receive his mortal lot with interest.

We in the meanwhile, mere buriers of the dead :

Parents for our son, out of due course, performing funeral rites,
 Underneath in the family vault have laid his remains to rest,

Ourselves soon to enter the same vault at the beck of God.

He was born, &c.

He died, &c.

He will live again on the first day of the Resurrection.

EDMUNDI TROTTII EPITAPHIUM.

CHARISSIMO FILIO,

EDMUNDO TROTTIO,

POSUIMUS PATER & MATER,

FRUSTRA SUPERSTITES.

LEGITE, parentes, vanissime hominum ordo,
 Figuli filiorum, substructores hominum,
 Fartores opum, longi speratores,
 Et nostro, si fas, sapite infortunio.
 Fuit Edmundus Trottius,

E quatuor masculæ stirpis residuus,
 Staturâ justâ, formâ virili, specie eximiâ,
 Medio juventutis robore simul & flore,
 Aspectu, incessu, sermone, juxtâ amabilis ;
 Et, si quid ultra cineri pretium addit,
 Honestâ disciplinâ domi imbutus ;

Peregre profectus
 Generosis artibus animum,
 Et exercitiis corpus, firmaverat.
 Circeam infulam, scopulos Sirenium,
 Præternavigavit ;

Et in hoc naufragio morum & sæculi
 Solus perdiderat nihil, auxit plurimum ;
 Hinc erga Deum pietate,
 Erga nos amore & obsequio,

Comitate erga omnes, & intra se modestia
 Insignis ; & quantævis fortunæ capax.
 Deliciæ æqualium, senum plausus,
 Oculi parentum, nunc, ah ! lachrymæ ;
 In eo tandem peccavit quodd mortalis.
 Et fatali pustularum morbo aspersus,

Factus est

(Ut veræ laudis invidiam ficto convitio levemus)

Proditor amicorum parricida parentum,
 Familiæ spongia :

Et, naturæ invertens ordinem,

Nostri sui que contemptor,

Mundi desertor, defecit ad Deum,

Undecimo Augusti ; Æræ Christi 1667.

[TRANSLATION.]

EDMUND TROTT'S EPITAPH.

TO OUR MOST DEAR SON,

EDMUND TROTT.

WE, HIS FATHER AND MOTHER HAVE ERECTED THIS,
 VAINLY SURVIVING.

READ ye, O parents, most futile order of mankind,
 Fashioners of sons, builders up of men,
 Heapers of riches, hoppers of the far future ;
 And from our misfortune, if need be, learn wisdom :
 Once lived Edmund Trott,
 Out of four male children the only survivor,
 Of perfect stature, of manly figure, of exceeding beauty,
 In mid strength, and likewise flower of youth :
 In face, in gait, in speech, alike loveable
 And, if it adds any further price to ashes,
 Imbued with liberal instruction at home :
 Having gone forth abroad
 With noble arts, his mind
 He had strengthened, and with exercises his body
 Circe's isle and the Sirens' rocks,
 He sailed by (safely),
 And in this shipwreck of manners and the age,
 He only had lost nothing : he advanced very much.
 Hence for piety towards God,
 For love and dutifulness towards us,
 For politeness towards all and for modesty within himself,
 Remarkable : and fit for any fortune :
 The delight of his equals in age, the praise of the old,
 The eyes of his parents, now alas ! their tears ;
 In this at length he erred that he was mortal.
 And besmeared with the fatal disease of small-pox
 He became.
 (To lighten with feigned reproach the envy of true praise)
 A betrayer of friends, a parricide of parents,
 A blotter out of his family ;
 And, overturning the order of Nature,
 A despair of us and of himself,
 A deserter of the world :—he departed to God
 On the Eleventh of August ; of Christ's Aera, 1667.

'The House' is within 'seven days' of re-assembling. Marvell is oddly jubilant and more oddly and credulously grateful to 'his Majesty.' The thing may be thus summarized: Marvell probably thought he knew from the tone and numbers of the meeting in July (see Letter LXXIII.) the strength of the Country Party, and meanwhile peace having been made, there could be no call for money on the plea of war. Moreover, as the King in his speech on the 10th told them, the land forces had been disbanded, Papists put out of employment and persons displaced—Clarendon and others, among them Navy-Commissioner Pett having been committed to the Tower on account of the Dutch successes in the Thames and Medway—who had managed their business ill. So pleased were the Commons with the Clarendon dismissal, many would have specifically named him in their thanks to the King. From these causes the people and parliament appear to have been in a hopeful temper. 'Prevent' is = anticipate. This Letter is printed for the first time.

Letter LXXIV. TO THE SAME.

'Oct. 3, 1667.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

IT being now but seven days till the sitting down of the Parliament, it were too much to delay writing to you any longer to desire your directions where-soever concerned. I shall need to say one thing onely, and scarce that, for I am sure your own observation must have prevented me: that there never appeared a fairer season for men to obtain what their own hearts could wish either as to redresse of any former grievances or the constituting of good order and justice for the future. And therefore we ought neither to be wanting to God in praising Him for His good disposall of all things to this purpose; nor to the King in celebrating his prudence and constancy by which these things are so happily brought about; nor to our selves in taking hold of the opportunity. I wish you all happynesse

and shall in whatsoever you think fitting be ready to improve my selfe.

Gentlemen, &c.,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Oct. 3d, 1667.

'His Majesty' comes to 'the House.' 'The Chancellor'—Clarendon is threatened. The 'Munday morning' was the 14th, to which day they adjourned. This Letter was overlooked by Capt. Thompson.

Letter LXXV. TO THE SAME.

'October 10, 1667.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THIS day the Parliament met. His Majesty told them that he had prorogued them the last time to the end he might himselfe do some things which he hoped had bin acceptable to them; and would be a foundation still of further good correspondence betwixt him and his People. The Keeper, among other things, told us from his Majesty that he left the Accounts wholly to the Parliament, and let every man fall or stand by his own crime and merit. The House of Commons at their return voted a Committee to draw up thanks to his Majesty, relative to his and the Keeper's speech. Then the House adjourned till next Munday morning. The Committee this afternoon have voted to give thanks for disbanding the forces since the 25th of July. For the disbanding of Papists. For revoking the Canary patent. For quickning the Act against importing forain cattell, and for displacing the Chan-

celor. Which votes have to be reported to the House next Munday morning.

I remain, Gentlemen, &c.,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Oct. 10th, 1667.

'Miscarriages of the Warre' are to be reviewed: Prince Rupert and Albemarle summoned to 'give information.' Secretary Morrice was Sir William Morrice (of whom earlier). The 'Dedimus' is the '*Dedimus potestatem*' of Letter LXXVII.

Letter LXXVI. To THE SAME.

'October 8, 1667.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

EXCUSE me if I have not writ before, and now so short; for really we are tired out with publick businesse; which I hope will tend much to the Nation's and your satisfactions. Our greatest matter is the inquiry into the severall miscarriages of the late warre, which we are very serious and earnest about. Yesterday the House sent to Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle to desire their information of all the miscarriages of the warre, according to their observation. They have promist in two or three days to return their narratives in writing. Secr[etary] Morrice is ordered to-day, to search out his letters of intelligence, and give account of them which he received about the time of dividing the fleet. Colonell Gilby and I have received this *Dedimus*, which we send you.

I am, &c.

London, Oct. [1]8, 1667.

Still the 'miscarriages of the Warre,' and Clarendon, and ——— Mordaunt! On the 'fresh matter' see Pepys, 29th July, 1667.

Letter LXXVII. ANTHONY LAMBERT, Mayor.

‘ Oct. 26, 1667.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

IN my last I inclosed to you a *Dedimus potestatem*. Mr. Stockdale I think told me some days agoe, that he should be out of town this day, which makes me more willing to write you a line or two to-night. We proceed daily in the examining the miscarriages of the late warre, and especially hitherto upon the not fortifying Sheernesse; and the burning of the shippes at Chatham. This morning severall members of our House did in their places move the House to proceed to an impeachment against the Earle of Clarinden, and layd very high crimes to his charge. The House proceeded in it with very much temper, and the result at last was no further then to make a Committee look out our presidents against Tuesday morning (till when we adjourned) to report to the House, what way formerly they had proceeded in capital cases. Yesterday upon a new petition and fresh matter against the Lord Mordant, the House referd it to a Committee to revive his impeachment. The next week we shall have Prince Rupert’s and my Lord Generall’s account of the miscarriages of the warre in writing; also Secretary Morice, his concerning the intelligence wherupon the fleet was divided.

I am, &c.,

London, Oct. 26th, 1667.

The ‘business of the House earnest and long daily;’ Clarendon’s impeachment; ‘great debates’ on the Duke of Albemarle’s ‘narrative,’ and about ‘Commissioner Pett’—immortalised in the *Instructions to a Painter* (Vol. I. pp. 279, 307); ‘balance of trade;’ ‘bill against pluralities’—here is abundant historical matter. ‘Special is’=specific.

Letter LXXVIII. To THE SAME.

‘November 16, 1667.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

REALLY the businesse of the House hath been of late so earnest daily and so long, that I have not had the time and scarce vigour left me by night to write to you ; and to-day, because I would not omit any longer, I lose my dinner to make sure of this letter. The Earle of Clarinden hath taken up much of our time till within this three days. But since his Impeachment hath been carryd up to the House of Lords, we have some leisure from that ; and now this is the third day that the Lords have, without intermission of any other businesse, continued upon the question, Whether upon our desires to committ him to custody, before we send up (which yet we have not done) the particular articles of our charge against him. And this debate of theirs will scarce be ended before night, if then. Beside we have upon the D. of Albemarle's narrative, and other matter before us had for this day or two, great debates, and long, about Commissioner Pett ; and many neglects and miscarriages layd to his charge in the businesse of Chatham. At last the House hath to-day voted, that the Committee of miscarriages shall draw up an Impeachment against Pett. Now although the House be sharpe set upon finding out and punishing things of this nature, yet neither are other publick matters neglected. They have agreed to sit two days in the week in Committee of the whole House upon the balance of trade, and more particularly of the trade betwixt Scotland and England, in regard of the impositions which ly alternatively upon the importa-

tion of each others commodities into theirs or our country; wherein if anything be particularly in your prospects, and touch the interest of your trade, you will do well to give us timely advice. The Bill for Accounts is ready for report. A Bill against Pluralities is committed. Several other things in expedition. I should be glad too to know your sense concerning a Bill that will be brought into the House for Naturalizing all Forainers whatsoever, who shall come to inhabit here, and take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, without infringing the Freedoms and Charters of Corporation, but otherwise naturalized to all purposes. The Bishop of Yorke being sick of the small pox, appears in a very faire way of recovery. I am

Your servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Nov. 14, 1667.

[On the back of this Letter.]

I heare the Lords are at last come to a resolution to desire a Conference to-morrow with our House, to show us reason why they should not commit the Earle of Clarinden before special articles.

A case of 'bribery'—'Mr. John Ashburnham.' Virtuous indignation! Pepys again and again notices him. Difficulties in 'impeaching' Clarendon.

Letter LXXIX. To THE SAME.

'November 23, 1667.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THREE or foure days of this week have bin taken up in examining in our House, a matter of Bribery to some of our members; when in the former Session, after the prohibition of all French Commodities, our House was prevailed with neverthelesse to petition

the King to suffer a great quantity of French Wines to be landed, upon pretense that the persons concerned had given orders for those Wines before the prohibition. The greatest fault herein hath been fixed upon Mr. John Ashburnham, he who belonged to the old King. The House yesterday voted, that he having received 500*l.* of the French Merchants had committed an offense to the dishonour of this House, and contrary to his duty as a member thereof, and afterwards they voted that he be excluded the House, and a writ to be issued for electing a new member in his place. On Monday the House will be upon the remainder of this businesse, as to other members who received several tierces of wine, &c. The Lords and we cannot yet get off of the difficultyes risen betwixt us on occasion of our House's demanding the Earle of Clarendon's imprisonment upon a general charge of treason: the severall Conferences we still have upon that account seem rather to heighten then allay the difference. The Bill of general naturalization of what Strangers soever come to inhabit here, taking the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, hath bin once read. The Bill of Accounts is reported from the Committee, and the House are upon the amendments. I am straitned in time for writing any further, so beg your excuse, and am, &c.

London, Nov. 23. 1667.

'The Bribes' still and Clarendon—'Committee' and 'Conference.' Local matters seen-to with all care. This Letter is now first printed.

Letter LXXX. To THE SAME.

'November 26, 1667.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you the House hath referd the

further examination of taking of bribes in the French merchants' businesse to a Committee. Also a Bill for the freedome of transporting leather hath bin red the first time. We have given the Lords a conference, wherein they declared to us that they were not satisfyed upon our reasons to comply with us in impeaching the Earl of Clarendon without speciall matter. Whereupon our House to-day have desired a free conference with the Lords, to which they replyd they would return answer by messengers of their own. I can not yet see day in the businesse, betwixt the two Houses. Col. Gilby hath communicated to me what you writ to us, and he and my L. Bellasis and I think Mr. Recorder have waited on the Generall about the businesse. I perceive also you have writ to Mr. Stockdale. I think indeed you take a good way thus, while we are all in town, to use us together, and to that purpose to continue it in this manner that Col. Gilby, Mr. Recorder, and my selfe may upon this or any other affaire of yours understand your desires together, and Mr. Stockdale also sollicite therein. For so we are more likely from time to time to go unanimously about your worke, and where any of us may chance to have more interest toward any separate part of your interest, you will be sure of it, and of whatsoever more the rest may contribute by appearing for your service. As for that of the mony you lent and of the debts of the Companys, I shall refer you to what hath bin done in it, and what amount hath bin given you before writing to me. For what hereafter I shall take my part of the care. As to the *Dedimus* which some of you are commissioners in, I suppose C. Gilby hath told you that in our (and the best opinions I can learne) you need give the oaths only

to whom you suspect ; but to all such. That you may returne who such take it, but must certainly all that refuse it. For else to what purpos the Dedimus ? Truly besides you have severall Justices of the East riding whose example or advice may very well confirme you.

I am, Gentlemen, &c.,

Your very affectionate servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

The House of Lords 'obstructing public justice'—as the Commons alleged, albeit as matter of freedom and law the Lords were probably technically right in refusing to commit a man for treason without specified charge or charges—messengers to and fro. Judge Archer—Judge Morton—Judge Twisden—Judge Brown come and go. A few words on each : (a) John Archer, a native of Essex, had been a Judge under the Parliament, and after the Restoration was appointed Judge of the Common Pleas, 4th Nov., 1663, being knighted 4th December following. He appears to have been arbitrarily dismissed in 1672. He died 8th Feb., 1681-2. (b) William Morton, a native of Severn Stoke, co. Worcester : a barrister of the Inner Temple. He served in the Royalist army during the Civil Wars ; was made a prisoner and left in confinement several years. In 1662 he was elected Recorder of Gloucester, and on 23rd Nov., 1665, nominated a Judge of the King's Bench. It was through his threat of resignation that the notorious highwayman, Claude Duval, failed to receive the mercy of the crown. He died in 1672. (c) Thomas Twisden, of an ancient Kent family : a staunch Royalist, although called to the degree of Sergeant at Law, by Cromwell, in 1654. The rank was renewed to him on the Restoration, and on 22nd July, 1660, he was sworn as one of the Judges of the King's Bench, and knighted. He retired in October, 1677, from ill health. He died 2nd June, 1682-3, aged 81. (d) Samuel Browne, a native of Northamptonshire. He was a member of the Long Parliament and a Judge of the King's Bench under the Commonwealth, but resigned his seat on the execution of the King. At the Restoration he was reinstated as a Sergeant, and constituted Judge of the Common Pleas, 3rd Nov., 1660. He died in 1668.

Letter LXXXI. To THE SAME.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, we having had a free conference with the Lords, and so a mutuall debate of the reasons on each side for, and for not committing the E. of Clarinden upon our generall charge, the Lords yesterday sent a message by Judge Archer and Judge Morton, that upon the whole matter, they were not satisfyd to commit him, without particular cause specifyd or assigned. Whereupon our House, after very long debate, voted "That the Lords not complying with the desires of the House of Commons in committing and sequestering from their House the E. of Clarinden, upon the impeachment carryd up against him, is an obstruction of the public justice in the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, and in the president, of evill and dangerous consequences." To-day the Lords sent down by Judge Twisden and Judge Brown another message to us, that they had to-day received a large petition from the Earle of Clarinden, intimating that he was withdrawn. Hereupon our House forthwith orderd Adresse to his Majesty, that care might be taken for securing all the Sea Ports lest he should pass there. I suppose he will not trouble you at Hull! Also ordered a Committee to draw up a narrative in justification of the proceedings of our House in this whole matter of his impeachment. I heare his petition is of five sheets, which will furnish enough hereafter for your information. The Lords go upon it to-morrow. When this message came, we were debating whether to commit the Bill of generall naturalization; but hereupon adjourned the further debate. Mr. Stockdale gives you account in what

good progresse your mony is that you lent, and I hope Mr. Recorder (though we cannot hitherto meet) gives you what is don in the companye's debts, which I will inquire of and assist according to my best opportunity.

I am, &c.,

London, Dec. 3, 1667.

Another united and hitherto unprinted Letter. Again the two Representatives have been with 'the Lord Generall' (Monk); who is as usual all attention and indeed zeal in behalf of Hull. 'Judge Keeling' whose anticipated Trial is of the 'news' has *his* place in History as the supple drawer-up of 'The Act of Uniformity.' (Burnet's *Own Times*, i. 316). Pepys gives us various rumours and glimpses of those days, e.g. "The Parliament run on mighty furiously, having yesterday been almost all the morning complaining against some high proceedings of my Lord Chief Justice Keeling, that the gentlemen of the country did complain against him in the House, and run very high" (October 17th). Lord Braybrooke annotates: "No record of the high proceedings" referred to by Pepys is found in the Parliamentary History. Again: "I hear that they do prosecute the business against my Lord Chief Justice Keeling with great severity" (October 21st). Once more: 'December 13' the 'to-morrow' of Marvell: "To Westminster, to the Parliament-door, to speak with Roger: and here I saw my Lord Keeling go into the House to the bar, to have his business heard by the whole House to-day; and a great crowd of people to stare upon him" (III. 278-284, 324-5). His memory may be permitted to rot. The 'Master of the Custome-house yacht' is summoned as suspected of having 'conveyed' Clarendon across to Calais so that he had escaped. The other names may be thus briefly annotated (a) Lord Brereton was William, 3rd Lord Brereton, one of the Founders of the Royal Society and a distinguished man of letters. He died in 1679. (b) Sir George Saville was 4th Bart. of 'Hornhill, co. York; created Viscount Halifax in 1668, and subsequently Earl and Marquess of Halifax, the well-known Lord Halifax of History. He died in 1695. (c) William Pierrepont was William Pierrepont, 2nd son of Robert, 1st Viscount Newark, and Earl of Kingston-upon-Hull—a prominent M.P. He died in 1679. (d) A Charles Osborn (or Osborne) was M.P. for Hull 1690-98,

and Lieutenant-Governor of Hull in 1692. He is said in the Peerages to have been a brother of the Duke of Leeds, and to have died unmarried. With regard to the latter statement it is probable he was married in Westminster Abbey, and that he was at the time a widower (Letter of Colonel Chester to me). (e) Mr. Dunster—is named by Pepys (III. 473) as of the Commissioners of Accounts along with Sir William Turner and Osborne. [Lord Braybrooke annotates *in loco* that Osborne here was Sir Thomas Osborne, subsequently the Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds; but it is more probable that he was Charles Osborne (*supra*).] (f) A Sir William Turner was the renowned Lord Mayor of London in 1669, remembered still as the munificent founder of Kirkleatham Hospital, in Yorkshire, where are various memorials of him including his 'band and wig.' (g) Sir James Langham was 2nd Bart., of Cottesbrooke, co. Northampton, M.P. for that county in 1656, and for the town of Northampton in 1658-9, and again in 1661. He went with his father among the citizens of London deputed to wait on Charles II. at the Hague, where both were knighted. He died in 1699. Tomson and Gregory—forgotten local names, Again a gift of 'Ale' is acknowledged.

Letter LXXXII. TO THE SAME.

'Decr. 12, 1667.'

GENTLEMEN, OUR VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE you were pleas'd to write to us both about those two businesses we have not been negligent on our parts. Concerning the severall stepps therein 'tis unnecessary to trouble you or ourselves at this time. But to-night we come from my Lord Generall, where we have presented a petition (as he himselfe before had advised us) concerning the debts of the three Companys. Who receiv'd it and us very favourably, witnessed his readinesse to patronize you upon all occasions, and as to this commanded his secretary to give him the petition and list affixed to-morrow morning, when he will give us the most effectuall orders that may be in a businesse which hath bin so long deferred. We shall ourselves or by

Mr. Stockdale who was then present, give you an account with the soonest, of what succeeds thereupon. As to the mony lent for supplying the defects in the works, Mr. Stockdale gave you account last post, and upon the return from Mr. Watkinson, which we desire you to hasten, we shall contribute towards the accomplishing of your desires therein. For news; next Tuesday you know we expect to adjourn till the beginning of Febr. The report concerning Judge Keeling was made yesterday, and to-morrow upon his desire, the House have given leave to him to make his own defence to the crimes he is charged with. To-day the House has orderd the Surveyors Generall of England and Ireland to bring in a list of the alienations or grants of any of the king's rents, revenues, lands or lands forfeited since 1640. Orderd to send for the Master of the Custome-house yacht in custody, who is said to have conveyd the E. of Clarendon over to Calais. Nam'd Commissioners for Accounts nine: Lord Brereton, Sir G. Savill, Mr. W. Pierpoint, C. Osborn, Mr. Dunster, Sir W. Turner, Sir James Langham, Mr. George Tomson, Alderman Gregory. The Lords sent us down the Bill for banishing the E. of Clarendon. So much at present. We thank you sincerely for your ale, and are

Your very affectionate friends to serve you,

ANTHO. GYLBY,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Decr. 12, 1667.

The 'Act' is 'passed' for "banishing and disabling the Earle of Clarinden"—a great historic Fact. Capt. Thompson printed 'mony' for 'month.' I suppose it meant the (then) common grant of a given tax for a given period. I can testify the word is 'mcnth' not 'mony.'

Letter LXXXIII. TO THE SAME.

‘December 19, 1667.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE but leisure to tell you, that we are to-day adjourned till 6th of February. We have past five publick acts: Act of Accounts—of making Exchequer Orders assignable—for Commissioners to treat with Commissioners of Scotland for the opening the Trade betwixt both—for naturalizing Prize Shippes—for banishing and disabling the Earle of Clarindon. I have inclosed to you, upon communication with my partner, the Act for the Duke of York’s month. I beg your pardon, shall write to you more at large. I remain,

Gentlemen, &c.

ANDREW MARVELL.

London, Dec. 19, 1667.

‘Trinity House’ also has been sending the ‘Towne liquor,’ but this time it is intended for ‘the Speaker’ of the House of Commons as well as for the members. This Letter is now first printed.

Letter LXXXIV. For the Worshipfull the Wardens of Trinity House in Kingston upon Hull.

These. ‘Jan. 18, 1667-8.’

GENTLEMEN, OUR WORTHY FRIENDS,

WE are, as for all other your kindnesse, obliged to you for your late friendly present of your towne liquor; and shall take a convenient time to deliver your message to the Speaker. Onely it seems to us by your letter that you are misinformed as to his being Sollicitor Generall: for there is as yet no such thing. Onely if the present Sollicitor should be promoted to be Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas,

which there is some talk of, but that place as yet remains in the Lord Keeper, there is indeed probability the Speaker may succeed him. However your respect herein to the Speaker is not ill placed. We have herewith sent you a copy of the Act for Yarmouth, which we think to be unreasonable, and if you please to inform yourselves and so us concerning the ability of that town, and the revenue already appropriate to that purpose, and anything defective in their allegations, we shall make the best use of it. And shall be glad upon all other occasions to give you reall testimony how much we honour your worthy Society, and are Gentlemen, &c.,

Your most affectionate friends to serve you,

ANTHO. GILBY,
ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Jan. 28, 1667-8.

Parliament is again sitting, but 'the number very small.'

Letter LXXXV. To the Mayor [as before].

'Feb. 6, 1667-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THIS letter cannot acquaint you with much more then that to-day, according to our adjournment, we are returned to sit in Parliament. But our number appearing very small, we onely made one order, that the House would entertein no new businesse till it be calld over. The day appointed for that before, will be the next Thursday, when it is probable they will be severe enough against those that are absent. So we adjournd till Munday next, when it is probable his Majesty will declare his pleasure to both Houses. The present news out of doors is, that as the Bishop of Rochester from Clerke of the Closet, so on Tuesday

last the Bishop of Winchester was dischargd from being Dean of the Chapell, and yesterday the L. Cornbury, the E. of Clarinden's son, being Chamberlain to the Queen, was dismissd from Court. No more at present but that I remain, &c.,

Westm., Feb. 6, 1667-8.

The 'Miscarriages of the Warre' are again coming up ominously—the King meanwhile carrying on such orgies with his harlots and panders—Buckingham and Sedley among the latter—as bring a blush to one's cheek for a Nation that tolerated them. Very noticeable is the 'fine and penalty' on non-attendance in their places by the Members of the House. I do not find these significant absences brought out in our Histories. Of course it is to be remembered that the House was hot upon sitting at once, chiefly I presume, to debate on the miscarriages and on i.e. against the Act of Comprehension, which it was known the King would propose. From Pepys (10th February) the House seems to have filled up.

Letter LXXXVI. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 5, 1667-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE been so busy this weeke that I could not write before, and the House having sat to-day till five in the evening, so that I have but little time left me, I hope I shall have your excuse. You know, I believe, that the House orderd to take the matter of the King's speech into consideration after the report of the miscarriages of the late warre, and that report should be made after the calling of the House. Accordingly the House was calld on Thursday, and orderd that the absenters should each be fined 40l. and if [they] refuse to pay it, then to be committed to the Tower till they shall. The same order for any who shall be absent three days from the House without leave. Yesterday and to-

day the House hath bin upon the Report of Miscarriages, and have made yet onely two votes: one that the division of the Fleet was a miscarriage; the other that the not revoking the order of dividing the Fleet after intelligence received of the Dutch coming out, was a miscarriage. They proceed again on Monday upon the same report,

I am, &c.,

Westminster, Feb. 15, 1667-8.

Still the 'Miscarriages of the Warre,' and well they should have been thus 'debated;' but what of other 'Miscarriages?' The 'L. Gerard' named was Charles, eldest son of Sir Charles Gerard, of Halsall, co. Lancaster, Kt.: a Cavalier officer; made by Charles I. Lieutenant-General of his Horse, created Baron Gerard of Brandon, 8th Oct., 1645: Earl of Macclesfield 21st July 1678. Buried in Westminster Abbey, 18th January, 1693-4. His titles—from his residence—still give names to 'Macclesfield Street' and 'Gerard Street.' Pepys abounds with notices of him—not cleanly. Yet in the end came—Westminster Abbey!

Letter LXXXVII; TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 22, 1667-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, the House hath for the most part gone each other day upon the consideration of the publick miscarriages and the King's Speech, by turns; as to this last, they have not yet voted any further supply, but that a committee take an account of the last Poll mony, and of the mony registerd on the moneth's tax: and what part thereof expended toward the warre, according to the intent of the Act, and what mony arising by the Poll money hath likewise been applyd to the use of the warre. As to the miscarriages of the warre, they have further voted the not prosecuting the first victory to be one

of the greatest miscarriages. And the not furnishing the river of Medway with a sufficient guard of shippes, though the king had then 18,000 men in pay, to be a great miscarriage; and the paying of the fleet with tickets, without mony, to be a great miscarriage. The debate upon setting the prices of wine upon merchants, having been adjourn'd to a further day is not yet resum'd. Col. Gilby tells me he hath writ about the chusing what fishing places you will in Greenland. There is before the House a particular businesse concerning the L. Gerard, Captain of his Majesty's Guard, which will and doth reflect highly upon his reputation and fortune. This is all at present, but to remain, &c.

Westm., Feb. 22, 1667-8.

'His Majesty' is voted supply of £300,000—with reservation as to the mode of obtaining it.

Letter LXXXVIII. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 27, 1667-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THIS is to acquaint you with the soonest, that having sat till 8 at night yesterday in a Committee of the whole House; we voted a supply to his Majesty not exceeding the summe of 300,000*l.* and that not to be raised either by Land-Tax or by home Excise. To-day we have been considering of the way, but have adjourn'd the debate till Saturday, it being impossible so soon to come to a resolution. To-morrow we return to the further consideration of the report of the Miscarriages of the late warre. I have nothing more at present but to remain, &c.

Westminster, Feb. 27, 1667-8.

The £300,000 to be raised by 'an additional duty upon forrain commodities.' 'No land-tax or excise.' Pepys is

amusingly enraged with the 'Committee' on the Navy, as being himself involved. Let us read one of many entries in his Diary hereon: "Slept but ill all the last part of the night, for fear of this day's success in Parliament: therefore up, and all of us all the morning close, till almost two o'clock, collecting all we had to say and had done from the beginning, touching the safety of the river Medway and Chatham. And having done this, and put it in order, we away, I not having time to eat my dinner; and so all in my Lord Brouncker's coach, that is to say, Brouncker, W. Pen, T. Hater and myself, talking of the other great matters with which they charge us, that is, of discharging men by ticket, in order to our defence in case that should be asked. We came to the Parliament-door, and there, after a little waiting till the Committee was sat, we were, the House being very full, called in: Sir W. Pen went in and sat as a Member; and my Lord Brouncker would not at first go in, expecting to have a chair set for him, and his brother had bid him not go in till he was called for; but after a few words, I had occasion to mention him, and so he was called in, but without any more chair or respect paid him than myself; and so Bröuncker and T. Hater, and I were there to answer; and I had a chair brought me to lean my books upon; and so did give them such an account, in a series, of the whole business that had passed the Office touching the matter, and so answered all questions given me about it, that I did not perceive but they were fully satisfied with me and the business as to our Office; and then Commissioner Pett (who was by at all my discourse, and this held till within an hour after candle-light, for I had candles brought in to read my papers by) was to answer for himself, we having lodged all matters with him for execution. But Lord! what a Tumultuous thing this Committee is, for all the reputation they have of a great council, is a strange consideration; there being as impertinent questions, and as disorderly proposed, as any man could ascribe" (III. 284-5.) 'Tumultuous'.... 'impertinent questions.' Poor coxcomb-Secretary forgets the shame of recent events; 'burning of ships,' 'broom' at Dutch mast-heads; humiliation everywhere, as though a tom-tit should fight a sun-gazing eagle and ——— beat it. The serenity and littleness of these officials is something to be admired! But the 'back-blow' dreaded by Pepys in the midst of all his 'briskness' did come onward (III. 285). There was a Minority—Andrew Marvell the central figure—who would have avenged England of her ignoble-poltroon servants if only they had had

the power. Yet we must in candour allow that Pepys while coxcombical was a clever man of business and (as times went) a man of integrity. To his praise also, must it be remembered, that occasionally his "Diary" shews that his own personal views as to our national disasters were not with the king or his councillors. In the present matter there was generosity in his animated and prolonged vindication of others rather than himself, as well as evidence of intellectual power and character in holding an adverse House through a four hours' Speech. Finally as a martinet in adhering to rule and order the desultory questioning by the House would seem extremely unbusiness-like to him; and hence perhaps his complaints. (Cf. Evelyn, 23rd October, 1666). 'Other things of a privater nature' were such as to write of them was perilous with the (then as now) ruling (mechanical) majority.

Letter LXXXIX. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 29, 1667-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I AM glad to acquaint you with the first of all the steps we make in the supply to his Majesty. I told you in my last the vote of the Committee of the whole House concerning a supply not exceeding 300,000*l.* nor by land tax or home Excise. Since that, they have voted towards that supply an additionall duty upon forain commodities, to be layd at the Custom House, and not by way of Excise. The House hath not yet deliberated on, or passed these votes of the Committee, onely have orderd a select Committee, to consider what commodities are capable of that addition, and what estimate it may amount to. It is Friday next before the Committee of the whole House sit again, severall businesses being appointed for the dayes between. As upon Wednesday (upon occasion of a complaint yesterday by severall members, of the insolence of some people in their religious meetings to the affront of the ministers of the place) the debate is appointed upon

that matter, and I hope will tend towards that composure which his Majesty recommended to us. On Thursday the Commissioners of the Navy are to be heard to defend themselves touching the matter of ticketts, which miscariage is layd much at their doores. Other things are of a privater nature. I am, &c.

Westm., Feb. 29th, 1667-8.

'Unlawful meetings of Papists AND NONCONFORMISTS'!!! *Certes* Andrew Marvell was not one of 'the House' waiting 'in a body' upon His Majesty to reinforce, &c. After the re-Proclamation of 'pains and penalties,' for the atrocious crime of godly men and women meeting together in their meeting-houses, since they durst not by their allegiance to The Master forsake their 'ministers,' whom The State had 'ejected' to the number of Two Thousand—comes "a Committee to examine"—What? "The informations which had occasioned the resolution." 'Jeddart justice'—hang a man and then try him. But while I thus feel bound to recall the flagrant enormities of legislation against Nonconformity simply as such, it would be historically uncandid not to admit that there were "insolencies" among the Nonconformists, such as "disturbing ministers in their churches," &c., &c. Pepys (28th February) agreeing with Marvell. Be it therefore added that I do not forget that the name Nonconformist is an ideal collective, or that beneath it were found many ignorant and violent persons and many fanatic sects, and some of extreme views—Buckingham intriguing through the latter. But 'oppression' in suppression of 'conventicles' and the like, on which the House was bent, would have made the wisest mad, much more the (presently) exultant commonalty. Note that the King was 'angry:' A King who wanted an Act of Comprehension could not be pleassd with a reply desiring stringent measures against Nonconformists. So the thing worked and counter-worked: "To-day it hath bin earnestly mov'd to raise £100,000 of the three upon the dignify'd clergy. Others add pluralties." What commotion among the lawn-sleeves would ensue! The Sir Robert Holmes, who informs against Hull and Marvell's fast friend, Sir Jeremiah Smith (of whom onward) was a Captain R.N.: knighted 27th March, 1666. He was a distinguished officer, but is characterised as 'hasty'—as now he proved to

be, and misinformed to boot. One of his exploits was the reduction of the territory now known as New York, then held by the Dutch; for which, on his return, he was sent to the Tower by Charles II., although subsequently released on proving that he had not infringed the law of nations. He appears to have died in 1692. Pepys chronicles the deliverance of the 'articles' against Smith. Albemarle stood true to Smith. (II. 470). The 'one Clauell' survives not anywhere that I can find, if ever he existed bodily:

Letter XC. To THE SAME.

'March 7, 1667-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

ON Wednesday last the House resumed the debate occasioned by the informations of several members concerning the insolencies of Nonconformists in some parts of the nation, disturbing ministers in their churches, and setting up their own preachers; the House hereupon came to this conclusion, that they would, in a body, attend his Majesty, desiring him to reinforce, by his proclamation, the laws against Conventicles, and that care might be taken to secure the peace of the nation against the unlawfull meetings of Papists and Non-conformists; and that the House on Wednesday next will take into consideration the latter part of his Majesty's Speech. Accordingly they went next day, and his Majesty answered, 'He would issue forth his Proclamation according to their desire, and doubted not but they would take the latter part of his Speech into consideration according to their own vote.' When the Proclamation comes forth, I shall send you a copy. The House also, to be better satisfyd concerning the informations which had occasioned this resolution, made a committee to examine them. Also they have sent for the Lieutenant Governor of Chester; he having writ

up news that an apothecary of that town had received letters from one Clauell, a clerk in Mr. Secretary Morrice his office, concerning the King being angry at the House's former vote of desiring his Majesty to issue his Proclamation; whereas Mr. Secretary denyd in the House, that he had, nor indeed hath any such clerke, nor knows any such man, and the apothecary is likewise sent for up. His Majesty having writ to the House to quicken them in his supply, some Members of the Councill proposd the necessity of 200,000li. more; but the House only proceeded to confirme what had been thus long voted at the Committee, "That they would raise a supply not exceeding 300,000li. and to be levyed neither by Land Tax nor home Excise;" and since then the Committee of the whole House have sat daily about the manner of raising it. The Committee for adding a Custome on forain Commodities are not yet ready, but it runns much on Wines, and Tabacco especially, and on Linnen and Brandy. But we are yet very irresolute what way to pitch. There is a proposall on the Tunnage of Ships importing, but I hope unlikely to take effect. To-day it hath bin earnestly mov'd to raise 100,000li. of the three upon the dignifyd Clergy. Others add Pluralitys. Some would have all raised on Deans and Chapters' lands, but we rose without any question, but to sit again on Munday. Yesterday Sir R. Holms informd, at the Committee of miscarriages, against Sir Jer. Smith, for his behavior in the last fight. Friday is appointed to heare both their witnesses, when I doubt not but Sir Jeremiah will come off with full reputation. Col. Gilby tells me that my Lord Bellasis is sick, so that if you have not yet had answer concerning the late insolencyes of the soldiers, that hath bin the

hindrance. The Generall is to-day gone out of town for some ten days to refresh himselfe, being something indisposd. Thus much at present.

I remain, &c.

Westm., March 7, 1667-8.

I doubt not but before the end of the next week we shall have agreed in the way of raising the Supply.

The present Letter is undated, but we arrive at it as 12th March, against Captain Thompson's filling in of 'March 17th, 1667-8.' 1. Marvell writes on the meeting of Parliament and the day after its rise for the Easter recess. All his other letters are on Saturday, no week being missed. An exception to this is Letter LXXXVIII, of Thursday, 27th Feby., which he sends to announce as soon as may be that £300,000 is to be raised. This undated one therefore may be taken to be also an extraordinary one, and its contents are similarly important, viz., how £100,000 is to be raised. 2. Taking the words "the House being to adjourn next week for some ten days" in their usual acceptation, and taking these things also that the House did adjourn from Wednesday, February 18th, to 26th, and that Marvell wrote on Saturday, February 14th, it is clear that this letter was written some day previous to Saturday, February 14th, and in that week. 3. This is borne out by comparing the letters, for in this undated letter he gives the probable duty on foreign wines, but in letter of 14th what the House had at last ordered 4d. the quart on French wines, &c. 4. "The House [was] to be called Munday three weeks." But by letter of Saturday, April 4th, we find on "Munday 'tis intended to call the House," and the Monday three weeks back from that is Monday, 16th March, so that there being a letter of Saturday 14th, we are confined again between Tuesday 10th, and Friday 13th. 5. "Yesterday," says the letter, was "the debate concerning the latter part of the King's speech," &c., &c.; that is on his desire for an Act of comprehension or composure, as Marvell elsewhere calls it. But according to Pepys there was a debate on this on 11th March. 6. "The debate," says the letter, "was adjourned till that day month." But in letter of Saturday, 11th April, we find there was a debate on Wednesday, 8th April, on the very same matters

(compare undated letter with opening of that of 11th April). Then if we go back a calendar month we get to Sunday, 8th March, which is impossible; but if we take the words as meaning that day four weeks (and the House constantly made reference by weeks) we get as before to March 11th. From all these things there cannot be a doubt that the letter was written on March 12th (Thursday), and accordingly I place it before that of Saturday 14th. 'Supply' is urgent—no further word of 'taxing' the 'dignified clergy,' &c. Various momentous things 'debated' on. The historic phrase of 'scandalous clergy' crops out. There will be more of this by-and-bye. 'Scandalous' was a weak inadequate word for the then Clergy, as a whole. Outside not inside the Church of England was the Gospel preached and true and pure lives lived (exceptions only proving the rule).

Letter XCI. To the Mayor [as before].

'12th March, 1667-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

TO-DAY the House, before a Committee of the whole House sat, [and] have voted, that towards the King's supply of 300,000*l.* they will raise at least 100,000*l.* upon wines, and strong waters; and at the rising of the Committee, agreed with a new vote of theirs, that this 100,000*l.* should be levied by Commissioners. This is all hitherto. It is probable that it will be by foure-pence a quart upon French wines, and six-pence upon Spanish. Yesterday was the debate concerning the latter part of the King's speech, wherein they seemed inclinable to abate the renunciation of the Covenant, the assent and consent to the dispensing with Ceremonies, the reforming the Bishops Courts, the taking away of Pluralities, the rectifying of Excommunications, the punishing of scandalous Clergymen, and severall things of this nature, but not being able to mature these deliberations at present, the King's supply pressing, and the House being to adjourn next week, for some ten

dayes, the debate was adjourn'd till that day moneth, and the House to be call'd Munday three weeks. Yesterday morning also the Proclamation came out about the meetings of Papists and Non-conformists, which Col. Gilby sends you down. This is all at present. I remain, &c.

Marvell's friend, Sir Jeremiah Smith, is not to be—prosecuted. The 'Articles' were born of 'animosity.' Prince Rupert and Albemarle, I daresay, had been 'spoken' with by Marvell. Pity that a few such-like earnest words were not put into this Letter for "the multitude of people in several places frequenting conventicles." For myself, knowing the Writer's opinions, though himself leal Churchman of the Church of England, it is chilling to have mere narrative and 'news' in such things as make the blood hot even to-day.

Letter XCII. TO THE SAME.

' March 14, 1667-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House hath at last ordered, that for the raising of 100,000*l.* with the interest, for his Majesty, there shall he layd 4*d.* the quart on French wines; 6*d.* the quart upon Spanish wines; 6*d.* the quart on all other wines, and 12*d.* the quart upon brandy: and this sum to be raised within 18 moneths time, beginning from the first of May next, by commissioners for that purpose; and Mr. Sollicitor is orderd to bring in a Bill. Yesterday the Committee of Miscarriages met, in order to Sir Jeremy Smith's businesse; he gave in his answer, in writing, to the several articles deliverd in against him by Sir Robert Holmes, and had his witnesses ready to have justified the truth of his said answer in all points; but the Committee conceiving generally that it was not so prudent at this time to foment dissentions among the officers of his Majesty's fleet, and reflecting upon the

former hearing of this matter before his Majesty, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, wherein Sir Jeremy had bin acquitted, thought not fit to examine the matter till they should receive the commands of the House whether they should proceed further, and I believe the House will be of opinion to cease all enquiry therein; most men, almost all, being satisfyd that Sir Jeremy did nothing but what befitted a person of courage and experience, and that the charge against him proceeded rather from animosity than any good ground. Since my last to you, the House (upon new informations from some members of the multitude of people in several places frequenting conventicles) orderd a Bill to be brought in for continuing the former Act against Conventicles. To-day the Commissioners of Accounts gave in their narrative of their proceedings hitherto; the House thanked them, and approved what they had done, and promist them their assistance. I remain, &c.

Westminster, March 14, 1667-8.

His constituents of 'Trinity House' are asking something irrational, and so 'Mr. Marvell' reads them a short pithy lesson on political economy. 'My Lord Barclay' was doubtless Berkley, i.e. (Pepys' Lord Barclay: Cf. Braybrooke's note under 3rd March, 1660, 59-60.) Another incidental mention of fussy self-important 'Sir Philip Froude.' This letter is here first printed.

Letter XCIII. To Trinity House [Address removed].

'March 15, 1668-9.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

COLONEL GILBY communicated your letter to me this evening. Having considerd and advised the best we could thereupon, I do not find that the case admits any present remedy. You know what

dominion the King of Sweden partakes in the Sound. If he give greater immunities to his own subjects then to others, who can blame him, unlesse he were by treaty obliged to inlarge at the same time the English conditions in the same proportion whensoever he shall gratify his own people. All forain princes have by the example of our Act of Navigation learnt to study their own interests. And if our act ly heavy upon them, 'tis but reason that they may retaliat to the encouragement of their own shipping. If our shippes also do make themselves free that they may traffick as Swedes, I know not why those that are agrieved should not do so too. And then me thinks the cause of complaint were over. I see no probability nor proper rise [sic] of a redresse here. Every one will be as ingenious as he can to his own profit. If you can put us in the way of any rationall proposall to prevent what you represent to us, you need not doubt of our assistance. My Lord Barclay goes not till next moneth, so that Sir Philip is still a man of great businesse. I shall attend any motion to serve you, being

Gentlemen, &c.

Westm., March 15, 1668-9.

'The House rose yesterday till Thursday next," i.e. till 26th when it rose again (Pepys). The adjournment was on account of Easter week, Shrove Tuesday being on 4th, when the prentices over-used the usual licence allowed them on that day. 'Poll-bill' for urgently-needed 'mony' for 'his Majesty.' The local parliament of the city have been 'debating' and are to attend 'the House' with thanks. 'Irish adventurers'—'a businesse of high concernment.' 'Act of Conventicles not yet brought in.' Evidently the Hull folks were interested in *that* latter 'business;' for it is constantly being reported on. At the close 'that day moneth' was afterwards postponed until Monday, 20th April (see Letter XCVIII).

LETTER XCIV. TO THE SAME.

‘ March 19, 1667-8.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House rose yesterday 'till Thursday next. What they have done in the matter of Supply hitherto, stands thus: They have voted 100,000*l.* to be raised upon wines in the way I have writ you formerly; 18 moneths time given for levying it, but if the summe be collected in lesse time, then to cease immediately. For the 200,000*l.* remaining, another Poll bill, in which all that are not worth 20*l.* shall pay nothing either for themselves or children. They have not yet declared any further restrictions, onely if this Poll bill shall not rise to 200,000*l.* then that it shall be made up out of an additionall duty that shall be layd on wines at the Custom-house. Yesterday the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councill of the City of London, sat from eight in the morning 'till three in the afternoon, and ended their debate in a resolution to attend the House of Commons at their next sitting, with their thanks for what they have done formerly in examining about the burning of the City; petitioning further, that the House will take it again into consideration, by reason of certain further informations they have receivd, which they intend to present at the same time with this petition. Munday last the petition of the Irish Adventurers against the Commissioners of Claims, and the explanatory Act was read, and orderd that the petitioners should that day moneth be heard at the barre of the House: 'tis a businesse of very high concernment. The Act of Conventicles not yet brought in. I remain, &c.

Westminster, March 19, 1667-8.

There was impatience ('ignorant' or otherwise) of taxation; but it isn't easy to devise ways to please the tax-payers. Hit high or hit low the lash is the lash, and the wielder of it inevitably exclaims as in the story, "There's no pleasing o' you."

Letter XCV. TO THE SAME.

'March 28, 1668.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YOU know that we returned to sit on Thursday [March 26th]. We are yet no further in the preparatory votes for the Poll bill, then that lay dignities shall pay but halfe what formerly; and a debate adjourn'd whether children under sixteen shall pay their poll. To-day Mr. Solicitor brought in the Bill for raising 100,000*l.* upon wine upon the retailer. 'Twas read once, and appointed the second time on Thursday next: it seem'd at the first reading too severe much to the House, neither is it probable it can passe us without being polished and pared, though when we are forced to search for such ways of supply, 'tis difficult to make them effectual without some strictness extraordinary. I have little more worth your notice at present, but remain, &c.

Westminster, March 28, 1668.

'Wine' taxation is the order of the day. Still slack attendance at 'the House.'

Letter XCVI. TO THE SAME.

'April 4, 1668.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

ALTHOUGH it is I think a week since I writ last to you, and we have bin day by day upon the King's supply, we have not made any very considerable progresse as yet upon that Bill; the cause whereof is onely the due care to make this excise upon wines

as tolerable to the subject and practicable for the King's occasions as the nature of such an imposition will admit. I think I have acquainted you already that the House hath layd by their thoughts of a Poll, and chosen to raise the whole 300,000*li.* on Wines, giving two years space, according to the rates I writ you for the collection, unlesse the sum shall rise in a shorter time; but if not in that time, then that for a third year there be an additional duty at the Custome-house, not exceeding foure pound a tun; and the Commissioners that execute this Act to give account from time to time to those Commissioners of Accounts of monyes given for the late warre. The Bill which is committed to the Committee of the whole House lyes all upon the retayler. We have made a late vote to direct us in the progresse hereof, that it is not intended by this Bill that any wines shall pay twice, which is in respect of the first seller, unto such as shall buy any quantity of wine successively from one to another. Truly this is all that I find materiall for the present to acquaint you with. On Munday [6th April] 'tis intended to call the House. I am, &c.

Westminster, April 4, 1668.

It is found that it won't do to persecute 'the multitude of people' called Nonconformists; and so there are expedients for 'composure,' and His Majesty requested to call before *him* some persons of the different persuasions, &c. RICHARD BAXTER was now calling his Majesty and others before *him* with fine passion of appeal; and grave Dr. John Owen. Of Harman—Sir John—Pepys writes so early as 8th Sept., 1667: 'News is come of Harman's having spoiled 19 or 22 French ships, somewhere about the Barbadoes I think they said; but wherever it is, it is a good service' (III. 247). Onward thus "18th April, 1668." Do hear this morning that Harman was committed by the Parliament last night, to-day he came up, which is hard" (III. 423). He seems to have been a blunt-speaking

sailor without diplomatic skill of self-care (Pepys III. 424). He was liberated, and rose to be Admiral of the Blue: died 1673. 'Bronkard' i.e. Henry Brouncker, 'fled,' which wrote Pepys, 'I think will undo him.' He was Henry Brouncker, 3rd and last Viscount Brouncker, cofferer to Charles II., and Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Duke of York. He died in 1687-8. He figures in Denham's and Marvell's Satires. 'Successe' is = result. (See commencement.)

Letter XCVII. TO THE SAME.

'April 11, 1668.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE successe of Wednesday's debate [April 8th] upon the King's speech, in reference to composure, was a question to desire his Majesty to call before him some persons of the different persuasions, to receive their proposalls; the House dividing, it passed in the negative 167 against 70. After that they debated long concerning taking of the declarations of assent or consent, and concerning the covenant, and something of ceremonyes, which debate at last was adjourned till Wednesday next. The House hath this week made some, but no great progresse (I mean the Committee of the whole House) upon the Bill of Supply, not having yet gone through above seven sheets of seven and twenty. Leave hath been given to-day to bring in a bill for reducing interest lower from six to five or four in the hundred. But it is a businesse of that weight that I scarce believe it can have a passage this session. The Commissioners of Accounts sent in a narrative concerning the breaking of bulke of the two East India prizes. It lights very heavy on my L. of Sandwich and others. The House adjourned the debate till Tuesday next, and in the mean time desired the Commissioners to send them in what more they could

prepare on that subject. It is probable the House will then come to a severe resolution against several remarkable persons. Also Harman arriving in the Downs, the Duke of York sent an expresse to hasten him up to appear before the House to be examin'd about the not prosecuting the first victory. It is a businesse of great expectation, and in common opinion rests hitherto at Bronkard's doore. Harman probably will be with us by Munday or Tuesday at furthest. News comes from so good hands that it can scarcely be discredited, that the Peace betwixt France and Spain is signed on both sides.

I remain, &c.

Westminster, April 11, 1668.

The next Letter is undated; but Pepys under 21st April [Tuesday] says "I hear how Sir W. Pen's impeachment was read and agreed to in the House this day." From the same it appears that "Yesterday" when "Harman was brought to the House" was 17th [Friday]—(See under dates 17th and 18th.) Hence this Letter was written on Saturday, 18th April. The "Munday" when the Irish Adventurers were to be heard was 20th April. The 'Wine' tax hangs. Pepys tells us 'Court all for W. Pen.' The Diary is full of him. His Life has been fully written: died Sep. 12, 1670; with all his faults (rapacity in Ireland specially) a true sea-king of the old Blake-breed. Harman is still in trouble: 'Bronkard' is in attendance, so that he must have returned.

Letter XCVIII. TO THE SAME.

'18th April, 1668.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Bill of 300,000*l.* upon wines proceeds still, but many publick businesses intervening, we shall be much straitned, neither do I believe we can finish it and the rest within the time limited us by his Majesty. To-day the Bill for the City of London was committed, which contains further directions for

the building, large powers to be invested in the Mayor and Aldermen to that purpose, and more years than formerly allotted for that worke: the passing of it requires much time. Last week an impeachment was orderd to be brought in upon Tuesday next against Sir W. Penn, for breaking bulke in the East India prizes. On Munday next the Irish Adventurers will be heard at the barre, a great cause, complaining of the settlement there as destructive to the Protestant interest. Yesterday Harman was brought to the House to give account of slackning saile in the first victory: he had a very good reputation at his coming in, but when he said that Mr. Bronkard onely used arguments, and justified the thing himselfe, saying, "That he had bin a mad-man had he not done it," and other witnesses clearly contradicting this, and proving that Bronkard brought him orders in the Duke's name, he lost all credit with us, and yet more when, upon recollection, he confest that Bronkard did bring orders as from the Duke; so he is committed to the Sergeant, and will doubtlesse be impeacht; both he and Mr. Bronkard, who also was heard, will probably on Tuesday next tast the utmost severity of the House. I am, &c.

Penn's case 'to the Lords'—'impeachment' of Bronkard 'not yet finisht:' 'Act for continuing the Act against Conventicles is ingrost ready,' &c. So the 'Scandalous Clergy' and 'scandalous' as venal 'House' go on in blind fatuity.

Letter XCIX. TO THE SAME.

'April 25, 1668.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

HIS Majesty has this week sent another message to us, signifying, that because 'twas possible he might

have occasion to call us together again before winter, and many weighty matters were before us; he intended it should be but an adjournment for about three moneths, and therefore desird us to dispatch the Bill of Supply, and what else might be ready to passe, by the 4th of May. The Committee of the whole House hath now gon through that Bill, and to-day entred upon the report of it to the House. The impeachment against Sir William Penn is carryd up to the House of Lords, who have thereupon orderd that on Munday he appeare at their barre. The impeachment against Mr. Bronkard, who fled away, is not yet finisht by the Committee. The Act for continuing the Act against Conventicles is ingroست ready for its third reading, and will, I believe, passe our House next week. I remain, &c.

Apr. 25, 1668.

Marvell, 'at nine at night,' writes in 'the Post-house for surenesse.' The 'dispute' here reported, and the significance of which he discerns, originated in the petition of this Mr. Skinner, a merchant to the Peers. It was a question of privilege. LINGARD (*History of England*, xii. 234: 4th edition) narrates the quarrel. The Session was prorogued without the matter being settled, and it was not adjusted until 1670, and then only by the Peers consenting to an expedient proposed by the Commons, viz., a general rasure of all the transactions relating to the disputed points. (See also Anchitel Grey: *Debates* i. 150: and Pepys III. 432, 433, 435-6, 438-9 *et alibi*). Marvell is very moderate, and hopeful always of 'composure.' He was anything but the Republican fire-brand that Royalists would have him thought to have been—too little so, perhaps.

Letter C. TO THE SAME.

'May 2, 1668.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

'TIS nine at night, and we are but just now risen, and I write these few words in the Post-house, for

surenesse that my letter be not too late. We have now past the Wine Bill, which is to be sent to the Lords on Munday morning, so we cannot keep our day. And another reason too comes very unseasonably to detain us the longer. I have no more time then to tell you that the Lords having judged, and fined the East India Company, as we think illegally, upon the petition of one Skynner, a merchant, and they petitioning us for redresse, we have imprisoned him that petitioned them, and they have imprisoned severall of those that petitioned us; and we on Munday send to the Lords severe votes against their proceedings: It is a businesse of very high and dangerous consequences, but I hope we shall find out ere long some way of composure; though it appears very ill at present. I am, Gentlemen, &c., your very humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

May 2, 1668.

The 'East India Company' Skynner-business is agitating 'the Houses' up till 'five o'clock of the morning.' This and preceding Letter and others give very important historical details in a thing variously memorable and not sufficiently recorded. One is glad to find the old Commonwealth spirit revived—some sense of privilege in the Commons. Of the members of the East India Company named, Sir Samuel Barnardiston was 3rd son of Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, of Kelton, co. Suffolk, Kt.: created a baronet 11th May, 1663. His mode of cutting his hair is said (perhaps mythically) to have originated the name of 'Roundhead' as applied to the Parliamentarians. But he welcomed the Restoration and was a member of most of the Parliaments of Charles II. He was Deputy-Governor of the East India Company. He died 8th Nov., 1707, aged 87. Sir Andrew Ricaut is Sir Andrew Rickard (Pepys i. 412: iii. 101, 127, 430, 433, 439). Capt. Thompson prints the next name 'Mr. Roland was dismissed.' It is 'Mr. Roland Win,' the same politely mentioned in Pepys, 'who, by false ways, did get the father of Mr. Roberts wife, Mr. Bodvil, to give him the estate and disinherit his daughter' (II. 123).

(See also iii. 439: Lord Braybrooke queries 'or Gywnn.') Sir John Bennet was elder brother of Henry, 1st earl of Arlington. He was created Baron Ossulton 24th Nov., 1682. He died in 1688, and his only son, in 1714, was created Earl of Tankerville. Of the Speakers (not already noticed) in the House of Lords these may be remembered (a) Earle of Essex—well-known. (b) John Egerton, succeeded his father as 2nd earl of Bridgewater in 1649. He married Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, 2nd daughter of William, duke of Newcastle; died 26th Dec., 1686. (c) Sir John Lucas, Kt., son of Sir Thomas Lucas, of Essex, was as a Royalist created Baron Lucas, 3rd Jan., 1644; died 1670. (d) Lord Andover; Thomas Howard, 2nd son of the 1st Earl of Suffolk; created 23rd January, 1621-2, Lord Howard of Charlton and Viscount Andover, and on the 6th Feb., 1625-6, Earl of Berkshire. He died 16th July, 1669. With reference to the adjournment Pepys writes on 11th August "met enough to adjourn to the 10th of November next," but what was done appears not. On 4th November he speaks of rumours of dissolution, and on 13th of its not being resolved whether Parliament should meet or no, and then enters into an account of the different views of Buckingham and Arlington. I suppose Parliament was prorogued from 10th Novr. to March 2nd. The 'building' of the Fire-smitten city goes on; but the Act is not passed from want 'of time.' So too fell through the renewal of the Act 'against Conventicles.' Of the 'insurrection of the apprentices' here is one suggestive entry in Pepys in their favour: 'to pull down the brothels in Moorfields' (III. 406-8). This is Lord Braybrooke's note on a later entry (III. 417-8): "Four were executed on 9th May, namely Thomas Simmond, Edward Cotton, Peter Massenger, and Richard Beasley. They were drawn, hanged and quartered at Tyburn, and two of their heads fixed upon London Bridge. *The London Gazette*, No. 259. See "The Tryals of the London Apprentices, who were tumultuously assembled in Moore Fields, under colour of pulling down Brothels" 4th. London, 1668. "It is to be observed," says *The London Gazette*, "to the just vindication of the City, that none of the persons apprehended upon the said tumult were found to be apprentices, as was given out; but some idle persons, many of them nursed in the late Rebellion, too readily embracing any opportunity of making their own advantages to the disturbance of the peace, and injury of others." Just so! "Nursed in the late Rebellion." Brothels were sacred places in the eyes of *The London Gazette*. To 'pull them down' or to essay it in righteous if impotent wrath

was 'disturbance of the peace.' The 'anoointed' King might next be 'disturbed' in *his* palace-'brothels.' Ah!

Letter CI. To THE SAME.

'May 9, 1668.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I SUPPOSE you may have heard ere this of the conference we desired with the Lords last Tuesday; wherein we gave them two votes: one that their taking cognizance and proceeding originally upon the petition of Skyner against the East India Company, was contrary to law; and the second of the like nature, as to that island belonging to the king of Jamba, which Skyner complained of particularly. It was Friday in the afternoon ere the Lords desired a Conference of us; wherein, with a preamble in writing of a severe and high sense, they gave us two votes in exchange: That our interteining a scandalous paper of the East India Company's, and our proceeding thereon, was a breach of the privilege of the House of Peers, and of the good union that ought to be betwixt the two Houses; that what the Lords had don upon Skyner's petition was agreable to law, and consonant to precedents both ancient and modern. These votes were backt with discourses of the Duke of Buckingham, Earle of Essex, Earle of Bridgewater, Lord Lucas, Earle of Anglesy, Lord Hollis, Lord Andover, who held us almost five hours. We went from thence back to our House, where we sat without intermission till five a clock this morning. Our votes were, That the East India petition contained nothing scandalous; that in interteining and proceeding thereon, we had broke no privilege of the Lords, nor the good union, and had don nothing but what became us; that a

Message should be sent to the Lords as soon as they sat, that the House taking notice of their desires of a good union, and not being satisfyd with their reasons given at the conference, is of opinion the best way of preserving that union would be the Lords surceasing all proceedings upon their order or sentence against the East India Company, and setting at liberty the members thereof that were in custody. This message was accordingly carryed; the Lords answered they would return answer by messengers of their own, which the House taking for a refusal, voted, That whosoever should be aiding or assisting in execution of the Lords' sentence or order against the East India Company, shall be deemed a betrayer of the libertyes and rights of the Commons of England and an infringer of the privilege of Parliament. The Lords went on in the debate of our message, and voted, they would not agree with us. The King came and past the Wine Bill, which takes force from the 24th of June; a Bill for liberty of transporting Leather; a Bill providing further against importing Irish Cattell; a Bill to cause Receivers of the late Taxes to pay in their Monyes to the King (nothing else of concernment) which shall take care to send you when printed. The Bill providing further for the City of London had not time to passe, nor the Bill for continuing the Act of Conventicles. The King took notice of the difference betwixt us and the Lords, and hoped to find an expedient in this intervall to compose the matter, and bad us goe to our House and adjourn till the 11th of August, and if he had not need of us at that time, would advertise us by proclamation. We went and adjourned presently, but the Lords sat on, and sentenced Sir Samuel Barnardiston, upon his knees, to pay 300li. fine, and

be under the black rod without baile till he payd it ; Sir Andr. Ricaut was dismiss ; Mr. Roland Win dismiss : Mr. Boon (these foure being members of the East India Company, and of the Committee for drawing up the petition to us) to be under baile till our next meeting. Having done this, the Lords likewise adjourned. Colonel Gilby and I have been with Sir John Bennett, the post-master, who promist to us to write this night to Mr. Mawson (which letter you may please to call for) to redresse any error, and I am sure that nothing will be exacted of you contrary to the Act. If there should, I will undertake, upon the least notice again from you, to see it rectifyd. This day foure persons were hanged, drawn, and quartered for the late insurrection of apprentices. I have no more news nor time. I take great pleasure in writing to you, more in serving you to my ability, and shall always remain, &c.

Westminster, May 9, 1668.

The military, led by one Lieutenant Wise (who deplorably belied his name apparently) have been insulting 'The Mayor' of Hull. There are loud outcries of grievance. 'The Lord Generall' [Duke of Albemarle] comes out well in the stilling of this tea-pot tempest—if it be not irreverence to name it so. These next six Letters are all printed for the first time.

Letter CII. TO THE SAME.

'Sept. 29, 1668.'

SIR,

THIS is onely to acquaint you that I have received your dispatches ; that my Lord Generall comes not to town till to-morrow ; that I have been with Mr. Recorder, and we shall with the first opportunity give you the best account we are able.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Sept. 29, 1668.

One 'Will. Lister' signs the present Letter with Marvell—all are in the latter's handwriting.

Letter CIII. To THE SAME.

'October 1st, 1668.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS.

My Lord Bellasis having received a copy from Hull of the information which you transmitted to us against Lt. Wise. did by Sir Jeremy Smith desire to speak to us before we presented your letter to my Lord Generall concerning that businesse. And the Generall not being then in town we thought so much the rather we could not decline my Lord Bellasis. Upon discourse, therefore, with him yesterday, wherein my Lord seemed much concerned for that rudenesse used by the Lieut. toward Mr. Mayor, he did also wish that rather then move my Lord Generall in it at present, there might first some tryall be made whether the Lt. would make a satisfactory civill reparation to Mr. Mayor for the affront done him. Which, all circumstances considerd, seeming not refusable, my Lord Bellasis writ this letter presently to Colonell Gilby, and red us it over. Wherein he tells the Colonell that he had prevaild with us to suspend the delivery of my L. Generall's letter, that Lt. Wise might have the opportunity to make a deservd acknowledgement to Mr. Mayor for his incivility, and desire him to passe it over. He further saith that although it so chances that there is no witnesse to attest the particulars, yet Mr. Mayor's own affirmation is of sufficient and undoubted credit. He tells him that unlesse Lt. Wise shall speedily addresse himselfe in the most decent manner to Mr. Mayor herein, that your letter will forthwith be delivered to the Generall. And there-

fore requires Colonell Gilby to dispose the Lt. to make amend in time for this miscarriage. One thing more, Colonell Gilby having acquainted my Lord that he heard you had complained too of him to the Councill, my Lord lets him know that there is no such matter. This letter therefore of my Lord's we have inclosed, that you may as you thinke best, either send it to him by one of your officers, or leave it for him at the Post-house. And we hope that as to this particular complaint against Lieut. Wise, you may find hereby an effort not unproportionate to your expectations. If not, we have but lost this experiment, and shall be ready to proceed in that way which you have chalkd out to us, or in such other as you, upon recollection of all the materiall incidents of this nature, shall advise as the most proper means to prevent the frequent returns of the like inconveniences. For it were a most happy thing if there could be such a line drawn betwixt you and our soldiery as you might both keep your own way, without that molesting one another. But we shall not enlarge at present: onely hoping that what is done thus farre will not be unacceptable to you. We shall expect your further order, remaining,

Gentlemen, &c.

Your very affectionate friends to serve you,

WILL. LISTER,
ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Oct. 1, 1668.

In the arrangement of the original Letters this is misplaced among those of 1663. A Letter of October 15th is in Gilby's handwriting and hence claims no place here.

Letter CIV. For the Right Wor^th^l Humfry Duncalfe,
the Mayor of Kingston upon Hull.

‘ October 27, 1668.’

SIR,

ON Saturday last my Lord Bellasis, Sr. Jeremy Smith, Mr. Recorder, and myselfe, had another meeting about your businesse. My Lord was very much displeased that upon his former letter there had not been something more effectually done concerning Lieutenant Wise's submission, and therefore was pleased to consult with us what further might be done toward your just satisfaction. So we drew up a forme wherein the Lieutenant should be commanded before yourselve and the aldermen to declare to you and Mr. Lambert that he is very sorry for the affront done lately by him to the Corporation, and particularly to Mr. Lambert, being then your chief magistrate, That he requests you to passe over his fault therein for the present, and that for the future he shall take care so to carry himselfe that he may give no offence to you or the corporation. With this my Lord went to his Highnesse and the Generall. Since when I have not met with Mr. Recorder, but we then agreed because of the distance of our lodgings and the casualty of finding one another, to give you account by our particular letters according as things should come to either of our notice. Which I doubt not but he dos conformable to what I now write. Yesterday I waited on my Lord Bellasis, who tells me that upon inforcing this matter with his Highnesse he had prevailed with him, who otherwise might very well have bin partiall toward his own officers, to admit that Wise should be injoynd to make the foresaid recantation: my Lord Generall being very much concernd that

you should have a very full and a satisfactory reparation. My Lord Bellasis further tells me that he has hereupon writ down this post to the present commander in town, to take care that Wise in due manner as aforesaid do appear before you, and hath given his letter to Captain Vaughan, that he sending it down may also further admonish his lieutenant at his further perill to take hold of this opportunity to make peace with you. So that I do not see why probably you may not come to an honorable conclusion of this businesse. For though if we could be our own carvers we might perhaps aime yet further; yet, all things considered, I thinke you will have gained herein a very good point. And I therefore hope—and it is my best advice to you—that if the lieutenant do now conforme to these orders, you will thereupon rest, and signify to him that you are satisfyd. Whereby as you have justly signifyd your resentment before so you will approve your equanimity at present, and nevertheless obtain perhaps hereby better something yet more solid which is here in agitation toward your further contentment and better government for the future. When the businesse is over to your minds, pray faile not to give a particular account to my Lord Generall and my Lord Bellasis, how all succeeded, with your thanks in the best manner, for the favour and justice they have done you. For to say the truth, my Lord Generall has been back and edge to you in this businesse, and really my Lord Bellasis has bin so cordially interested in your behalfe through this whole businesse, that I know not which more to commend, his courtesy or his industry, his zeal or his prudence; but for every one of them they cannot be enough commended, nor can you scarce acknowledge it in

words equall to the obligation. You may please to communicate this letter to the Bench.

I am, Sir,

You very affectionate cosin to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Oct. 27th, 1668.

Curious it is to read of so high a man as 'the Lord Generall' taking his 'fee'—'your usuall fee.' This is another of the historic facts of these Letters—repeated throughout—that somehow don't get into history. The Duke of York was made General of all forces by land and sea, and Albemarle lieutenant-general (Pepys, 6th Dec. 1665). A 'Hull liquor' gift was also to follow. All was complaisance over the thing. It has the look of 'bribery and corruption,' and yet—may we say so, since it was 'the usual way.'? The present hitherto unprinted Letter is as characteristic as any of the Series. Poor Lieut. Wise was 'a kind of decrepit young gentleman, and terribly crest-fallen.' Marvell excels in these portrait-sketches. The 'affectionate cosin' was a blind. At least so it has been interpreted hitherto. The word however was used vaguely, and expressed various degrees of relationship, and if Marvell was related to Duncalfe—but of this nothing appears—he may be supposed to use it as reminding him of it, and as an expression of his own goodwill and remembrance of it in a Letter where he greatly wished to gain his point, and so peaceably end the sorry matter. 'Prevent'=be beforehand with you in writing.

Letter CV. To THE SAME.

'November 28, 1668.'

SIR,

I WRITE this to you, desiring that you will communicate it to the Bench, being the relation of what I have done in your businesse since your joynt letter to Mr. Recorder and myselfe. Mr. Recorder chancing to be indisposed in his health, I have advised nevertheless with him, and done as much as I possibly could without the benefit of so necessary assistance. I waited yesterday upon my L. Generall,

Sr. Jeremy Smith being pleased, as he is never wanting where he may serve you, to goe along with me and Mr. Stockdale. I first presented your usuall fee, which the Generall accepted, but saying that it was unnecessary, and that you might have bin pleased to spare it, and he should be so much more at liberty to show how voluntary and affectionate he was toward your Corporation. I returned the civillest words that I could coyne on the present, and rendered him your humble thanks for his continuall patronage of you, and the late experiment thereof in the businesse of Wise, and told him that you had further sent him up a small tribute of your Hull liquor. He thankd you again for all those things, which you might, he said, have spared, and added that if the greatest of your military officers should demeane himselfe ill towards you, he would take a course with him. Further he said that he believd there would be enough against him. Whom he meant you may think, I did not ask him, neither will it be fit for you to take notice beyond yourselves of these things which he favord me with in the confidence and familiarity of discourse. I then enterd into the whole businesse of Wise, who he saith hath not yet bin with him, nor dares not. He said he had deferrd to answer your letter till he had done it in effect. And bent his discourse so as to assure you that he should be removed out of that Company and trouble you no more. Which, truly considering that he is the Generall's own Cosin, and that the Generall himselfe quitted his employment heretofore in Holland rather than make such a submission, and that the other belongs to the D. of Yorke, and is now here in town, and that there were some defects in the formalities of the complaint on your part, is I

hope honourable enough for you and exemplary against all others that shall offend in the like nature. Nor is it nothing that such an order formerly was made, though it should chance not to be executed. As for my Lord Bellasis whom I spoke with also yesterday, he is wholly disposed to do you and himselfe right, taking himselfe now more concerne since Wise's escape and neglect; not having yet been with him and offended at both my partners, for which I am sorry, and at Lt. Col. Cartwright, neither of them having yet given him any account at all of his dispatches about that businesse. And I perceive he doth really resent it. But I find that according to the prudence with which men must always handle a mixt businesse, he also inclines to that way of removeing the stumbling block. And I hope, sir, that you will incline the Bench to consider whether I am able, or whether it be fit for me to urge it beyond that point. Yet it is not all his Parlt. men and relations that have wrought me in the lest, but what I simply conceive as the state of things now is to be possible and satisfactory. What would you have more of a soldier than to run away, and have him cashiered as to any command in your garrison? The first he hath done, and the second he must submit to. And I assure you whatsoever he was among you, he is is here a kind of decrepit young gentleman and terribly crest-falln. When the businesse is ended, as it will be very shortly, I shall give you account, and then it will be time for you to write to my L. Generall and L. Bellasis, if they do not prevent you. For I assure you they use all the civility imaginable to you, and as we sat there drinking a cup of sack with the Generall, Coll. Legg chancing to be present, there were twenty good

things said on all hands, tending to the good fame, reputation, and advantage of the town: an occasion that I was heartily glad of. But this is enough for one post.

I am, Sir,

Your very affectionate Cosin to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Nov. 28, 1668.

The next two are to Trinity House on the irrepressible Light-house matter. 'Frowde' is again the moving evil-spirit.

Letter CVI. [Address gone.]

'Feb. 27, 1668-9.'

London, Febr. 27, 1668-9.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I RECEIVED your letter of the 23rd last night, and shall be very glad if I can serve you in that businesse, which hath so much reason in it that indeed methinks at some time or other, however we were formerly discouraged, we might not despaire of successe. I shall inquire the best I can whether as it seems you are informed, there be any that are setting their old pretension on foot in opposition to your interest; but shall do it with some caution, lest perhaps we should awake those thoughts in them againe which I thought they had layd aside. And therefore I could wish you would acquaint me particularly from what hand you have heard of it, and who it should be that is stirring about it. Colonell Frowd is the person whom I most suspect as being the man that claimed a grant of it from the King, such as it was; and indeed he alone being the

Dutchesse of Yorke's secretary, and countenanced by his highnesse, may, as he did formerly, make your work difficult. There were, you know, certain others neare you, who were willing to tamper in the advantage they presumed from that worke. But I looke upon Frowd as the spring of that engine, and have been sometimes thinking whether, considering the block that you being so considerable a body may always put in his way, it were not fit to try whether he, as an hungry and needy man, might not be induced for some slight recompense to let fall his pretension ; and I thinke it might not be amisse for you to consider what summe the businesse might allow to him, to be payd whensoever the Act of Parliament shall have effected it. The papers of former transactions you will do well to send over hither. For the Solicitor of this matter, it is true, Mr. Cressett, as having been versed in it before [three lines erased]. Of this, therefore, we will consider. For myselfe you must not promise yourselves too much from me : yet so much you may, that whatsoever the reason and the persons will beare, I shall manage to the best of my understanding to your service, being Gentlemen, &c. Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

[Address-cover gone.]

The seal of the next is a fine impression of the head of Cæsar. It may be noted here that a letter, 5th March, from the Trinity House, is addressed "To Andrew Marvell, Esqr., att the Crowne, over against the Greyhound Taverne, neere Charing Crosse, London, p'sent."

Letter CVII. To Mr. Edmond Popple, at Hull.

‘Feb. 27, 1668-9.’

[Feb. 27, 1668-9.]

DEARE BROTHER,

I AM in great hast. I have as I must needs do of anything from the Trinity house, considered since more earnestly of their businesse. And I have good hope truly that I may go thorow with it. Pray take care speedily to send me all the papers that have past formerly in that businesse. It will be some expense, but much otherwise husbanded then formerly. What the Trinity house may at any time think fit to write to me, pray for more privacy inclose under your cover.

[Unsigned.]

The Greenland Company here would faine have your town trade thither. You may have emmunity and propriety of post, and not a farthing to be payd.

His Majesty is ‘resolved not to part with this Parliament,’ &c.

Letter CVIII. To THE MAYOR [DUNCALFE].

‘March 2, 1668-9.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I THINKE it is fit to give you this word, that yesterday we met, and were, by Commission under his Majestye’s broad seale, prorogued till the 19th of October. This further his Majesty declares on all occasions, that he is resolved not to part with this parliament. Alsoe my Lord Keeper declared openly at his house, at the sealing of the Commission, and gave those present leave to report it, that whereas there was a rumour of a new parliament, his Majesty to his knowledge was resolved to continue this, and

that if there was any necessity of calling a Parliament before that time, his Majesty knew an expedient, notwithstanding this prorogation, to call us again together for his service. This is all I had to say, but that I am, &c.,

London, March 2, 1668-9.

The Military have been brought to their senses apparently, and must pay fine and acknowledge 'misdemeanour. Letters CIX. to CXIV. have never before been printed.

Letter CIX. TO THE SAME.

'March 16, 1668-9.'

SIR,

I RECEIVED yours of the 13th with a letter inclosed to Mr. Recorder and myselfe, upon an overture as you intimate from Mr. Skyner, touching the businesse of Cary and South. But I have not yet broke ope the letter, intending to-day to meet Mr. Recorder, and then we shall consider of it. I hope you have mention'd in that letter something near the matter what you thinke will be reasonable and satisfactory from the gentlemen, both as to mony and as to civility. For something tis fit they should pay, and that some kind of acknowledgement they should make to the Bench of their misdemeanor. And if herein you have given us a rule to walke by, our discretion will be more at ease. However, I shall strive to manage my part of the businesse so as I shall judge to be most acceptable to you and most honourable.

I am, Sir,

Your most affectionate Cosin,

ANDR. MARVELL,

London, Nov. 16th, 1668-9.

I am going when I have writ this toward Hatton garden, where I intend to see Sam. The Generall seems something better, but I much doubt him.

In Trinity House this small Note is preserved.

Letter CX. [No address.]

‘ March 30th, 1669.’

MR. JOHN HILL,

Pray pay to my Cosin, Mr. William Popple, the 25li. which your father orderd you this post to pay me. And this note shall be your discharge for that mony.

I am,

Your very loving friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

March 30th, 1669.

The Sir Robert Cary of the preceding and the present letter, was doubtless Sir Robert Cary, Kt., who succeeded as 6th Baron Hunsdon in 1677, on the death of John, 2d and last Earl of Dover. He died in 1692. ‘Period’=end.

[No address.]

Letter CXI. To the Mayor [Duncalfe]

‘ April 15, 1669.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I SUPPOSE you may have expected ere this some account from me about the businesse of Mr. South and Sr. R. Cary, which was by you, upon Mr. Skyner’s mediation, referd to Mr. Recorder and myselfe. But I reckond that Mr. Skyner’s letter to you, wherein he signifyd afterwards that they had not matured their proposalls before his necessary departure for Ireland, would put you upon other counsellis. And Mr. Recorder’s journey for the North falling in presently after, I conceiv’d myselfe at a

period of that power which you intrusted betwixt us. Neverthelesse lest you should depend still upon anything relating to your former order, and so slip the time convenient either for agreeing or prosecuting this businesse, I thinke fit to give you hereby notice that as whatever application should have been made particularly to me, I would have referred back to yourselves, so I have not since Mr. Skyner's going had any such proposall from their friends here as might give me a reasonable ground of reporting it to you. So that I thinke you will do very well to treat with any agents that they may employ to you, taking care that it may be so speedily, as they may not have drilld you on beyond the time of prosecution, and so safely, that no advantage may be taken of your proceedings hitherto, when you shall thinke fit to supersede them. But as to the composition you will demand of them, I thinke that the lest matter of all, seeing it is before you, who are the most competent judges of your own reparation. Which I am glad is so faln out, not that I would at any time balke either your good opinion or mine own labor, but because I am sure the businesse will so be better and more decently ended.

I am, your most affectionate servant,
ANDR. MARVELL.

Letter CXII. To THE SAME.

‘ April 17, 1669.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

Since mine to you last post Sr R. Cary desired Mr. Stockdale to appoint a meeting with me, which was yesternight. And then he offerd to referre the businesse to my composure. I told him I had no power left ; all that I could do was to heare any pro-

posall he would make, and represent it to you. He acknowledged it to be so after I had told him how the case stood; but neverthelesse desired therefore I would meet him again to-day, for then he would propose to me, and desired only that I would acquaint you with it. So I met. There were present also on our part Mr. Stockdale and Mr. Aston. On his, one or two of his friends. I said that as farre as I perceived from you, you expected something for the persons injur'd, something for the poore and all the charges you had been at. They proportioning each, had offerd ten pounds upon each, that is on the whole thirty pounds to be payd here within a week that you should signify your satisfaction therein. Further Sir R. Cary said he would write this night a civill letter to you in excuse, and desire that you would admit this accommodation. Thus the thing is before you. If you impowre me or any other to make an end upon these termes, it will be effected. If you expect more, the whole forfeiture being as I understand 400li. the Law is open to you, or you may demand an higher composition. Neither as I perceive are you so straitned in time but that you have leisure either way without detriment. Therefore I submit the businesse to your better judgement, onely desiring that I may have some kind of answer to return them by the first opportunity, and remain

Gentlemen, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Apr. 17, 1669.

All the variation in this businesse is to be ascribd to the distance betwixt Mr. South and Sir Robert. Your law-charges here amount not to 5li.

Letter CXIII. To THE SAME.

‘April 27, 1669.’

GENTLEMEN,

THIS is onely to give you a short notice that at our meeting this afternoon with Sir Robert Cary and his friends, they received very gladly the news of your concurring with their proposall. It falls fittest for them to pay you the mony at Hull. Therefore accordingly at or before Friday come se’night, I doubt not but Mr. Brown or some other as much to the purpose, will wait upon you and pay you the mony, receiving from you and the other persons concerned, authentick releases. And for all further charges here, Mr. Aston in my presence and the rest of our side hath agreed with them to take of all proceedings with indemnity, both to you and them at their expense. Which I will see performed here in the most effectuall manner after you are pleased to signify to me that satisfaction has bin done at Hull. I can not but add one word of that esteeme which I have for your prudence in the conduct of this whole businesse. For indeed as it was fitting to have no lesse reparation so in exacting no more, you have shown that a Corporation of your dignity dos not proll for advantage upon gentlemen your neighbours, and so these persons at last will have no occasion among others that are too ready to pick and watch for occasions to misrepresent you.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Apr. 27th, 1669.

The ‘Trinity House’ of London is seeking to ‘interfere’—illegally it would seem. Very fine is the patience of Marvell

over these local interests. To the praise of Trinity House be it said there are innumerable copies of letters to him in the books acknowledging this.

Letter CXIV. For my esteemed friends Mr.
Lancelot Anderson and Mr. Leonard Cawood,
Wardens of the worthy Society of the
Trinity-house, in Kingston upon
Hull.

‘Sept. 18, 1669.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I might something sooner have sent you word of your busynesse, but that some occasions of mine own and absence out of towne, have made me dispense with myselfe therein, when I was once secure that so much difference of time could neither further, advance or prejudice you. For I had taken both very good advice (which I have by me) whereby I was informd that the Trinity house of London could not have stopt you upon pretense of their act; and I entered caveats both at Mr. Atturmy's and Mr. Sollicitor's, that nothing could passe without my notice; and further I delt with those who have so much influence and power upon all grants of this nature that they could and did promise me that whether I procured it for you or no, to be sure it should never passe for any other particular person nor especially for Col. Frowd. So that herein I rested, for so farre, well satisfyd, nor yet omitted to push the affirmative as forward for you as I had the negative upon others. But herein after all my soundings I found there was no passing. It is not necessary to make you a cart [=chart] of the flats and sands that we meet with at Court, but in short Col. Frowd barrs us and he is always at the top and we at the bottome. Now, Gentlemen, it remains to consider

and I believe you may expect my advice whether it be fit to sit down in this certain security that we shall always ly in his way as much as he dos in ours, or whether rather we shall attempt immediately an Act of Parliament; which if we can procure, the mony will have been well saved which the passing of the Great Seale would have cost you. Now indeed the passing of such private bills as lay a common imposition is I confesse very hazardous in our House; and after the ablest men have employd all their art and dexterity in such matters, yet chance will governe at last. For so even Sir William Coventry when he was in his best aspect at Court and in the House yet miscarried far against his expectation, in the Bill he offerd for an imposition to the repaire of Yarmouth peere, the towne for which he served; which therefore I seriously reflect upon and yet neverthesse imagining the worke so reasonable, necessary and plausible as I do, and the proportion you propound so moderate, I thinke you must step a litle further. For besides you have yet if I be not misinform'd a capacity of straitning the project, and that even twelve pence upon each ship would do your businesse sufficiently. Which if it be so, you ought to keep as a great secret to which you may have your last recourse upon whatsoever other difficulty that might rise in the House upon treating with Col. Frowd for his interest if it should be found necessary. There is yet one thing further, that is the probability of our sitting long enough to passe the Act on the contrary. And that is not to be divined till we meet, but then we can give a shrewd guesse. However preparation will cost you nothing but your pains. Which I think consists in this, That you prepare a Petition for the House of

Commons, drawn up of the strongest and closest reasons for your businesse. Draw two of the same if you please, in the one expressing the summe of so much per tun: in the other instead of that leaving an empty space of a line to insert the summe such as may perhaps be found more adviseable. Also if you can get the town to petition for you distinctly, it will doe very well: however that they certify. Nothing is too much in these matters, but perhaps to seek certificates and consent along the coast towns would but make an unnecessary noise and be long of procuring. A Letter we must have too to present upon occasion to the Generall, both from the town and from you. Also acquainting Col. Gilby with what I say, and taking his letter and further advice. Be pleasd to intreat him to speake with me concerning C. Frowd, whether it be fit to treat with him and upon what terms. And you will do well to be casting up how much the imposition of 12d. a ship would availe both for buying of his pretense and making a good recompense to your charges. As for your mony 'tis most of it safe. I can not reckon that I have issued in all above three pound of it. So that indeed it needed not but that. I thought myselfe then in a very neare possibility of passing the Seale, and then it had. Therefore as you shall thinke best, order it backe or leave it in banke toward the passing of the Act, for which no fees are due untill it have had its second reading in our House. 'Tis not amisse to send up the draught of that Act you have by you. So expecting your pleasure, I remaine

Gentlemen, &c.

Your very loving friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Sept. 18, 1669.

'The House' is again to assemble, and the indefatigable Member wishes to have instructions as to how he can 'serve' his constituents.

Letter CXV. To the Mayor [Duncalfe].

'Oct. 7, 1669.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Parliament being now shortly to sit, though I know you want no remembrancer in those things which concerne you, yet I thought it proper for me to give you notice of it, and that I shall, God willing, be present at the opening of the Session. Therefore if there be any particular that may more nearly relate to your affaires, you will be pleas'd to consider thereof, and advertise me timely, that so I may be instrumentall to serve you therein, as farre as my capacity will carry, and my obligation binds me. And so wishing that you, and the kingdome, may have reason to rejoyce in the happy successe of this our meeting, which is of so great importance and expectation, I take leave at present, and remaine, &c.

Lond, October 7th, 1669.

I intercalate here one of many Letters to Marvell from Trinity House.

Letter CXVI.

WORTHY SIR,

We received yours, which we have considered as well as we are able, and amongst the rest we cannot but acknowledge your care and vigilancy. But we thinke itt not safe to attempt an act of Parliament unles we could finde, upon the sitting of the House, some unexpected gaile of opportunity that would be sure waft us quite over without being beat backe againe. But we rather thinke fit to deale with Col. Frowd, where, if he would with moderation comply, with his helpe and countenance and our owne interest, we may be in hopes an act may pass that wilbe more safe then a letter. With this we have acquainted Col. Gilby. When you meete, we intreate you consult our advantage, and treat as warily as may be with

Col. Frowd, in which we doubt not your prudence, haveing had so much experience, that we must acknowledge ourselves.

Sir,

Your very much obliged friends and servants,
Oct. 7, 1669.

‘Necessity of mony’ by his Majesty, as always, urgent. ‘Union of the two kingdomes’—revived from King James’ and Bacon’s time. ‘Moderation’ is to be exercised, so as to prevent ‘all ill convenience.’ The bookseller, Chiswell, figures in contemporary title-pages. The Barnardston ‘East India Company’ business returns.

Letter CXVII. To the Right Worshipful John Tripp, Mayor, and the Aldermen his Brethren. of Kingston upen Hull.

‘Oct. 19, 1669.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THIS is onely to give you account that according to the day prefixed we have met in parliament, where his Majesty did in short signify to the Houses the necessity he had of mony, desiring them to take it into effectuall consideration: and further signified, that he had taken care in Scotland for appointing Commissioners to treat with Commissioners, to be named also by the Parliament of England, for making an union of the two Kingdomes. The Lord Keeper (to whom his Majesty referred to speak larger of those points) did also say, that his Majesty hoped that if there were any debate betwixt the Lords and Commons, there would be such a spirit of moderation as should prevent all ill consequence. Our House, returning thence, ordered that one Chiswell, a bookseller, should be summoned before us to give an account of a book lately printed by his order, called, The Grand Question concerning the Jurisdiction of the House of Lords, upon occasion of

Sir Samuel Barnardiston's businesse last session : this book seeming of most dangerous consequence to the Libertyes of the Commons of England. Next they appointed a Committee to inspect the Lords' books for their proceedings against Barnardiston last Session ; then voted, that Tuesday come se'night should be the day to take his Majesty's speech in consideration : That the House (being indeed but thin) should be called on Monday next, when 'tis likely they will be very severe against those that are absent. So we adjourned till Thursday morning.

I remain, &c.,

London, Oct. 19, 1669.

Sir Samuel Barnardston is pronounced to have 'behaved himselfe like a good Commoner of England;' severity against 'absenters' from 'the House.'

Letter CXVIII. TO THE SAME.

'Oct. 26, 1669.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, our House, upon examination of the printer of that book about the Lords' Jurisdiction, orderd, that Mr. Speaker direct Mr. Attorney to preferre an inditement against him in the King's Bench, for printing such a book without legall licence ; the printer onely having alledgd for himselfe, that he had it from my Lord Hollis. Sir Samuel Barnardiston being asked at the House barre whether he payd the fine set upon him by the Lords, satisfyd the House 'twas contrary. For indeed it was a collusion, the mony having been payd into the Exchequer by a third person, and probably payd him back again, onely to confirme so upon record a submission to the Lords' judgment ; but therefore the House voted Sir S[amuel] B[arnardiston] had behaved him-

selfe in the whole matter like a good commoner of England, and orderd that all our arguments at the conference last session with the Lords should be fully entered on our journall, and a Bill to be brought in to declare the Lords have no right to try originall causes touching Life, Liberty, corporall Punishment, or other Punishment, nor of Title or Property of Lands, Tenements, &c., nor to tax damages for any injury. Also that none shall be molested for any thing in petition to the Commons, except at the said Commons prosecution; also to vacate and rase all records and proceedings concerning Sir Samuel Barnardiston, &c.: which Bill was accordingly red the second time and committed to-day. To-day the Commissioners of Accounts brought in their Report, which the House being wholly intent on their Bill, they orderd it to be read Saturday next, and in the mean time to be sealed up by the Speaker. They orderd on Wednesday se'nnight to consider the second part of the King's speech. Then they adjourn'd till Friday, that the Committee may sit till then, morning and night, to perfect the Bill. The House was called yesterday, and gave defaulters a fortnight's time, by which if they do not come up they may expect the greatest severity.

I am, &c.,

London, Oct. 26, 1669.

The enclosure-papers of these letters are scarcely ever preserved at Hull.

Letter CXIX. TO THE SAME.

'Oct. 28, 1669.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

BEING yet in adjournment till to-morrow, and these papers coming out in the meane time, I thought

them fit to be transmitted to you, that you might, as you have so cleare understandings, receive also as early intelligence of what passes. And having nothing further at present, I remain, &c.,

London, Oct. 28, 1669.

Letters CXX. to CXXII, from Trinity House are now first printed; still the Light-house business and Sir Philip Frowde drags its long slow length. Colonel Gilby having written down a rumour that one Clayton had got ahead of the Trinity House in this business, they seem to have written on it to Marvell, who thus replies—

Letter CXX. For my very worthy friends Mr. George Acklam and Mr. Thomas Weeton, Wardens, to be communicated to the worthy Society of the Trinity House in Kingston upon Hull.

‘ Oct. 28, 1669.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE received yours of the 22d. I perceive Colonell Gilby, my good partner, out of the affection he hath to you and to your businesse, hath acquainted you with all that he heard at his first coming to town. But I suppose he is by this time satisfied, and may informe you that there was no such progresse by Clayton as was rumor'd, and that it is in vain for any body to thinke to gain a Patent, and much more an Act of that nature, without your concurrence. For if it was possible, as things are (which for very good reasons I conclude it is not) to gaine a Patent; yet (as I told Mr. Coats and Mr. Lindall to-day, to whom also I further referre you) in your hand it would have been an inducement towards the passing of the Act, but in any other a project and inducement there-

fore to the contrary. To-morrow Col. Gilby and I are to meet with Sr. Philip upon appointment, when we expect his proposals, and shall then advertize you fully thereof. In the meantime I shall not desire you to rest yourselves much upon my discretion ; but I am sure you will rely upon my integrity. And therefore do not thinke that either you or I have forfeited any opportunity, as I can upon occasion demonstrate ; but let us see (in which I will, without your being solicitous, assist you to the furthest) how far we may improve the present. And to this purpose I shall write, be assured, as oft as is necessary, being

Gentlemen, &c.,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Oct. 28, 1669.

Letter CXXI. For the Wardens of the worthy Society of the Trinity House of Kingston upon Hull.

‘ Oct. 30, 1669.’

GENTLEMEN,

WE intended to have given you account to-night of Sr. Philip Frowd’s discourse and ours about your businesse. But he failing to-day, we have appointed Wednesday, when he saith he will not be wanting. And we believe it, and that this difference of time will not redound to your prejudice.

So we rest,

Gentlemen,

Your very affectionate friends to serve you,

ANTHO. GILBY,

ANDR. MAKVELL.

London, Oct. 30, 1669.

Letter CXXII. To THE SAME.

‘Nov. 2, 1669.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SR. PH. FROWD'S meeting and ours having, as my partner and I writ you last post, bin put off till to-morrow, I can not yet assure you anything of what terms he will come to; but in discourse in the Hall he seemd willing to come to terms, and indeed he hath reason. In the mean time finding myself at leisure by our adjournment from Saturday last till to-morrow, I take the time to acquaint you what it was that made this noise about a light-house on the Spurn-head. There is indeed a patent past for five lights at Fern Iland, Flambourgh-head, Cromer, and St. Nicholas gat, whereof two lights to be in one of those places. There is also mentiond three halfe pence a tun for loaden ships, and a penny for ships that are light. But the payment is voluntary: nothing is impos'd or can be exacted. So that I reckon they have but a coole patent of it; and I suppose should they bring it into Parliament it will prove not only impossible there but ridiculous. But as to any patent for the Spurnhead, there is no such thing, and Sr. Ph. and we are safe of them and of one another till we come to agreement. In discourse with Mr. Coats, Mr. Lindall, and my partner, we judge that your first proposall of 1d. and $\frac{1}{2}$ may as probably succeed, and bears better proportion than 12s. a ship. Whether you will distinguish betwixt light and loaden ships you may please to consider. My good partner is really zealous, and I shall strive not to be coole in your businesse. After Wednesday's discourse we shall talke closer with you, and I doubt

not but you will have considered so timely, that you may readily resolve and dispute what is necessary.

I remaine,

Gentlemen, &c.,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Nov. 2, 1669.

The 'Proclamation against Conventicles' is a thank-worthy 'Act' of 'our most religious king' 'defender of the faith,' &c., &c., &c. The word 'dissolve' is equivalent to our 'resolve,' and perhaps was the more accurate and expressive. Sir George Cartwrite was Sir George Carteret of Jersey; created a baronet 9 May, 1644. He was of the Privy-Council and Vice-Chamberlain to Charles II.; also M.P. for Portsmouth; Comptroller of the Navy; Joint-Governor of Jersey. He died 13th January, 1679-80. Pepys has abundant notices of him. The Bill 'of the Lords' Jurisdiction' causes Marvell much anxiety, almost it would seem fear.

Letter CXXIII. TO THE MAYOR [TRIPP].

'Nov. 4, 1669.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

WHAT occurs since my last is this, that upon a motion made in our House, it was orderd that we should goe in a body to give his Majesty thanks for the late Proclamation against Conventicles, and to desire the Lords concurrence; who have to-day answerd that they agree, and will send to his Majesty to know his time when the two Houses shall wait upon him. Also the Bill of Conventicles hath bin red once, and Saturday appointed for the second reading. Upon some debate yesterday on the second part of his Majesty's speech, orderd, that on Tuesday next the House will dissolve into a grand Committee about that businesse. The Commissioners of Accounts upon the House's order brought in the

answers of those persons who seemed concerned in their Report, of which Sir George Cartwrite is the first: also the short estimate of how much of the mony given was expended properly to the use of the warre: which were by order sealed up with the Speaker's seale till to-day, when they were opened, and the estimate red, and the rest put off till Saturday, when 'tis likely those businesses will be closely sifted. To-day that great and important Bill of the Lords Jurisdiction, entitled, An Act concerning certain proceedings in Parliament, was sent up to the Lords: God send us an happy issue of it. Excuse, I beseech you, my hast, for there is much business.

I am, &c.,

London, Nov. 4, 1669.

A good deal of 'paternal-government' legislation is reported after record of the King's Speech to 'the Houses,' who had waited upon his Majesty.

Letter CXXIV. TO THE SAME.

'Nov. 9, 1669.'

Gentlemen, my very worthy Friends,

ON Saturday we were taken up for the most part in reading over the papers which Sir G. Carteret had given in to the Commissioners of Accounts all along for his discharge, and the rest of them we deferd till Munday. Saturday in the afternoon. the Houses went to wait on the King, whose answer was in these same words, "My Lords and Gentlemen, I thank you for this marke of your affection to me. I doubt not of the continuance and concurrence of it in other things as well as in this of my Proclamation. I recommend to you that you would weigh well what I say and desire in it, toward the welfare and peace of the nation. In order to which, as I shall be always

ready to contribute my utmost endeavors, so I hope you will never be failing in yours to inable me to do it." On Munday we resum'd Sir G. Carteret's papers, and heard what he said of himselfe; and then voted upon Wednesday next to proceed upon the criminall part of what is reported by the Commissioners concerning his malversation in his office. To-day the House sat in Committee of the whole House upon the motion for the King's supply, and after a considerable debate came to this vote, to desire the House to sit again this day se'nnight upon the motion for the King's supply, which was accordingly orderd; for the House was content to take some respit in this matter till they might perceive what the Lords will do with our Bill of Jurisdiction, which they have not yet red, but 'tis supposd they may to-morrow. The defaulters have not yet been called over in our House. The Bill of Conventicles hath not yet been calld for to a second reading; 'tis probable it may shortly. There is a Bill for regulating of abuses in the chimney mony, and complaints against Excisemen referd to the same Committee. A Bill once red against giving of interteinments of meat or drink, or giving mony, or barganing for elections to parliament, depriving those so electing of voices, and the elected of sitting that parliament, with other fines. A Bill for setting the Poore on work, and some other things, whereof I shall give you account at more leisure.

I remain, &c.

Westminster, Nov. 9, 1669.

The interminable 'Sir Philip' has at last again been seen.
'Generall; = letters to each singly, separate.

Letter CXXV. To Trinity House, 'Nov. 11, 1669.

Nov. 11, 1669.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY my Partner and I spoke with Sr. Philip. After some discourse on his side, tending to compliance, we strove to reduce him to one of these two, how much a yeare he did imagine to himselfe, or else what part he would take at adventure. He said he thought it might have been worth 500li. a yeare to him; what part he could not then pitch. But rather desird to come to an estimate what imposition to lay, and how much it would amount to at so much or so much. We said that the easier the imposition the easier the act. If at an half peny and a peny he might have 200li. a yeare, and we suppose 200li. for Trinity House. We thought it might be faire on all sides. He said he was ingaged to those that had assisted him in this matter to allow them something, and for this and other reasons desird time till Saturday, which we thought not ourselves obliged to hasten; he seeming to understand that he stood in as much need of the Trinity house as they of him. I writ this post, and so I believe will my partner, that we may lose as little time as possible for you. You will be pleas'd to think of estimates upon severall proportions, and put yourselves to the trouble of writing severall letters to each of us, because one then will be likely to meet your letter at the first. I am, Gentlemen,

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

The 'Conventicles' spite of previous thanks to His Majesty cause continuous worry to the high-flying Royalists and Churchmen. Sir George Carteret is still on his defence, but

'is likely to passe the pikes.' 'Mr. Brounkard' (Brouncker) has stolen back. Sir J. Morton was Sir John Morton, of Milborne St. Andrew, co. Dorset, 2nd Baronet, M.P. for Poole in 1669 and afterwards for Melcombe Regis: died in 1698. 'Improve' is to censure or blame. Here it is used somewhat differently = brought as charges.

Letter CXXVI. TO THE MAYOR [TRIPP].

'Nov. 13, 1669.'

Gentlemen, my very worthy Friends,

SINCE my last, Wednesday appointed for Sir G. Carteret's businesse was consum'd in the debate of committing or not the Bill of Conventicles upon the second reading; at last it was committed. Thursday, Friday, and this Saturday have been in most part employd upon Sir G. Carteret; and because Sir G. would have offerd to the House something new, which he had not producd to the Commissioners' of Accounts (his proper place of Judicature) the House on the one side to give the fairest play to him, being a Member of the House, and on the other to give the just honor to the Commissioners of Accounts, and witnesse the confidence they have in them, and to acknowledge the authority with which those Commissioners are vested by Act of Parliament, did tacitly leave him to offer any thing he had to say onely unto them, but would not enter on any new examination themselves. And therefore the House adjourn'd the debate of him till Wednesday next; the calling of the House till Munday se'night; the motion of the King's supply till Friday next; and lastly to witnesse the great stresse and whole weight they lay upon the Accounts, and particularly Sir George's, that no other businesse might be considerd, they adjourn'd themselves also till Wednesday next, the Lords having thrown out

our Bill, *nemine contradicente*, but as I hear [by] my Lord Bristole are preparing another. I wish it find a good passage when it comes to us. Our late debates in Sir George's businesses having not passed without some acrimony, was the occasion that one of our members, a person of quality, has bin reproved, and hath acknowledged in his place; which as it were to be wisht it had not happend, so nobody much troubles themselves that Mr. Bronkard's name was thereupon revivd, who had offerd in the intervall some affront to Sir J. Morton. He was in the former session expell'd the House; you remember on what reasons, and is now by order taken into the custody of our Serjeant at Arms, and other things will probably be improv'd against him. Sir George is likely to pass the pikes. Let not my willingness to acquaint you with affairs be made too common or prejudiciall. I am, your humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Nov. 13, 1669.

Sir George Carteret's 'business' is determin'd, with an odd 'Lobby' incident. 'Conventicles, which *might be* a dangerous consequence, in Westminster.' There are wild rumours of 'Commonwealths-men' meeting: and 'the House' lays itself prone at the feet of 'His sacred Majesty.' Oh, that one John Milton might have spoken to same Majesty. 'Miscarriages of mony' multiply. What a word was 'miscarriage' for treasure lavished by 'His Majesty,' on pimps and panders, the vilest of the vile. When will a true man tell the true story of the reign of Charles II.? Ludlow, who is herein named, sleeps well' in sweet Vevey, on 'Leman's shore.'

Letter CXXVII. To THE SAME.

'Nov. 20, 1669.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

RETURNING after our adjournment to sit upon Wednesday, the House having heard what Sir G.

Carteret could say for himselfe, and he then commanded to withdraw, after a considerable debate, put it to the question, whether he were guilty of misdemeanor upon the Commissioners first observation, the words of which were, That all monyes received by him out of his Majesty's Exchequer are by the privy seales assigned for particular services, but no such thing observed or specified in his payments, whereby he hath assumed to himselfe a liberty to make use of the King's treasure for other uses then is directed. The House dividing upon the question, the ayes went out, and wonderd why they were kept out so extraordinary a time. The ayes proved 138 and the noes 129; and the reason of the long stay then appeared: the tellers for the ayes chanced to be very ill reckoners, so that they were forced to tell severall times over in the House, and when at last the tellers for the ayes would have agreed the noes to be 142, the noes would needs say that they were 143; whereupon those for the ayes would tell once more, and then found the noes to be indeed but 129; and the ayes then coming in proved to be 138, whereas if the noes had been content with the first error of the tellers, Sir George had been quit upon that observation. This I have told you so minutely because it is the second fatall and ominous accident that hath faln out in the divisions about Sir G. Carteret. Thursday was orderd for the second observation, the words of which are, Two hundred and thirty thousand seven hundred thirty and one thousand pounds thirteen shillings and ninepence, claimed as payd, and deposited for security of interest, and yet no distinct specification of time appeares either on his receipts or payments, whereby no judgement can be made how interest accrues; so

that we cannot yet allow the same. But this day was diverted and wholly taken up by a speciall report orderd by the Committee for the Bill of Conventicles, that the House be informd of severall Conventicles in Westminster which might be of dangerous consequences. From hence arose much discourse; also of a report that Ludlow was in England, that Commonwealths-men flock about the town, and there were meetings said to be, where they talkt of New Modells of Government; so that the House orderd a Committee to receive informations both concerning Conventicles and these other dangerous meetings; and then entered a resolution upon their books without putting it to the question, That this House will adhere to his Majesty, and the Government of Church and State as now established, against all its enemyes. Friday having bin appointed, as I told you in my former letter, for the House to sit in a grand Committee upon the motion for the King's supply, was spent wholly in debate, whether they should do so or no, and concluded at last in a consent, that the sitting in a grand Committee upon the motion for the King's supply should be put off till Friday next, and so it was orderd. The reason of which kind of proceeding, lest you should thinke to arise from an indisposition of the House, I shall tell you as they appeare to me, to have been the expectation of what Bill will come from the Lords in stead of that of ours which they threw out, and a desire to redresse and see thoroughly into the miscarriages of mony before any more should be granted. To-day the House hath bin upon the second observation, and after a debate till foure a'clock, have voted him guilty also of misdemeanor in that particular. The Commissioners are orderd to attend the House again

on Munday, which is done constantly for the illustration of any matter in their report, wherein the House is not cleare. And to say the truth, the House receives great satisfaction from them, and shows them extraordinary respect. These are the things of principall notice since my last.

I remain, &c.,

Westminster, Nov. 20, 1669.

The air is thick with treasonous whispers. 'Henry Nevill' was the associate of Harrington of 'Oceana,' and co-founder in 1659 of the club called 'The Rota' (Aubrey's Bodleian Letters iii. 371). Of the names mentioned, Edward Brabazon succeeded his father in 1651 as 2nd earl of Meath. He was drowned between Holyhead and Beaumaris 25th May, 1675:—Roger Boyle, 3rd son of Richard, 1st earl of Cork, was created Baron Boyle, of Broghill, 28th Feb., 1627, and during the reign of Cromwell was his active supporter. But he afterwards contributed greatly to the Restoration, and was created 5th Sept., 1660, Earl of Orrery, and the same year made Lord-President of Munster for life. He died 16th Oct., 1679. The Duke of Ormond needs no annotation: died July 22, 1688. There are little breaks of humour as to 'no news,' and yet coming news in this Letter. 'Council of States men' is ambiguous.

Letter CXXVIII. To THE SAME.

'Nov. 25, 1669.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

BUSINESSE does so multiply (of which whatsoever it is I think it becomes me not to leave you without some notice) that I chuse to write it off hand before the end of the weeke. Sir George Carteret is voted guilty of three articles more, 5, 6, 7; the 3 and 4 postpond because relating to the Commissioners of the Navy. On Munday 'tis orderd to go upon 8, 9, and 10. I send you the Copy of all those the Commissioners observations, which I not having

another copy, pray returne me this next post. But we have other great matters spring daily upon us. On Munday at the Committee of Informations, after some particular indiscreet and dangerous words of some Conventiclors alledged, the discourse ran much upon Mr. Henry Nevill, his being in town (which some thought of much, others of lesse moment) and thence it ran of something obliquely, girding upon the Duke of Buckingham, but without making that impression which some apprehended. After that, a Member imparted a message from the Generall that there was some great and evil designe on foot, and many old Army Commonwealths and Councill of Statesmen, and Out-laws and Forainers about town. This being reported from the Committee to the House, they sent their thanks to the Generall on Tuesday. Yesterday the Earl of Meath brought in a petition in way of impeachment to the Committee of Grievances against the D. of Ormond, but the direction being erroneous in form, the Committee dismist it. To-day one Fitzharris, and another Alden, whose characters you will learn hereafter, brought into the House, and avowd an impeachment against the E. of Orery, a member of our House. The House divided 182 against 144, whether the question should be put, whether there were treasonable matter in the charge. Twas in the affirmative: so he being ill of the gout a sergeant's man was orderd to attend him as for security till he can come to make his answer, which he will not delay a minute longer then his health will allow him. This week is not yet at an end. That is not news, but the remainder of these two days will probably make the news much greater. To-morow is you know orderd for the motion of the King's supply;

Saturday to read the Bill the Lords have sent us of Jurisdiction. God send us moderation and agreement!

Your's,

ANDR. MARVELL.

West., Nov. 25th, 1669.

Sir John Griffith was Captain of the Fort at Gravesend: knighted 2nd January, 1664-5. He was 'dismissed' in December, 1669: died 1677. One would have liked elsewhere such commentary as is here, rather than the colourless statements that so often try us in reading. 'Our libertys' demand 'a conference.'

Letter CXXIX. TO THE SAME.

'Nov. 4, 1669.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

MUNDAY was spent in the House about Sir John Griffith, whose exacting of mony from the boats coming up from Medway, &c., was voted first a grievance, next an high extortion, and so represented from the House to the King, who has returned a Message that he had therefore displac'd him: and the House hereupon voted their thanks to his Majesty. 'Tis well that something exemplary has been done therein, for we are inform'd that the like trade was set up by severall governors of the forts adjacent. On Wednesday the Earl of Orrery appear'd, and having the favor to sit by reason of his extremity of the gout, made his defense in his place, and so fully to every point, that though otherwise he might probably have been brought upon tryall by impeachment, yet the House upon division, 121 against 118, dismiss'd the accusation. Thursday the House voted the way of raising the 400,000*l.* to be upon Wine and Brandy, and a further imposition on French Linnen, and on Munday next to proceed further in taking the mea-

tures of years and proportions otherwise as may fit the summe resolved. Yesterday was Sir G. Carteret on the three last observations. The 8th being an inconsiderable summe they past by, but the 9th and 20th voted misdemeanors; and on Wednesday next to debate in what manner to proceed against him. To-day the calling of the House adjourn'd till Saturday next; and after long debate what to do with the Lords in point of our Libertys now, we have thrown out one anothers bills, voted that a Conference be desir'd of them touching those former matters, and a Committee which shall prepare matter for the Conference against Munday or Tuesday. This is the most of what is at present news.—

I am, &c.

Nov. 4 [1669].

'An Aid'—'without taking cognizance of his Majesty's debts,' granted of £400,000—; debate 'long and serious' on Jurisdiction, &c., and Common Liberty, and the Barnardiston and East India Company matter—which indeed were really parts of one subject.

Letter CXXX. To THE SAME.

'Nov. 29, 1669.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

HAVING writ to you last post saves me the labor of a long letter this. Yesterday the House, upon motion of a supply to his Majesty, did, without taking cognizance of his Majesty's debts, or upon that foundation, vote an aid to his Majesty not exceeding the summe of 400,000l. and that not to be raisd either by land-tax or home excise. On Thursday next they consider of the way; which 'tis likely therefore must be on forain trade, and that perhaps for a continuance of two or three years of

the Imposition upon wine. To-day the whole debate, which was very long and serious, hath bin upon the Bill of Jurisdiction, sent down to us in lieu of ours, which they threw out. In the conclusion, the House having read it the first time, this morning voted, that it should not be read a second, which is the same thing as to be thrown out. This done, a debate arose concerning doing something further in relation to our Common Liberty, and Sir Samuel Barnardiston's, and the East India Company's case, which debate is adjourned till Wednesday. Other things, of which I have writ to you formerly, have as yet no further progresse. I am, &c.

Westminster, Nov. 27, 1669.

The harlots' cry as of the horse-leech 'give give' is shrill and insistent as ever, and so 'His Majesty' by a 'message in writing' desired the House would 'expedite the money-bill before Christmasse'—fruitlessly as one is thankful to read. In the House a noticeable incident takes place in relation to Henry Benson, Esq., M.P. for Knaresborough, who was accused of selling protections for Papists. One of these named Phillips, was brought before the House against Benson, but he refused the oath as too general and likely to criminate himself, and when the English Bible was brought said 'that the Bible used by them was not a true Bible and therefore his oath would not bind him.' He was 'committed' on repeating this, on the principle that the words were used without any occasion given, to the scandal of the Protestant religion and in the face of Parliament (Evelyn IV. 109). The old 'insolence of Papists' is returning: and the King had his tongue in cheek all the while. The 'prorogation' is evidently a serious business in Marvell's estimate. What a curse-King was this Charles II. as truly as ever was the first King so 'sent' of God to His ancient people—who would have one!

Letter CXXXI. TO THE SAME.

'Dec. 17, 1669.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

PERHAPS it may not be news to you, that on

Munday the House voted the Imposition on Wines by this Act, should be layd at the Custome House upon the Importers. The Secretary then (the House having voted to proceed on Thursday upon the mony bill again) delivered a message in writing from the King, wherein his Majesty signified he would give us leave to adjourn till February, but desired we would expedite the mony bill before Christmasse. The House neverthesse did not alter their day, nor seeme to judge themselves in a capacity to finish that bill before their meeting in February. Tuesday was spent most in preparatory matters, when we should desire Conference with the Lords. Wednesday in like manner. At the Committee of Grievances, in the afternoon, Sir Philip Munkton delivered in a petition, and a charge of severall great extortions against Mr. Benson, and a day was appointed to heare witnesses at our next meeting. Thursday the Committee of the whole House voted the proportion upon wines to be 8*l*. French, 9*l*. Rhenish, and 12*l*. Spanish, the tun. But this question was carryd not without long debate, and upon division, the King's officers and Privy Counselors of the House contending highly that it might be but 4*l* French, and 5*l* Spanish, and their reason, lest if it were higher, we should prejudice the Customs as much as we increast them: those against them being unwilling to let it so low lest they should be obliged to give so many years for raising this 400,000*l* that the Imposition would slide into a perpetuity. The Speaker then took the chair, and the chairman reported the votes, which coming immediately from a Committee of the whole House, are us'd to passe forthwith without any debate; but the same gentlemen beginning to speak and interpose, the House grew warme, the doors were orderd to be

shut, and the keys were layd upon the table; and so much vigour appearing, the opposition was soon at an end, and the votes past. Yesterday, after a very long debate, an 100 dividing against 97, Sir George Carteret was suspended the House, and further debate of proceedings against him adjourned till Munday se'nnight after our next meeting. To-day the Members, observing the thinnesse of the House, had intended to adjourn till February; but news coming that his Majesty, in his princely wisdom, had resolved to prorogue us, they debated to send to the King that Sir George might be expelled the court, and deprived of all offices. In this time came the Black Rod, and going up we were prorogued, by Commission, till 14th February. It is enough to tell you that Prorogation makes all Bills, Votes, and Proceedings of this Session null and voyd, as if nothing had bin don or said. God direct his Majesty further in so weighty resolutions. I am, &c.,

Dec. 12, 1669.

Another Trinity House Letter, and still 'ineffectual delays' of the redoubtable 'Sir Philip.' Very graphic and incisive is this estimate of the pompous blockhead.

Letter CXXXII. For my much esteemed friends
Mr. Alderman Acklam and Mr. Thos. Weeton,
Wardens of the worthy Society of the
Trinity House, in Kingston upon Hull.

'Feb. 1, 1669-70.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE spared writing to you, because I hoped always to send you something material, but the time wears away, and 'tis so long since that I must deferr no more, though I can onely acquaint you still with

the uneffectuall delays of our treating with Sr. Philip. It rested with him to give us advice, when he had spoke with some, as he saith, concerned with him. I have not heard from him since, but Colonell Gilby hath met with him once or twice in his walke, but so busy about his sonne's going to Ireland with L. Barkly, that he could not then discourse. We have been so constant in following him about this businesse, that though neither of us grudges any pains to the purpose, yet I really thinke to sollicite him more would but the more confirme him in his demands, and that your earnestnesse will ingage you into a compliance. Though I perceive by your last that you will not give lesse than a moiety, nor if you aske my counsell could I advise you otherwise. My opinion is that he will in a few days bethink himself, and that we shall heare further of him; but as farre as I can observe the gentleman, a little matter makes him much businesse, and he seems to me one of those who thinke it the greatest point of wisdome to make the most scruples. And to this, his nature or art, I attribute all this remissnesse in a thing which I should thinke very well worth his imbracing. However, we shall take care that neither he gaine nor you lose by this delay. The Parliament growing so neare we must needs understand shortly what he intends. I reckon that you can as well forbear as he, and the longer he lingers he will see that he stands in his own light. No more at present, but that I am,

Gentlemen, &c.,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Feb. 1, 1669-70.

'The House' is again met; and Marvell is at his post, and ready as wont to 'give notice' of all that is done. But before reading this new Letter I spare a place for one from the famous Duke of Richmond and Lenox, on the 'Light-house' business, that so gravelled Marvell through these years. It has not before been printed.

Letter CXXXIII. To Mr. George Dickinson and the rest of the Masters of the Trinity House in Hull.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM informed by Mr. Charles Whittington, that he hath had a Treaty with you about the Light-houses at Humber mouth, and of your willingnesse that he shall have the erecting of them before any other person. In consideracon of which I thought convenient to advise you, that I intend to prosecute this businesse on his behalfe, against the interest of Sr. Philip Frowd or any other person, and am resolved to endeavor, y^t no private Interest whatsoever shall carry the thing against him. Its therefore my request to you to continue your respect to Mr. Whittington, and be assisting to him with your Certificates, or in what else you can serve him; which will be a furtherance to him in his businesse, and be assur'd from me that what assistance I can give him shall not be wanting, and I hope you will doe the same, which will oblige,

Your affectionate friend to serve you,

RICHMOND & LENOX.

Whitehall, February 11th, 1670.

Now for Marvell's next Letter.

Letter CXXXIV. To the Mayor [Tripp].

'Feb. 15, 1669-70.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

WE are again returnd to sit in Parliament, which I pray God may be an happy meeting to his Majesty

and the Nation. I send you here inclosed his Majesty's speech, together with that of the Lord Keeper. The House hereupon made a vote that they would on Thursday next take his Majesty's Speech into consideration, and orderd that the same day the Commissioners of Accounts should attend, and then adjourned themselves till Thursday. This is what past yesterday. I shall not neglect, as there is occasion, to give you notice of what is done among us, where you have so much concernment, as I have to be, Gentlemen, &c.

Westm., Feb. 15th, 1669-70.

'Wine' tax-bills, with the abiding jealousy of 'land tax and excise' is passed for 'seven years.' This legislation for a given period seems to have gradually gone out. They were special grants in aid of the ordinary income, which explains their restriction to a term of years. By reference to Letter CXXXI. it will be seen there was great dislike to spreading them over too many years, lest the imposition should become perpetual. In the present case it led to the rejection of the ministerial proposal, though the latter was probably truer to the Laws of Political Economy.

Letter CXXXV. To THE SAME.

'Feb. 19, 1669-10.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

WE have kept ourselves these three days to so hard duty, that you will excuse me if I be shorter than ordinary. However, you will in the few words following, discern that we have not laboured in vain; the result of the Committee of the whole House, and afterwards of the votes of the House being, that the King's supply shall be upon Wine, excluding Land Tax or home-Excise: that the first buyer shall pay of Wines imported to be sold; of Wines not imported to be sold, the first importer: that the imposition

shall be at halfe the rate of what in this last act; that it shall last for seven years, beginning from Midsummer next; that Mr. Sollicitor prepare a Bill to this purpose. This is all I can say at present, but that I am, &c.,

Westminster, Feb. 19, 1669-70.

The 'question of privilege' *in re* Barnardiston of East India Company is brought to a period. The 'record' is to be 'razed' and over *that* as though the Facts were thereby 'razed' the House (including Marvell as it would seem) waited on the King and paid him homage for his 'prudence and kindnesse,' &c., &c. "These be thy gods, O Israel!" Or is this over-severe? For it did settle a long-continued and rather violent dispute between the Houses about their privileges, and virtually gave the victory to the Commons; while it was a wise and prudent act on the King's part, in certain elements.

Letter CXXXVI. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 22, 1669-70.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the Commissioners of Accounts were before our House, and presented them a report concerning what the last imposition upon wines would yearly have amounted to if it had been duly payd, and concerning some miscarriages therein, in which one Mr. Wadlow, a vintener, one of the undertakers, was represented as notoriously faulty. This businesse ended in referring it to a Committee. But that which made me more willing to write to you so soon again is, that the King having sent yesterday to the Lords and Commons to attend him in the Banqueting House this morning, told us that he had orderd the record in the exchequer concerning the payment of Sir Samuel Barnardiston's fine to be cancelled; as also all things concerning Skyner's businesse in the councill books, and recommended it therefore to the

Lords and Commons to rase all records in their journalls of that matter, that all memory thereof might be extinguisht. Our House thereupon did presently and unanimously vote the entring of this speech in our journall, and to go in body on foot to give the King thanks, and to rase the records in our journall. A message was forthwith sent to desire leave to wait upon the King. So we have been twice at Whitehall in one morning, all infinitely satisfyd with the King's prudence, justice and kindnesse in this matter, and I doubt not but all good Englishmen will be of the same mind; and indeed though the Lords are not come to a resolution this day, and have enjoyned their clerks secrecy, there is no reason but to believe the next news will be, that to-morrow they have as well complied on their part also.

I remain, &c.,

Feb. 22, 1669-70.

The Wine-tax is imposed with many details of 'exact rigor,' and there are to be second-thoughts to probably 'mitigate' them. 'The Lords' have 'razed' the 'records' in Barnardiston 'business.' So that The Commons did prevail. 'Debate' on the 'Union with Scotland,'—a very 'weighty' matter. Exaction of 'fees' in various places. Dover and its pier. These are 'the news' from the House. 'Customers' is = Customs' officers.

Letter CXXXVII. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 26, 1669-70.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Act for Wines hath had its first reading. The merchant before the landing of his Wines, upon his entry in the Custome House, is to become bound with two sufficient securityes for the whole duty. He that buyes first of him must receive from him a ticket of the quantity sold, and carrying it to an office for that purpose, become bound for so much,

whereupon the merchant is to be discharged for so much; but he and his securityes stand bound for the remainder: the merchant paying down the duty in ready mony is to be rebated blank *per cent*; for Leakage, &c. blanke *per cent*. All merchants, strangers, must pay the duty down in ready mony; several penaltyes. The officers of the office have liberty to enter into any ship the same as customers have. These officers, upon receiving the ticket before mentiond, must give warrant to the merchant for issuing such a parcell. They are the judges of the sufficiency of the securityes. Thus severely is the Act brought in at first penning; but because beside the discouragement to merchants, so exact a rigor may perhaps prejudice the duty it selfe, by lessening importation; perhaps it may be mitigated upon second thoughts, which we shall see at the second reading and Committee of the whole House on Munday next. Tuesday is appointed for the old businesse of Brandy, upon severall petitions then to be read; one of the Farmers, the other of the merchants, about the 4d. and 8d. per gallon; another for the totall prohibition of Brandy. The Lords have rased all the records of Skyner and Barnardiston. We debated one day the Union with Scotland; but the businesse being so weighty, adjourn'd it to be continued next Wednesday. I thinke it will end in an Act of Parliament for Commissioners to treat with the Scotch, but what they treat not to be binding 'till reported and past in a distinct Act of Parleмент. Upon a petition from Boston against the Customers there, exacting unlawfull fees, severall other ports complaining in like manner, there was a Committee appointed, who have to-day orderd that the Customers of all ports send up, by the 14th of March, a

table of such fees as were taken, 4^o Jacobi, and in the reign of King Charles the first, and since his Majesty's happy restauration, and by what authority they demand such fees; the same to be signified to the merchants also, that they may then inform the Committee what they have from time to time paid. The orders will not be ready till Munday, when I will take them out for you also, and send them by the Tuesday's post, that if you have occasion you may execute them, or if there be no necessity you may let things continue as they are. Dover has petitioned for a further time to continue the imposition for their Peer. But the House instead thereof ordered a Committee to inspect their Accounts, and why in all this time that work, and with so much expense, has not bin finished. On Munday we expect a Bill according to order to be brought in against Conventicles. The Lord Barclay intends for Ireland the tenth of next moneth. This is all I have at present, when I have added that I am, &c.,

Westminster, Feb. 26, 1669-70.

'Unavoydable occasions' permit only a short Letter this time. 'Correspond' is = agree, i.e. carry out its instructions.

Letter CXXXVIII. TO THE SAME.

'March 5, 1669-70.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I Must beg your pardon this post, being calld of by some unavoydable occasions: but I have given Mr. Stockdale my notes, who I doubt not will inform you particularly of what hath passed this week. I have not had any word from you, or any other of Hull, since I writ to you about the Customers fees, which makes me conceive that all is right in your port, and makes me omit the sending you an order.

But upon the lest intimation from you, I will inclose an order by the same post, and it will be time enough still for the Customers or Merchants then to correspond with it. I remaine, in hast, Gentlemen, &c.
Westm., March 5, 1669-70.

The Wine-tax is found to be unworkable: various changes made in it; recompense to Duke of York for his 'damage' by the Wine Act. The 'Conventicles' are again troubling 'the House.' Noble, grand, fearless old George Fox the Quaker is complained of for speaking very articulately on the lewdness of 'the King' and his royal brother—that lying behind all other allegations. The 'Popish Recusants' are somehow inextricably mixed up with 'the Conventicles.' Perhaps it was the inevitable taking of the opportunity made for them of prosecuting one kind of Nonconformists who were reckoned dangerous like 5th monarchy men, to urge the prosecution of other "dangerous" Nonconformists, viz. Popish Recusants. It is sorrowful to find 'tender consciences' evil-spoken of. Then there were the infamous prohibitions against the 'meeting' of more than 'five persons' or a 'household' in other manner 'than allowed by the Liturgy,' &c., &c. These Legislators expected George Fox and the Nonconformists to be silent under such enormity of oppression. What would we have thought of them to-day had they so remained silent? This Letter is a State-Paper and ought to have its place in History. Yet one again and again looks wistfully for Marvell's own sentiments. 'Mr. Smirke or the Divine in Mode' enables us to arrive at them. 'Defalcation'=deduction or withdrawal of them, its (then) ordinary and etymological signification. 'In discount'=anticipation of.

Letter CXXXIX. TO THE SAME.

'March 10, 1669-70.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

BEING in your debt since last weeke, I shall now write so much the sooner, and more largely to make you amends. On Munday last the Committee of the whole House and afterwards the House, finding the Bill of Supply as it was first drawn to be something

impracticable, have changed in a manner the whole frame of the Bill, having voted a clause to be brought in upon these grounds; that the merchant importer shall pay the duty at the Custom House; that no defalcation of this duty shall be allowd upon the exportation of the same wines; and that severe provision be made against all frauds upon the importation; and this Mr. Solicitor is to present to the House to-morrow morning: but the precedent votes do still continue concerning Vinegar forain, to pay the same duty as Wine. To examine merchants cellars the 24th of June next, what wines are yet unsold, that they may pay this duty, and to prevent, [=anticipate] and in discount of the third yeare to be layd at the Custome House, to supply what falls short of the 300,00Cl. upon Wines by the last Act. To consider what imposition to be layd upon forain Brandyes, or totall prohibition. What recompense to be given the King for his damage thereby, and how to make the forain Brandy already imported and unsold pay its duties. What recompense to the Duke of Yorke for his damage by this Wine Act in his Wine Licences, in order to take them of during this seven years Act, or even for perpetuity. Also the clauses subsequent of abatement to the merchant for leakage run and decayed wines, and of rebate upon paying down the duty in ready mony, stand to be filld up, but not agreed yet how much *per cent*. Also it is yet to be provided what time shall be allowd to the merchant Importer not paying down ready mony, to discharge the duty. As soon as any thing further appears in this Act, I will informe you. Upon Tuesday the Bill of Conventicles with its amendments was reported from the Committee and orderd to be engrossd. A member of the House reported that his Majesty being informed

that one Fox, a teacher of some fanaticall people in Wiltshire, did conventicle there, and that he or some of them had sayed they owned no King, but that the King and the Duke his brother (they are words so odious as scarce to be written) were both bastards, had orderd that the Atturmy Generall do prosecute, and that he, the said member, asking his Majesty's leave to acquaint the House with it, his Majesty had given him permission so to do: whereupon the House orderd their thanks to his Majesty by the members of the Privy Council, and to desire that his Majesty, as he prosecutes those, would also see the laws put in execution against Conventicles, which are of the same nature [viz. of Quakers] in or neare London and Westminster; and further (it being put to the question) they voted to desire his Majesty to cause the laws to be put in execution against Popish Recusants. Also they voted at the same time that a Law should be brought in for the better conviction of the said Popish Recusants. Yesterday having bin appointed to consider of the Lords' vote, and for our concurrence to desire his Majesty to name Commissioners to treat with the Scotch about Union; the House divided, whether first they should not read the Bill of Conventicles ingrost, and 'twas agreed to read it first by 118 against 101 The Bill was read importing, That the Act of 35 of Eliz. is still in force, and for further remedy, because seditious sectaryes, under pretence of tender consciences, do contrive insurrections at their meetings, that from the 3rd of Aprill next, if any person of 16 years, or upward, shall be present, at any meeting, under pretense of religion, in other manner then allowed by the Liturgy and practise of the Church of England, at which meeting there shall be five persons, or

more than those of the household, or if in an house, field, or place where no family inhabits, then where any five persons or more are assembled, any one, or more justices of the county, liberty or division, or the chief magistrate of the place, are enjoyned, either by confession of the party, or oath of witnesses, or by notorious evidence, or circumstance, or in default of evidence, unlesse the offender can by two witnesses upon oath prove that he came on other lawfull businesse, to make a record of such offense under his or their hands and seals, and this record shall be in law a full and perfect conviction, and thereupon he or they shall fine the person five shillings, which conviction to be certifyd at next quarter sessions : the next offence as before, but the fine ten shillings, or (as I remember at the justices' discretion a month's imprisonment) and so, as oft as he offends ; fines to be levyed by distresse and sale, or in case of his poverty, then upon the goods and chattells of any other person convicted of the same conventicle : constables, head-boroughs, tithingmen, churchwardens, overseers of the poore requird to levy the fines by warrant, under Justice's hand or chief magistrates, one moiety to the Justice for the poore of the parish, other moiety to such person or persons as the Justice, &c. shall appoint, having regard to the persons industry in discovering, dispersing and punishing of the said Conventicles. Every one that preaches there, being convicted in the way before, to be fined for the first, 50li. but if a stranger, or fled, or poore, it shall be levyd on the goods of any one or more persons that were there, and distributed as before. And upon second preaching 100li. and levyd in same manner, &c. upon one or more, if he be stranger, or, &c. Whoever

wittingly and willingly suffers such meeting in his house, barn, woods, or grounds, 50li. and if he be poore, then on one or more as before, Justice or chief magistrate, and also constables, &c. by their warrant may and shall enter [or] break open any house or place where they [are] informed such Conventicle is, and may take into custody. Lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, or any commissioned officers of the militia, or other of his Majesty's forces, with troops or companys; also sheriffe and other magistrats or ministers of justice, under certificate of any justice, requird to repaire to the place, and disperse the Conventicle, and take into custody. Constable, &c. who knowing shall not informe a Justice, fined five pounds; Justice that wittingly omitts his duty in this Act fined 100li. one moiety to his Majesty. the other to the informer. If any one be sued for executing this Act, he may plead generall issue, and give the speciall matter in evidence; and if the plaintiffe be nonsuit or verdict passe for the defendant, or the plaintiffe discontinue his action or upon demurrer, judgement be given for the defendant, the defendant shall have treble costs. This Act, and all its clauses, to be construed most largely and beneficially for the justification of all that execute it, and no record, warrant, or mittimus made by virtue of this Act, nor any proceedings thereupon, shall be reversd or avoyded by reason of any default in forme, or lack of forme, or other defect whatsoever. If any offender inhabit in, or fly to another country, [county] the justice of peace where the offense was, may certify to a justice there, and this last may levy the fine: none punisht unlesse prosecuted within three months after the offense: none punisht by this Act shall be punisht for the same offense by any other Act: husbands

pay the five and ten shillings for their wives: all aldermen of London qualified to execute this Act as if justices, and finable 100li. if failing; jaylor that gives liberty fined 10li. This Act past, upon division 138 against 78, and is sent up to the Lords. I have bin more particular to you herein that inconveniences might better, and in time be prevented, and because this and the Mony Bill will be the principall products of this Session. To-day the House sent up to the Lords, and voted their concurrence with them, for desiring his Majesty to name Commissioners to treat with Scotch Commissioners, &c. Then we heard the Commissioners of Accounts concerning Prize Ships in the severall ports, and fixed most upon Dover, where yet it seems that 21 ships have bin disposd without warrant. The Governor, a Member of our House, hath 'till Munday to answer it, having been one of the Prize Commissioners. A report also further but not yet read concerning Sir G. Carteret. There was this day a strong motion also for an Act to take away Oaths imposd since his Majesty's coming in, and it seemed to gaine good footing; but another enlarging the motion toward a general toleration, after an houre's debate, it fell of, and the House went to their other businesse. Tomorrow I said was the day for the new clause of the Wine Act, and Saturday is for the great debate between the farmers and merchants of 4d. or 8d. upon Brandy for the time past. I am now tired. I beseech you excuse me for I intended more, but the post also is upon going. I am, &c.,

Westm., March 10, 1669-70.

Domestic-legislation goes on. 'The Law' of England is declared to be that no Englishman may be transported beyond the sea, &c.—passed only by 100 to 99. The paragraph "The

8 yeare of the King," &c., is somewhat obscure. It seems to mean that the bill was for 7 years, but was extended, and the 8 years given to the King, in part, among other reasons, in recompense to the Duke for the damage, &c.

Letter CXL. To THE SAME.

‘March 19, 1669-70.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YOU understand I believe by this time that we have sent up the Bill of Supply. The remarkablest things in it are that vinegar pays as well as Wine. The retrospect since October last on the merchant by his entrys at the Custom-house, that he may upon oath discover to what retailers he has sold, or else pay the duty himselfe. The retrospect since October was twelve moneth upon retailers that have imported. The search in merchants cellars upon 24th of June next for what Wines already imported. The 8 yeare to the King; but when the Speaker delivers the Bill to the King, he [is] to mention, among other reasons, the damage the Duke hath and will sustain in his Wine Licenses by the Wine Acts. The Licenses neverthesse continue, unless the King and the Duke together can agree upon some expedient. The Bill for increase of grazing and tillage is sent up, giving license to export all Corn; and setting an high custom upon all forain Corn when ours is a good marketable rate; for exporting Butter and Cheese, and all Flesh at lower rates; for exporting Cattell, Horses, &c.; a Bill certainly very usefull. A Bill was sent up yesterday declaring the law that no Englishman may be transported prisoner beyond sea, and imposing great penaltys on all that shall be any ways assisting therein. It had but a narrow passage, there being only 100 for it against 99. The Commissioners of

Accounts were heard about the Dover ships, and and after some defense upon the Commissioners of Dover side, the House rose without declaring any opinion. We are this night upon the report of the City Bill; the crowd of businesse now toward our rising obliging us to sit both forenoon and afternoon, usually till nine a'clock, which indeed is the occasion that I have the less vigor left at night, and cannot write so frequently to you. The Lords have read the second time a Bill to assure those that shall purchase the King's fee-farm rents. They are now the third day upon the Bill of Conventicles, and make many alterations in it, which will occasion conference betwixt the Houses. The Lord Rosse's Bill was on Thursday orderd to be red the second time as this day, 41 persons and 15 proxys against 42 persons and 6 proxys; to-day being red it was committed, 45 persons against 41, and proxys so many as made 12 odds in all. The Bill to prohibit brandy hath bin red once with us, and Munday appointed for the second. I am, &c.

March, 19, 1699.

Here is a private Letter to his 'cousin Popple' at Bourdeaux. It is 'private' but treats of 'public affairs,' and as one is relieved to read, more freely than in those to his Constituents. 'The Lord Lauderdale' is too prominent a name to call for annotation. He has his 'immortality' in Marvell's Satires (Vol. I. p. 333). Pepys gives a singular account of his dislike of music (II. 422) which recalls Shakespeare. Lord Roberts was Lord Robartes, Keeper of the Privy Seal. He was advanced to the earldom of Radnor, 1679: died 1685. Pepys says of him (21st August, 1660) "General Monk is made Lieutenant of Ireland, which my Lord Roberts (made Deputy) do not like of, to be deputy to any man but the King himself" (I. 103). Lord Barclay was Lord Berkley, as already annotated in Letter XCII. 'Caballing among the courtiers' is reported. 'Commissioners of Accounts' are dealt with by 'His Majesty' as if 'offenders'

rather than 'judges.' 'The King' even to the House spoke 'stylo minaci et imperatorio' and underneath the whole the huge lie that *he* had himself examined the accounts! The Bill against Conventicles has here its Marvellian-just name of 'terrible' and 'the quintessence of arbitrary malice' and 'the price of money.' How these right ringing words shew the muzzling of the Writer in his public Letters! Sir Thomas Clifford has *his* place also in the Satires (Vol. I. p. 320). 'The Lord Ros' Scandal-Act again emerges. The 'Bill' relative to it, it has been supposed was reintroduced, that being passed it might prepare the way for one for the divorce of the king—a plan in favour with those who opposed the Duke of York. Hence the stir it made and Marvell's epithet of 'great.' It is satisfying to find the Bishops Cosins, Reynolds and Wilkins against it. The question "Is not this fine work?" is indeed suggestive. What a sob of sorrowful despair in the other: "In such a conjuncture, dear Will, what probability is there of my doing anything to the purpose?" The 'unburied Duke' is horrible as any story of the dead Popes. This long Letter is of priceless value. It gives us so-to-say a solution of the silences and mere narrative of the public Letters. What a King to have been so 'absolutely powerful.' At the very time his palace was as a sty, and worse; his associates a harem of 'light women,' and as 'light men.' Oh the infinite patience of the Nation and of God! 'Undertakers'—Query, those who had undertaken to get the king money? (Cf. Pepys 14th Feb., 1668, ad *fin.*)

Letter CXLI.

' March 21st, 1670.'

DEAR COUSIN,

I HAVE writ twice to you at Bourdeaux. I received one from you of the 1st of March. To satisfy your curiosity of our affairs, the Lord Lauderdale, the King's Commissioner for the Parliament of Scotland, returned hither some few days before our sitting down the 14th of February. He had passed there, through the weakness of the presbyterian and episcopal parties, an act, giving the King absolute power to dispose of all things in Religious Matters;

and another Act for settling a Militia of twenty thousand foot, and horse proportionable, to march into England, Ireland, or any part of the King's dominions, whenever his person, power, authority, or greatness was concerned; and a third, empowering his Majesty to name Commissioners of Scotland, to treat with others of England, on the union of the two nations: for which service he was received with extraordinary favour by the King, and introduced into the cabinet council, and is ripe for farther honours at a due season. By other parties these affairs were discoursed of according to their several interests; and many talked that he deserved an halter, rather than a garter, and were meditating how, he not being an English peer, they might impeach him in Parliament. Now for the affairs of Ireland. About the same time the King had resolved to recal the Lord Roberts back, his friends were representing him daily to his Majesty on all occasions, in the worst character; and he himself, tired out with continual checks and countermands hence, in matters which he thought were agreed to him before he went, wrote a short letter to the King, desiring to be dismissed from all employment whatever, which should be his last request. The King took him at his word, and ordered the Lord Barclay, a man unthought of, to go Lord Lieutenant, which he does as soon as we rise, and then the other returns to tell his tale here, and to retire into the country, and will, as is thought, relinquish the privy seal. You know that we having voted the King, before Christmas, four hundred thousand pounds, and no more; and enquiring severely into ill management, and being ready to adjourn ourselves till February, his Majesty, fortified by some undertakers of the meanest of our

House, threw up all as nothing, and prorogued us from the first of December till the fourteenth of February. All that interval there was great and numerous caballing among the courtiers. The King also all the while examined at council the reports from the Commissioners of Accounts, where they were continually discountenanced, and treated rather as offenders than judges. In this posture we met, and the King, being exceedingly necessitous for money, spoke to us *stylo minaci et imperatorio*; and told us the inconveniences which would fall on the nation by want of a supply, should not ly at his door; that we must not revive any discord betwixt the Lords and us; that he himself had examined the accounts, and found every penny to have been employed in the war; and he recommended the Scotch union. The Garroway party appeared with the usual vigour, but the country gentlemen appeared not in their true number the first day: so, for want of seven voices, the first blow was against them. When we began to talk of the Lords, the King sent for us alone, and recommended a rasure of all proceedings. The same thing you know that we proposed at first. We presently ordered it, and went to tell him so the same day, and to thank him. At coming down, (a pretty ridiculous thing!) Sir Thomas Clifford carryed Speaker and Mace, and all members there, into the King's cellar, to drink his health. The King sent to the Lords more peremptoryly, and they, with much grumbling, agreed to the rasure. When the Commissioners of Accounts came before us, sometimes we heard them *pro formâ*, but all falls to dirt. The terrible Bill against Conventicles is sent up to the Lords; and we and the Lords, as to the Scotch busyness, have desired the King to

name English Commissioners to treat, but nothing they do to be valid, but on a report to Parliament, and an act to confirm. We are now, as we think, within a week of rising. They are making mighty alterations in the Conventicle Bill, (which, as we sent up, is the quintessence of arbitrary malice), and sit whole days, and yet proceed but by inches, and will, at the end, probably affix a Scotch clause of the King's power in externals. So the fate of the Bill is uncertain, but must probably pass, being the price of money. The King told some eminent citizens, who applied to him against it, that they must address themselves to the Houses, that he must not disoblige his friends; and if it had been in the power of their friends, he had gone without money. There is a Bill in the Lords to encourage people to buy all the King's fee-farm rents; so he is resolved once more to have money enough in his pocket, and live on the common for the future. The great Bill begun in the Lords, and which makes more ado than ever any act in this Parliament did, is for enabling Lord Ros, long since divorced in the spiritual court, and his children declared illegitimate by Act of Parliament, to marry again. Anglesey and Ashly, who study and know their interests as well as any gentlemen at court, and whose sons have married two sisters of Ros, inheritrixes if he has no issue, yet they also drive on the Bill with the greatest vigour. The King is for the Bill: the Duke of York, and all the Papist Lords, and all the Bishops, except Cosins, Reynolds, and Wilkins, are against it. They sat all Thursday last, without once rising, till almost ten at night, in most solemn and memorable debate, whether it should be read the second time, or thrown out. At last, at the question, there were forty-two persons and six proxys

against it, and forty-one persons and fifteen proxys for it. If it had not gone for it, the Lord Arlington had a power in his pocket from the King to have nulled the proxys, if it had been to the purpose. It was read the second time yesterday, and, on a long debate whether it should be committed, it went for the Bill by twelve odds, in persons and proxys. The Duke of York, the bishops, and the rest of the party, have entered their protests, on the first day's debate, against it. Is not this fine work? This Bill must come down to us. It is my opinion that Lauderdale at one ear talks to the King of Monmouth, and Buckingham at the other of a new Queen. It is also my opinion that the King was never since his coming in, nay, all things considered, no King since the conquest, so absolutely powerful at home, as he is at the present; nor any Parliament, or places, so certainly and constantly supplied with men of the same temper. In such a conjuncture, dear Will, what probability is there of my doing any thing to the purpose? The King would needs take the Duke of Albemarle out of his son's hand to bury him at his own charges. It is almost three months, and he yet lyes in the dark unburied, and no talk of him. He left twelve thousand pounds a year, and near two hundred thousand pounds in money. His wife dyed some twenty days after him; she layed in state, and was buried, at her son's expence, in Queen Elizabeth's Chapel. And now,

*Disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
Fortunam ex aliis.*

March 21, 1670.

Returning upon the preceding long Letter and my remarks on it, especially the phrase 'price of money,' lest misunderstanding follow.—It is manifest by the history of the two or

three past sessions that the King and Duke of York's party (i.e. the Roman Catholic) were against such acts as the Conventicles Act, for the very obvious reason (nothing higher) that every such 'Uniformity' Act, lessened the chances of a mitigation or repeal of the laws against R.C., and lessened the likelihoods of an Act of Comprehension, which would include them as well as the other Nonconformists. Buckingham too was not in favour of the 'Conventicles Act,' for his intrigues were with the Dissenters and against the Duke of York. On the other hand 'the House' had been urging a 'Conventicles' Act and had been in alarm and indignation against the King's Act of Comprehension—the Church party because they feared the Presbyterians and the Presbyterians because they feared the R. C. Such was the mingling of motives and expediences—and so let 'price of money' be interpreted in relation to the King's getting his much and ever-needed 'supplies.' We pass now to another Letter. His Majesty does the House of Lords the 'honour' of attending there 'every day' for a week. No marvel it is called 'extraordinary.' The 'Conventicles' Bill promises to be imperative. 'Bishop, and all' are sitting long and late.

Letter CXLII. To the Mayor [as before]

'March 26, 1670.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THAT which is most extraordinary since my last to you is, that his Majesty hath for this whole week come every day in person to the House of Lords, and sate there during their debate and resolutions. And yesterday the Lords went in a body to Whitehall, to give him thanks for the honour he did them therein. As for businesse in our House, we have sent up to the Lords the City Bill upon Thursday, the longest Bill perhaps that hath ever past in Parliament; the Lords have not yet had time to give it the first reading. The two Bills, one for prohibition of Brandy, and the other pursuant to a vote of the House, that Brandy ought to have payd 8d. the

time being limited ever since November 1666, are both yet proceeded no further then to a commitment. Most other businesse is of our hands. But the next weeke there will [some] come down from the Lords: for first they have made very many materiall alterations in the Bill of Conventicles, and now at last have added a reserving clause for his Majestie's ancient prerogative in all ecclesiastical things; whereby it is supposed by some, that it is and will be in his Majesty's power to dispense with the execution of the whole Bill. They finisht all herein yesterday, but our House hath not yet receivd it. The severall points will require some considerable time and conference before they are likely to be agreed betwixt both Houses. Then their Bill for my L. Rosse's marrying againe is to be red ingrosd on Munday morning, which will probably take them up all that day, and if it then passe them, must have its three severall readings in our House. Neither have they yet done with their Bill for selling the fee-farms: that must also come down to us; and many other, most of them private bills we have sent them, for which they have had litle leisure, being so intent upon the two bills of my L. Rosse and the Conventicles. Yet they sate, bishops and all, the whole morning yesterday; so that one thing considerd with another, although it were to be wisht that we had finisht our work before Easter, and the King did twice presse us by message, I doubt things will so fall out that we must sit again aftere the Holy days.

I am, &c.

Westm., Mar. 26, 1670.

Next is a mere Note, for 'the House' engrosses all.

Letter CXLIII. TO THE SAME.

‘April 2, 1670.’

SIR,

I Must desire you to do me the favour, as to excuse me both to yourselfe and the bench that I give you no account this post of our affairs, for really we are so thronged now toward the conclusion of our Session that it is in a manner impossible to attend the House and do any thing else. We have sat all this day though it be Easter Eve, and so shall Munday Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday; I have besides communicated my notes to Mr. Stockdale. I am, &c
Westminster, April 2, 1670.

The end of another Session is approaching: ‘remainders of businesse’ reported on.

Letter CXLIV. TO THE SAME.

‘April 7, 1670.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I Was in good hope that I might by this post have given you an account of the end of this Session, but there are some remainders of businesse not yet perfected betwixt the two Houses, which will detain us still unto Saturday at the soonest, but I doubt longer; for though the three notablest Bills, that of Supply, of Conventicles, and of my Lord Rosse, are now fully agreed by both Houses; yet that for prohibition of Brandy is not yet past our House to have its progresse with the Lords; and our Bill for Brandy paying eight-pence ever since November 1666, dos yet indure a great debate with the Lords. Neither have they yet gone thorough the Bill for rebuilding the City, wherein they have made so many materiall alterations as will take up some considerable

time to be agreed in our House. We have sent them up to-day a Bill for the incouragement of building great ships, and with high penaltyes upon any of the king's commanders of men of warre who shall carry merchandise. Our House is now grown very thinne, scarse more than an hundred for the most part. By my next it is likely I may send you news of our rising. I remaine, &c.

Westm., Apr. 7. 1670.

Still at work in 'the House.' Even 'the Turks take prizes in our Channel.' Under 19th January, 1661-2, Pepys enters: "I am troubled to hear that the Turks do take more and more of our ships in the Straights" (I. 149). The Turks are the Algiers and other Barbary rovers: the 'Straights' are those of Gibraltar (See Pepys, 26th Jan.—9th April and 26th May, '69). The Sir John Pritiman (rather Pretyman) was not Sir John of Sodington, co. Leicester, whose granddaughter Evelyn married, but his son knighted at Whitehall 10th June, 1660, a profligate and spendthrift. The 'nailing up the doore' for the future, recalls a well-known proverb. The attendance 'thin.' 'Suggested'=intimated.

Letter CXLV. TO THE SAME.

'April 9, 1670.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, we have returned the Bill of Commissioners to treat with the Scotch to the Lords, which will undoubtedly passe. We have sent them up this morning the Bill for prohibition of all forain Brandy, which though it goes up so late, I believe will passe before our rising. The City Bill has been sent down with many alterations, which yet we have gone thorough and agreed to, except in one point which they will certainly concur in, and may be reckond as past. The Lords have agreed with the Bill of retrospect upon Brandy, to pay 8d. since

1666. The Lords have, as we heare, thrown out that part of our Bill for shipping, wherein we provided against men of warre trading in merchandise: truly in an ill season, when so many merchants complain, and the Turks take prizes in our Channell. I doubt it will hinder the Bill from passing with us. Sir John Pritiman, who serves for Leicester, was yesterday suspended from sitting in the House, and from all privilege 'till he find out Humes (a most notorious fellow otherwise) whom he suggested to be his meniall servant, whereas he was a prisoner for debt, and thus by Sir John's procurement has escaped his creditors. The Sergeant was sent into the Speaker's chamber with the mace, to bring him to receive the sentence upon his knees at the barre. Hereupon the House being disappointed (for in the meane while he was escaped by the back doore) orderd that doore to be naid up for the future, [and] have revived their votes of '63 against all paper protections, against protection for any but meniall servants, &c., and to-day, after a long debate for expelling him the House, have for some good reasons given him 'till the second Tuesday after our next meeting to appear. When that will be is not yet evident. Some say before midsummer, others toward Winter. But however I hope we shall rise on Munday, or at furthest Tuesday; for it is high time, having much ado to get forty together to make a House, and when we divided about the fee farms, being in all but 114. The next meeting I hope will be better attended.

I am, &c.,

April 9, 1670.

'38 Acts' passed; the King gracious, and goes to Newmarket.

Letter CXLVI. To THE SAME.

‘April 12, 1670.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERNIGHT about five o'clock the King commanded us to the Lords House. There were in all 38 Acts passed, but most of them private; the public were—An Imposition for 8 Years upon Wines and Vinegar—for the rebuilding of London—for Improvement of Grazing and Tillage—Commissioners to treat of the Union—for regulating the measures of Corn and Salt—for selling Fee Farms—for repairing the Highways—for the Payment of 8d. the Gallon on Brandy since November 1666—against Conventicles—against stealing Cloth from the Racks—against spiriting away Children beyond Sea—against killing of Catell and burning Ricks of Corne—for repairing Yarmouth Peere—and for remarrying the Lord Rosse. The King said in few words that he could not dismissee us without first signifying the satisfaction he had received in this meeting, in the unity betwixt the two Houses, in the steps made toward the Union of both Kingdomes; and he thanked us for his Supply, which he would make goe as far as he could, and now believing we might have a mind to retire into the country, he was content we should adjourn ourselves till the 24th of October next. Our Speaker returned to the House, and there we adjourned accordingly. The Bill for prohibition of Brandy is not passed; nor that of prohibiting men of warre to trade in merchandize; nor that for able Jurors; nor that for inabling the city to call to account such persons as detained mony in their hands given charitably in the time of the plague. The King is this morning gone for New-

market. As soon as our Acts are printed I shall take care to send you them. I remain, &c.

Westm., Apr. 12, 1670.

Another 'private' out-spoken Letter. The time is 'bewitched.' There is chess-play as between the King and Duke of York. We have here the historic saying of the King that sitting in the House was 'better than going to a Play.' Again Andrew Marvell asserts himself on the 'Conventicles' and other ecclesiastical matters "There was never so compendious a piece of absolute universal tyranny, &c., &c." "We are all venal cowards, except some few." The King is still interested in Lord Ross's matter as looking to his own divorce (possible).

Letter CXLVII. To William Ramsden, Esq.

'April 14, 1670.'

DEAREST WILL,

I Wrote to you two letters, and payd for them from the posthouse here at Westminster; to which I have had no answer. Perhaps, they miscarried. I sent on an answer to the only letter I received from Bourdeaux, and having put it into Mr. Nelthorp's hand, I doubt not but it came to your's. To proceed. The same day [March 26th letter] my letter bore date, there was an extraordinary thing done. The King, about ten o'clock, took boat, with Lauderdale only, and two ordinary attendants, and rowed awhile as towards the bridge, and soon turned back to the Parliament stairs, and so went up into the House of Lords, and took his seat. Almost all of them were amazed, but all seemed so; and the Duke of York especially was very much surprized. Being sat, he told them it was a privilege he claimed from his ancestors to be present at their deliberations. That therefore, they should not, for his coming, interrupt their debates, but proceed, and

be covered. They did so. It is true that this has been done long ago, but it is now so old, that it is new, and so disused, that at any other but so bewitched a time as this, it would have been looked on as an high usurpation, and breach of privilege. He indeed sat still, for the most part, and interposed very little; sometimes a word or two. But the most discerning opinion was, that he did herein as he rowed, for having had his face first to the Conventicle Bill, he turned short to the Lord Ross's. So that, indeed, it is credible, the King, in prospect of diminishing the Duke of York's influence in the Lords' House, in this, or any future matter, resolved, and wisely enough at present, to weigh up and lighten the Duke's efficacy, by coming himself in person. After three or four days continuance, the Lords were very well used to the King's presence, and sent the Lord Steward and Lord Chamberlain, to him, when they might wait, as an House on him, to render their humble thanks for the honour he did them. The hour was appointed them, and they thanked him, and he took it well. So this matter, of such importance on all great occasions, seems riveted to them, and us, for the future, and to all posterity. Now the Lord Ross's Bill came in order to another debate, and the King present. Nevertheless the debate lasted an entire day; and it passed by very few voices. The King has ever since continued his session among them, and says it is better than going to a play. In this session the Lords sent down to us a proviso for the King, that would have restored him to all civil or ecclesiastical prerogatives which his ancestors had enjoyed at any time since the Conquest. There was never so compendious a piece of absolute universal tyranny. But the Commons made them ashamed of

it, and retrenched it. The Parliament was never so embarrassed, beyond recovery. We are all venal cowards, except some few. What plots of State will go on this interval I know not. There is a new set of justices of peace framing through the whole kingdom. The governing cabal, since Ross's busyness, are Buckingham, Lauderdale, Ashly, Orery, and Trevor. Not but the other cabal too have seemingly sometimes their turn. Madame, our King's sister, during the King of France's progress in Flanders, is to come as far as Canterbury. There will doubtless be family counsels then. Some talk of a French Queen to be then invented for our King. Some talk of a sister of Denmark: others of a good virtuous Protestant here at home. The King disavows it; yet he has sayed in publick, he knew not why a woman may not be divorced for barrenness, as a man for impotency. The Lord Barclay went on Monday last for Ireland, the King to Newmarket. God keep, and increase you, in all things. Yours, &c.

April 14, 1670.

A mere Note—the 'two Acts' not preserved.

Letter CXLVIII. To the Mayor [as before].

'April 16, 1670.'

SIR,

THESE two Acts being printed before the rest, I have in the mean time sent you them inclosed, till I can have the other, and have an opportunity of sending you them altogether. I am, &c.

Westm., April 16, 1670.

Ugly 'rumours' of local neglects in Hull are being whispered about, and so Marvell informs his constituents of them. Sir Thomas Chichly seems to have been a man of energy; he is frequently named by Pepys, and also by Evelyn. The 'Earle

of Sandwich,' for whom Marvell speaks notably, was formerly Sir Edmund Montagu, Kt. He was a distinguished military commander under the Parliament, and subsequently joint High-Admiral of England. Through his influence the entire Fleet acknowledged the restored Monarchy, and he was thereupon created Earl of Sandwich, 12 July, 1660. He fell in the great sea-fight with the Dutch, 28th May, 1672, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Letter CXLIX. To THE SAME.

'June 14, 1670.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I thinke it my duty where anything that concerns you comes to my knowledge, to give you notice. There hath been from one in your parts a misrepresentation hither of that late accident about Mr. Billingsby. Also there is some discourse here about concerning the out-bridges, as Mighton bridge, &c., as if the repaire and maintenance of them belonged to the town's expense. Further, the repaire of the blockhouse in like manner, which, and especially the North block-house, are said to be in very ill condition. And I heare from very good hands that Sr. Thomas Chichly, the new Master of the Ordnance, is expressly orderd to goe down shortly to Hull to look into those things, and make report here. After I have told you this, your own prudence will best direct you when the occasion shall urge, to give satisfaction to his Majesty and his Ministers concerning your demeanour in all things that appertain to you. One thing methinks I may make bold hereupon to mind you of, that you would with the first opportunity elect such an High Steward out of his Privy Councill as may always be ready and at hand to represent your cariage here about, and patronize the justice of your actions. I would not

intermeddle further: yet out of my affection to you I can not but mention the Earl of Sandwich, who, beside all other qualifications, being Vice-Admiral of England, seems to have a peculiar and proper aspect towards a port-town, as yours is, and all interests of navigation. If you pitch upon another, pray let not his name be mentioned. Competition is not honorable, and 'tis only my imagination, who am,

Your most humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, June 14, 1670.

'Sir Phillip' is again introduced. What an impracticable, flighty, empty creature he must have been! And yet throughout,—and as next Letter specially shews—he deemed himself the stronger party. Hence his dilatoriness and shiftiness.

Letter CL. To my worthy freinds the Wardens of the Trinitie house in Kingston upon Hull.

• 'June 14, 1670.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I Received your former letter and now this of the 10th of June. I had writ sooner could I have extracted out of Sir Philip, whom I have severall times met, anything which I thought materiall. I have been this very morning a considerable time with him and acquainted him with as much of your letter as was convenient. He owns that he is yet willing to treat with you; saith that he hath refused to treat with any others; conceives that those hands are onely for the other Light-houses and not for this; but however reckons that whatsoever hands are gatherd up by other interests, can onely in the successe fortify his, because they will justify the necessity of a light-house in this place and then his Grant will naturally take place of any other preten-

sions. But when all this is done, he saith that before he come to any conditions with you, which I prest him to, you must get hands, and particularly procure or undertake to procure subscriptions from Ipswich. I insisted upon the reason that before you had joyned interests with him there was no reason for you to co-operate, he having said as before that whosoever collected hands, did by them onely strengthen him. And I askt him but what if we can not get the Ipswich hands? Why, then he onely replyd, we must then take new counsell. I told him what difficulty appeard to me in getting hands from Ipswich, but represented that the inclination of Parlement doth oftentimes include and conclude against the interest of a particular place; as it was against our interest in Hull to admit the act for Dover Peere. But neverthelesse the majority over-ruled us, and so it might be in this matter with Ipswich or any one place that should oppose the more generall consent. And therefore I wished him that in putting us upon a thing so difficult and before he had joyned with us or we had any hold upon him, he would not give us occasion to believe he did onely evade us and had some other intentions in private: therefore if indeed he did not incline to joyn frankly with us I desir'd him rather to tell us so to avoyd our own and his further trouble. But he still affirm'd his willingness to agree with you; but by the method I told you before of procuring Ipswich hands first; and concerning this he would write next Thursday to Col. Gilby. This I think is a very slender account; and it is difficult for me or you to make a true conjecture out of it concerning his disposition towards the businesse or how to proceed further with him in a rationall way. I told him that to manage such a

thing as this in letters was a thing too tedious and consumptive. Neither indeed, Gentlemen, do I wish that much should appear for you in paper to him in this matter, that so you may be free hereafter if he deale not in your joynt interest, to make an intire opposition to the whole designe. Onely if you send up any of your Society hither about this, you may do well to give such a person a generall full authority under your hands to agree and conclude with any person concerning such a Light-house. And this authority you may in a distinct paper limit to such instructions as you shall thinke fit. I remember he has severall times questioned heretofore whether Col. Gilby and I had sufficient authority. Truly he seems to me so various and fickle in handling this businesse all along, that it would indeed be a great reliefe to me if by sending of any prudent person of those of your Society, you might be further satisfied what judgement to make of the whole affaire and of the person we treat with, and so either of or on, either one way or other come to a finall resolution. Pray when Col. Gilby is with you, communicate your proceedings to him and discourse the matter. I wish what can may be done within 5 or 6 weeks. For longer I can not well attend, though upon any good likelyhood of doing you service, I shall willingly imploy the whole vacation. There is one thing more to acquaint you with. Last Session Dover indevord to gain a new Act of more years for their peere. I told you not of it then because we hamperd it well enough then. But they have a Commission from the king to inquire into their accounts, the state of the peere and the mony requisite to perfect and conserve it. By these stepps they intend next meeting to introduce an Act. Pray, Gentlemen, against that time and

before, cast up what your shipping singly has contributed in these years toward that work, though you are wholly unconcerned in the benefit of it; and by what other means you may either at home or elsewhere prepare all impediments against it. I thanke you for the salmon you have sent me. You are always very kind and obliging to me. And I shall be most happy to expresse handsomely to you what I most really am,

Gentlemen,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, June 14th, 1670.

Still the 'Spurn-head' Light-house. The last and present Letters are now first printed. However = if there be [that] we be not comprehended.

CLI. For Mr. Edmond Popple, at Hull.

'July 14, 1670.'

DEARE BROTHER,

I HAVE, you see, taken time to consider cooly of your letter of the 6th of July. First of all, I account it impossible in these conjunctures to get the King's consent to any act of Parliament for that Light-house, other than upon Sr. Ph's interest. Secondly, I account it almost impossible for Sr. P. to get an act of Parliament passe without our concurrence and the true speciousnesse of our pretence. Thirdly, I thinke that unlesse we were first upon a distinct and faire agreement with Sr. P. (which I would not for a while have him prese in any more) it is in vaine for you to seeke hands. For you are not sure at all that it will do your own businesse, and it will rather contribute to strengthen him. But, indeed, if he and you were once agreed, his hands would be

usefull to you and yours to him. In the meanetime it may not be amisse for your Society according to their skill in navigation, to draw up a paper of reasons against the other Light-houses, if those projectors should next sitting strive to improve their Patent of voluntary contribution unto a tribute by Act of Parliament. I hope your Society will not forget to cast up what we have payd, and as farre as they can what other ports have payd during this Act toward Dover peere; and furnish reasons (which indeed are evident enough) why there should be no new Act, however we not be comprehended in it.

[torn away

July 14, 1670.

‘Notwithstanding all possible fidelity and care of his treasurers’ the King ‘ought’ (=owed) still ‘a great summe of money upon interest.’ Such is the message to ‘the House’ with tidings of wars and rumours of wars and treaties, in all which ‘the House’ and the Nation had their shrewd suspicions of falsehood. The things are to be ‘considered’ and were considered—warily. Perhaps the preparations for war were semi-real; but Charles did not tell the House that Louis was negotiating a secret treaty with him to join against Holland; with, among other stipulations, that Charles should announce himself a Roman Catholic. War, in fact, in conjunction with the French, was declared against the Dutch 17th March, 1672.

Letter CLII. To the Right Worshipfull George Acklam, Mayor, and the Aldermen his Brethren, of Kingston upon Hull.

‘Oct. 28, 1670.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I THINKE it my duty to give you account that yesterday, according to the adjournment, the Parliament met his Majesty, and the Keeper by his command, told us, that in and since the late warr the

King of France had exceedingly increas'd his forces both by land and sea, as also had the United Provinces; and were making great preparations against the next Spring. That it was fit the King should be in a condition at least to keep pace with, if not to outgoe his neighbours: lest we being unprovided might give temptation to some of them to offer us an affront, or do us some more signall prejudice. That the King was obliged by the triple allyance betwixt England, Sweden, and Holland, for the peace of Christendome to contribute his proportion, and likewise by a particular treaty betwixt England and Holland mutually to lend them assistance; he then enumerated the several advantageous treatyes besides, which thē King had made with other princes; as particularly with the King of Spain, who had made an absolute cession to the English of the sovereignty of Jamaica, and our other islands in the West Indies, with liberty for our ships to careen and victuall in any of his ports there. The treaty with the King of Denmark, whereby the English are disburdend of all late exactions there, and impowerd to trade with the same advantage and conditions as any other; a treaty with Portugal; a treaty with Savoy, whereby the English have a free port at Villa Franca, to vend their own manufactures into that country, and the richest parts of Italy; treatyes of Commerce now carrying on with France and with Holland, wherein his Majesty would have a great and particular regard to his subjects profit. In short, that all princes of Christendom sought at present to his Majesty, if not for their security, yet as to one without whose friendship they could not promote their affairs; all which things considerd, he was

confident we would not be wanting on our parts. That the late imposition upon Wines did not answer neither the Parliament's intention, nor his expectation. That the expense of the Navy had ever since 1660 been about 500,000li. a yeare. That he ought still, notwithstanding all possible fidelity and care of his treasurers, a great summe of mony upon interest; that he must necessarily arme out fifty great ships the next Spring, beside others, and those whom he must keep out for the safety of the merchant in the Mediterranean; that this expense would amount to 800,000li. He therefore desired that the Parliament would supply him with this 800,000li. for his Navy, as also that they would pay off all those debts which he owed at interest, and that they would finish this before Christmasse, as well as that he might have time in hand to mature his preparations for the season of the yeare, as that men might attend their own occasions in the country, and make their neighbors tast of their hospitality, and keep up their authority and interest there, which is so usefull and necessary to the publick. This is the summe of what was said, as well as I can remember. If it be printed (there is some doubt of it) I shall send you one. Our House, after this, voted to take the King's Speech into consideration on Thursday; when it is probable there will be a considerable progresse made toward effecting his Majesty's desires; for so in the conclusion of his speech, he recommended speed and efficacy. The House then adjourned itself till Thursday, that men might have leisure to consider in private how it is possible. They orderd the Speaker first to issue out writs for the vacancies, which are 18 or 19. This is all at present. If there be any particular service relating to the towne, or any

of yourselves, wherein I may be usefull to you during this time of my station, pray oblige me by commanding me, for I am &c.

Westminster, Oct. 25, 1670.

'Motions' of 'thanks' to 'his Majesty for his recent messages 'slipt of.' The debts given in 'in generalls' are to be 'examined in particulars.' Evidently there were still 'some few' who were not hood-winked—Andrew Marvell one. I recognize his prodigious personal potentiality in the recurring arrest on lines of action whereby the King and his panders would have had all their own way. This Letter is signed simply A. M. The 'two holidays' were St. Simon and St. Jude (28th) and All Saints (1st). From the close of the letter it is found that these holidays and adjournments did not apply to committees. 'Alledged'=by the lords of the treasury. These payments came (then) out of the royal income, not as now by votes of the House.

Letter CLIII. TO THE SAME.

'Nov. 1, 1670.'

SIR,

I HAVE received your's, and am very glad that you and the rest of the gentlemen of the Bench take any little thing kindly of me, as I should be happy to serve you and them in any matter of greater importance. I desire you would be pleas'd to acquaint them further, that since the 24th the House hath sat onely Thursday and yesterday, when, because of the two holydays, they adjourned till Thursday next. The King's and Keeper's speeches were, by order from the L. Arlington, prohibited printing, but you will neverthesse receive a written copy. The Keeper's was last Thursday read again in the House, and thereupon they presently voted, without any debate, to give his Majesty a supply proportionable to his occasions. It was then moved to give the King the thanks of the House for his care and the

advantageous treatyes he had made for the nation, and further for his vigorous prosecution of the Act against Conventicles, and to give him account of the vote of Supply: but it being alledged that our having complyd with his desires was the best and most proper thanks of the House, these motions slipt off. Yesterday according to order the Lords of the Treasury brought in a paper of his Majesty's debts at interest, amounting to one million three hundred and fourteen thousand pounds: the debts not at interest making it above two millions. It was alledged that from last Michaelmas to this, there had been issued to the officers of the navy and ordinance onely 691,000li. part upon interest: that one million payd at ten, and the odd 300,000li. at six *per cent.* interest. The paper being in generalls, the House voted a Committee to examine when, to whom, and for what these debts are contracted, and then that on Thursday next the House be turnd into a Committee of the whole House. The private Committee have issued orders pursuant to their instructions. There are two publick Bills before us for increase of the woollen manufacture, and of hemp and flax.

I am, &c.

Westminster, Nov. 1, 1670.

'A great disposition and some forwardnesse to gratify his Majestye's utmost expectation.' By 'third letter' it appears one is missing. With reference to the 'addition' (in taxation) this, probably the wiser view eventually prevailed, and the excise was reduced from 15d. and 6d. to 9d. and 3d. Let the cautions of the close be pondered. There are many such in these Letters.

Letter CLIV. TO THE SAME.

'Nov. 8, 1670.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THIS is but my third letter since our sitting; the

frequent intermission of holydays and adjournments taking of the occasion hitherto of writing oftener. For even yesterday also the House hath adjourned till Thursday morning; so that our busynesse stands thus: the Committee of the whole House had, as I told you formerly, voted an addition of 15d. the barell of strong beere, and 6d. the small; I meane beere and ale in publick houses. And whereas there was an endeavour to have cleared us at once by a vote from any jealousy of excise for beere and ale brewd in private families, by an addition to the question, it past in the negative. The reason which then prevailed seemd to be, because the major part believed that this addition of 15d. &c. would rather diminish then increase the former excise; forasmuch as people to evade so great a payment would probably fall to brewing their own drinke, and therefore it might be necessary to have recourse also to private houses, and in order to that for avoyding the turbulence of officers entring and searching, that in all private houses there should be payd halfe a crowne yearly for every head; so that the Committee chose to keep this as a troublesome payment yet still in reserve, in case they could not find out some other botome upon which the mony intended might be raisd with lesse grievance. Neither did the Committee yet make report to the House of their vote of 15d. &c. that so they might yet be more open for further expedients. And accordingly after another debate, it having been voted that towards the King's supply there should be an imposition upon some forain commodities; they agreed on Friday last [4th] to debate in order upon Tobacco, forain Silks and Stuffs, forain Linen and Lace, forain Salt, forain Iron, forain Woollen Cloth, Sugar, Drugs, Paper, Spice, Fruit: whether and

what imposition they might beare, and in the meane time the members might have leisure to informe themselves. So yesterday the Committee entered upon that debate, beginning with Tobacco, which severall affirmed might beare 6d. a pound, so that it were not raised by way of custome; others controverted it as usuall; but the discourses growing long and intangled, one of the members, a person of good parts and equal confidence, rose up, and propounded and undertook to make it good, by as able security as any in England, to raise for the King 500,000li. a yeare (if that rate of imposition and necessary clauses which he would offer might be accepted) upon the additional 15, &c. on beere and ale (without any charge on private houses) Tabaco, forain Silks and Stuffs, forain Linnen, Salt, Iron, Sugar, Druggs, sealed Paper, without any diminution to his Majesty's customes or excise as they now stand, and with allowance for exportations. His rates were, as in tobacco 3d. a pound Virginia, 6d. Spanish; in salt, 1d. home salt, 2d. forain, 1d. halfpenny Scotch, and salt upon salt an halfpenny, and yet that the fishery should be provided for, that their salt might not be raised, and so on in other commodities. This motion seemed specious and welcome to the Committee; only sealed Paper, which he had rated at 40,000li. they excepted at, they having not ment paper so in their catalogue; this being a project of further consideration and intricacy, and of higher value (for it had bin estimated in some former sessions at 80,000li. a yeare.) In conclusion, the motion being new, and surprising to the Committee, and to the King's officers, and the gentleman not willing nor prepar'd to delineate his whole proposall, and his requisite

clauses, they askd him when he would be ready. He said by Thursday. Thereupon reporting to the House to desire leave to sit next Thursday, [from Friday 4th to Thursday 10th] the House also thought fit to adjourn it selfe and all Committees to the same day. Thus we are not yet knotted. But even other things if this take not, will come in also, as I heare there was an intention that same day to have moved for the 20th part of every man's estate, and many do declare upon occasion in the House that though so exceedingly grievous, yet rather then the King be unsupplyd, they will yield both to Land Tax and home Excise. So that there appeares a great disposition and some forwardnesse to gratify his Majestye's utmost expectation. However, as yet there hath been no particular resolve to what summe they will supply him, neither any other thing yet formed, either as to the time or manner: but all things will be perfected doubtlesse with all possible maturity. These things I have been thus carefull to give you a plain account of, not thinking a perfunctory relation worthy your prudence, but must in exchange desire you will not admit many inspectors into my letters; for I reckon your Bench to be all but as one person; whereas others might chance either not to understand, or to put an ill construction upon this opennesse of my writing and simplicity of my expression. This perhaps is needlesse, but 'tis necessary that I be, and I assure you I am,

Gentlemen, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, Nov. 8, 1670.

Still 'Sir Philip' is hesitating and delaying, making much ado about nothing. This letter has never before been printed.

Letter CLV. For the Right Wors'pfull the
Wardens, &c., of the worthy Society of the
Trinity House, of Kingston upon Hull.

'Nov. 8, 1670.'

GENLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I OW you an answer of two letters, one of the 21st of October, the other of the 4th November. As to your first, Colonell Gilby and I have often discoursed together. And we do not perceive or believe that Sr. P. doth at all thinke of bringing his businesse into Parliament this Session; which is likely to be short and so attentive to the levying of great summes for the publick occasions, that it will probably be deafe to any private imposition. But as to his doing it by Patent, I neither believe that he will be at that charge on so weake a foundation, nor if he should am I apprehensive of the consequences. For men are not yet so ill-instructed as to pay their monys upon such an authority; neither is his Majesty forward to extend his power on such matters without a parliamentary sanction: and where some such have obtained the Seale, we have even in this Parliament annulled them. Nor upon the caveats formerly enterd can I have any account that Sir P. steps further. However our vigilance is not, will not be wanting, and we agreed the last time Col. and I spoke together, that casually we would discourse with Sr. P. to sound something of his intentions. For truly I do not judge him worth seeking after again upon this occasion, and I hope to see hereafter a more probable season. Therefore also shall at present discharge myselfe of that many of yours which lyes in my hands. Your second letter is a token of your usual kindness, which I shall

always strive to deserve, being your most affectionate friend to serve you.

ANDR. MARVELL.

Domestic legislation is reported with many curious details of the articles taxed. Two of these 'Lockrams' and 'inkle' call for special notice. (a) 'French Lockrams' was a cheap linen of various degrees of fineness, used for caps, coifs, shirts, shifts, &c. by the lower order (Nares, *s.v.*) (b) Inkle. This is stated in several dictionaries to have been a kind of inferior tape. But this is inconsistent with the passage in *Pericles*, whereon Steevens appears to be right in calling it a kind of crewel or worsted [thread] used by ladies to work flowers, &c. Only it seems to be used of such thread irrespective of the material: "Her inkle, silk, twin with the rubied cherry" (*Pericles* V. 1: Gower) that is the thread she used for her imitative work was silk. If inkle thus seems to be worsted thread for wool or sampler work, it would also seem to have been applied to a stronger thread. "[Richard Perry] pulling a clout out of his pocket, dropped a ball of inkle, which one of his guard taking up, he desired him to restore it, saying it was only his wife's hair-lace." The constable finding a noose at the end of it, and feeling some suspicion, took it to John [Richard's brother who had made a confession which however was mere madness for all were innocent] and asked him if he knew anything of it, on which John shook his head and said, "Yea, to his sorrow: for that was the string his brother strangled his master with" [after he had been knocked down.] *The Campden Wonder*, 1660. Paget: *Paradoxes and Puzzles*, 1874, p. 341. Here it is clear that the string was strong enough to prevent the suspicion of any improbability in John Perry's statement.

Letter CLVI. To the Mayor [as before].

'Nov. 15, 1670.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Committee of the whole House sit dayly in debate of the impositions on forain Commodities, upon Tobacco, as I thinke I told you before, of the Plantations 3d. the pound, Spanish, 6d. upon Salt (the gallon) forain 2d. Scotch, 1d. native of Salt

Water, 1d. Salt upon Salt, 1d. and that in Ireland the imposition be forain 2d. Scotch 1d. English, 1d. Irish, 1d. ob: Salt upon Salt on French Lockrams, 106 ells to the piece, 7s. 6d. Normandy, and all other sorts of French Canvas, 106 ells the piece, 6s. on Germany and all other imported Linnen and Callicos the same price; I mean imposition, as in the book of rates, to be payd by the first buyer; lawns onely and cambriks are excepted; on tape, inkle and thred in like manner; on forain ticks 3s. each; on wrought Silke, to be payd by the first buyer, double the proportion as at the Customes; on thrown Silke 1s. 4d. the pound. Thus farre the Committee has proceeded, and will still goe on upon the proposalls which are before them, which are on iron the tun 20s. on Sugars, Muscovados of Brasile, *ob* [*sic*] other Brasile Sugar, 3d. Muscovados of the Plantations, $\frac{1}{4}$ d. other Plantation sugar, 2d. the pound; on Fruit, Currants *per cent.* 5s. Raisins of the Sun, 2s. Malaga and other Raisins, 1s. 6d. Figgs and Prunes, 1s. on Spice, Nutmegs, the pound, 1s. Cinamon, 1s. Mace and Cloves, 1s. 6d. on all Druggs as in the Book of Rates; on Paper imported, 4d. the reame; on Glas Glasses, Stone and Stone Ware, Earthen Ware, as in the Book of Rates; on Copper and Latten from Cake or Bar imported, *per cent.* 5s. on Stuffs mixed with Haire or Wool imported, 10l. on Sope forain *per cent.* 5s. Native, the barrell, 4s. This is as I take it all yet before the Committee, who will go on to debate whether these rates respectively be proper to be imposed. Colonell Gilby and I red your letter by the last post together this day, and intend to return you answer on Thursday. I have no more at present, but to remain, &c.

Westm., Nov. 15, 1670.

A local grievance 'of Bakers' ovens' is reported on by the two Members.

Letter CLVII. To THE SAME.

'Nov. 17, 1670.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

COL. GILBY and I having considered as to publick Bakers' ovens, we conceive they must pay by the law. As to Smiths, the House was on former Sessions of another opinion, but could not bring it into an Act. Whereupon the Lords of the Treasury upon the opinion of all the King's learned Counsell first had, have issued instructions to collect on them also. Nor do I see therefore at present that it is to any purpose to resist or complaine. Onely you can try what Major Cooper may amicably be drawn to; seeming to him not to understand your own weakness in those particulars. As to the other of an imposition upon coales, I shall referre you to what he writes, and especially upon that point of the unreasonableness of it at this time. For indeed such things are not to be effected by writing from post to post in the result of a short session. But to be maturely weighd, layd, and prepared before the meeting. I question whether we shall heare this time anything more of Dover peer, the Parliament being so wholly intent on levying monys for his Majesty. I am very sorry, gentlemen, that we can not give you further encouragement as to those things you propounded. But I hope the excuse is in the thing itselfe. If not, I must beg my part of your pardon. Yesterday and to-day we have bin onely on sugar. Yesternight the King and the Treasurers farmd the Customs with the 8 years of wine and the Wine licenses for 600,000li. per an. for 5 years. So that

hereby Sr. R. H.'s proposall seems broke, which for some reasons is not, perhaps, to be regretted, yet now I doubt we may beside this excise at home on beere and the foraine excise, return to the other harsher ways of raising mony. I am, yours &c.

ANDR. MARVELL.

Nov. 17, 1670.

Again local interests of the 'Ports' are written of. On he coming 'Munday' is to be 'a great debate of religious matters.' Letters CLVII. and CLVIII. are now first printed.

Letter CLVIII. To THE SAME.

'Nov. 19, 1670.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I PERCEIVE by C. Gilby to-day that he writ not last Thursday, so that this night you will also hear from him according to what then seemed to us. And I suppose further, that probably such a Bill might find opposition from some of our neighbours, and besides what they should object against it as an imposition reflecting consequently upon them, it would occasion also a strict inquisition (as is upon all bills of the like nature) what revenues you have which they might presume were appropriate and sufficient to the maintenance of your Port. Which thing, as it hath a well and certain foundation, so it is in your wisdom whether you judge it good to undergoe that scrutiny. Such things we have discoursed. Since I parted from him I have had occasion to perceive that those of Boston are meditating a Bill for their Port, for which nevertheless they have 200li. a yeare maintenance; and their project they deliberate of, not yet matur'd, is 4d. or 6d. upon every chalder of coales there unladen: 4d. a last of corn: 4d. a weigh of salt: 2d. a tun

on all goods by the first buyer, laden or unladen there. They are not yet agreed among themselves. But, Gentlemen, this makes me more attentive, if anything might be done for you. If upon what we say you think you can make all things faire to the ey and reason, it is then absolutely necessary you send up two of the best of your most experienced members that may answer all questions and demonstrate authentically. For these matters can not be transacted by the Post, but men must be upon the place. It seemes to me since too possible, for some late reasons, that our sitting may last beyond Christmasse. So that you will not perhaps be cut out in time, if upon other points you thinke you can readily satisfy partyes, and you would fall roundly to worke. I dare not venture to advise it, because I have not yet consulted C Gilby since, and there must necessarily be so much casualty in all these things that no two men can take it upon their own discretions. Yarmouth Bill was lost once, and the charges of carrying it so farre untill we sat againe. You must abide the casualtyes of expense, time, and event. We, I am sure, should very willingly undergoe the certainty of our pains toward it. Pray be pleased to weigh all things but the duty of our labours. Whatsoever you write about, my mind is long harping upon. So that I have since imagined that we may set on foot again anew a Bill which was prepared but could not passe, for rectifying severall abuses in the collection of Chimney-mony, wherein, among the rest, Smiths' forges, but not publick ovens were exempted. I will speake to Col. [G.] that we may get it anew into the House next week. If such an Act can passe, the businesse is so far don. However, while it is in motion, men will be more cautious

of levying it there. Perhaps if you acquaint Major Cooper with such an intention, he may, to prevent any further detriment in his collection, connive with your people there so we will let the businesse of such an Act sleep here. To-day we have at the Committee gone through all our forain catalogue, at for the most part such rates as I writ you: Iron (forain) 10s. the tun: Sope onely remains. The customers are sent to by Tuesday [torn] [tells us] of all those comod^s what quantity came in these last 3 years, that so we may make an estimate of this gift. Munday next is for a great debate of religious matters.

I am, yours to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Nov. 19, 1670.

'Hays' and 'Jekill' were among the conventicle men "who met in numerous open assemblies" in London.

Letter CLIX. To THE SAME.

'22d (?) Novr., 1670.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last on Saturday, [19th] yesterday, the members for Boston asked leave to bring in a Bill; to-day it was red the first time: It contains onely sixpence upon every chaldron of coales unladen there, and two-pence a tun upon merchandise in like manner; so that the Colonell and I did not see any thing therein fit to be objected against it: If you should foresee yet any prejudice therein, you have yet time to advise us; otherwise it is fit for us rather to promote it, both to gaine friends, and example if you should have occasion. You will be pleased to reflect seriously upon what Col. Gilby and myself have written to you about your businesse. As for

time I cannot foresee now but we shall sit long enough. But as for those of your neighbours, who are served by your port, and will therefore take the imposition too as laid upon themselves, you must take your measures lest they oppose us. Boston owns 200l, a yeare revenue that they have; be pleased to consider what yours is, and comparing what now [is] writ with all last post, be pleased to fix your resolutions, that we may know what to expect and do. We sat yesterday till five at night upon the commitment of Mr. Hays and Jekill; that which was labored was indemnity, and to suspend proceedings against the Lord Mayor and Lieutenant at Law; but the House only voted, that what had bin done in committing Mr. Hays, they approved of as done for the preservation of his Majesty, and the peace of the kingdome, and what as to commitment of Mr. Jekill, that it was in order to the preservation of his Majesty, &c. Whether Mr. Hays and Jekill will hereupon think fit to let fall their proceeding at law I know not, but Friday next was the day appointed for the tryall in the Exchequer. The judges in the Common Pleas upon the *Habeas Corpus* for Bushell, and the other jurymen who have hitherto stood committed, enlarged them, taking them baile for one another, and have themselves taken till the second day of the next terme to give their opinions concerning the legality. The House is now to-day, I mean the Committee, gone through all in the catalogue I gave you of forain commodities. To-morrow I perceive there will be some more proposed, and then perhaps the customers may be ready (to-day they were not) to give in what quantities of those commoditys were imported for the three last years. I forgot to tell you that on occasion of

Mr. Hays and Jekill's businesse, orderd, a Committee to inspect the defects of the Act of Militia and of Conventicles, from which Committee I suppose will arise the matter of greatest importance this Session ; also ordered an information by Mr. Atturney against Mr. Hays for attempting to corrupt and threaten Sir Samuel Sterlin from performing his duty. But I suppose this last may rather produce a contrary effect to what was thereby intended. I shall here break of, having not more time, so that you will I hope both excuse the hast and defects. I am, &c.

[“Received 25th November, 1670.”]

The conjunction of the names Sir R[obert] Howard and Bucknall, (printed by Captain Thompson as if it were Sir Robert Howard Bucknall) reminds us of the like conjunction in the *Instructions to a Painter*. Bucknall was Sir William Bucknell, the brewer.

Letter CLX. To THE SAME.

‘Nov. 26, 1670.’

SIR,

I HAVE received your letter : I have not much leisure to write, neither have we done much since I writ. But have at last got through our forain Excise at the Committees: Forain Sope 5s. *per cent.*; Raw Silk, 6d. the pound ; Forain Twine and Cordage, double what in the Book of Rates ; French Hats, 2s. 6d. 5s. and 10s. To-day the Committee made report to the House, and the House has agreed in Tobacco and Salt, adding 1d. more on forain Salt in forain Ships. Jekill's, and Hays his businesse has, instead of an Act of Indemnity for the Lieutenancy, produced a very good thing, of which we are in certain expectation, an universal Act of Grace from his Majesty. Those that took the Customs, &c. at 600,000l. are now

struck of again, and Sir R. Howard, Bucknall and the Brewers, have them as formerly projected. Pray, Sir, present my service to your brethren. I am, &c.
Westminster, Nov. 26th, 1670.

Still another of the 'private' Letters with all the characteristics of its predecessors. Of Sterlin in last Letter already. Sir J[ohn] Robinson was knighted 26th May, 1660: Alderman and Lord Mayor of London and Lieutenant of the Tower. He was advanced to a baronetcy 22nd June, 1660. He was a nephew of Archbishop Laud, and so it ran in the blood that *he* should 'alarm the King' about 'Conventicles.' He died in 1680. The Quakers killed, while taking all 'patiently' from a brutal soldiery. Pen and Mead, Quakers, are illegally imprisoned and 'starved.' The Recorder commends the 'Spanish Inquisition.' On the 'Chamber' of London it may be permitted me to refer to a long Note in my Herbert (Vol. III. pp. 247-8). 'The House thin and obsequious.' A 'silence' as of men 'ashamed and unwilling.' Again the word 'terrible' of 'Conventicles.' What a clarifying of the air in these private Letters!

Letter CLXI. To William Ramsden, Esq.

'Nov. 28, 1670.'

DEAR WILL,

I NEED not tell you I am always thinking of you. All that has happened, which is remarkable, since I wrote, is as follows: The Lieutenantcy of London, chiefly Sterlin the Mayor, and Sir J. Robinson, alarmed the King continually with the Conventicles there. So the King sent them strict and large powers. The Duke of York every Sunday would come over thence to look to the peace. To say truth, they met in numerous open assemblys, without any dread of government. But the train bands in the city, and soldiery in Southwark and suburbs, harassed and abused them continually; they wounded many, and killed some Quakers especially, while they took all patiently. Hence arose two things of great remark.

The Lieutenancy, having got orders to their mind, pick out Hays and Jekill, the innocentest of the whole party, to show their power on. They offer them illegal bonds of five thousand pounds a man, which if they would not enter into, they must go to prison. So they were committed, and at last (but it is a very long story) got free. Some friends engaged for them. The other was the tryal of Pen and Mead, quakers, at the Old Baily. The jury not finding them guilty, as the Recorder and Mayor would have had them, they were kept without meat or drink some three days, till almost starved, but would not alter their verdict; so fined and imprisoned. There is a book out which relates all the passages, which were very pertinent, of the prisoners, but prodigiously barbarous by the Mayor and Recorder. The Recorder, among the rest, commended the Spanish Inquisition, saying it would never be well till we had something like it. The King had occasion for sixty thousand pounds. Sent to borrow it of the city. Sterlin, Robinson, and all the rest of that faction, were at it many a week, and could not get above ten thousand. The fanatics under persecution, served his Majesty. The other party, both in court and city, would have prevented it. But the King protested mony would be acceptable. So the King patched up, out of the Chamber, and other ways, twenty thousand pounds. The fanatics, of all sorts, forty thousand. The King, though against many of his council, would have the Parliament sit this twenty-fourth of October. He, and the Keeper spoke of nothing but to have mony. Some one million three hundred thousand pounds, to pay off the debts at interest; and eight hundred thousands for a brave navy next Spring. Both speeches forbid

to be printed, for the King said very little, and the Keeper, it was thought, too much in his politic simple discourse of foreign affairs. The House was thin and obsequious. They voted at first they would supply him, according to his occasions, *Nemine*, as it was remarked, *contradicente*; but few affirmatives, rather a silence as of men ashamed and unwilling. Sir R. Howard, Seymour, Temple, Car, and Hollis, openly took leave of their former party, and fell to head the King's busyness. There is like to be a terrible Act of Conventicles. The Prince of Orange here is much made of. The King owes him a great deal of mony. The Paper is full.

I am your's, &c.

Nov. 28, 1670.

'Report' to be made of all 'French curiosities and trinkets of which our people are so new-fangled,' &c.

Letter CLXII. To the Mayor [as before].

'Nov. 29, 1670.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Committee of the whole House have still been upon the forain commodities, and the House having now gone through their report with little alteration, have orderd that a Bill be brought in. They have layd 10li. on every forain horse, mare or gelding imported, and fifty *per cent.* upon forain coaches and wearing clothes, and that a particular be brought in of all the French curiosities and trinkets, of which our people are so new-fangled, that such an imposition may be layd upon them as may in consequence amount to a prohibition. The House will now shortly determine what the value of this Bill is like to be by the year, and accordingly for how many years to give it; for some would hope

that the additionall duty on Beere and Ale, and this forain Excise, might satisfy all the King's occasions in some few yeares. But I doubt there will also [be] taxes of other natures granted, and those will not be admitted as sufficient. Col. Gilby and I had a letter from you this post, to which we intend to return answer next Thursday. I am, &c,

Westm., Nov. 29, 1670.

Then, 'to pin the basket' (not as Captain Thompson stupidly reads 'open') hints at stoppage of further taxation;—about time, seeing the profligate and unaccounted-for expenditure. This is perhaps the Thursday letter promised in last, but it was written on Saturday.

Letter CLXIII.

'Dec. 3, 1670.'

SIR,

COL. GILBY promised me to write to you to-night, and I intended the same, but cannot call that writing which is in so much hast. The Bill for Excise of Beere and Ale is not yet brought in; neither that for Excise on forain Commodities. But these three days last past, and Munday and Tuesday next wholly set apart for new proposalls towards the Supply, and then to pin the basket. On Thursday we wholly excluded Land Tax, upon a division of 152 against 109. Since, after many proposals, we have yet fixt only upon Parchments and Papers upon occasions of Law Grant or Contract from Patents under the great Seale down to Bills and Bonds, which we are half gone thorow, and will make a great addition at the Committee of the whole House. Among the rest to-day we have voted, every Dispensation for a Plurality shall pay 10l. Our House will be in so great an hurry till Christmasse, though probably then we shall not neare have finisht

that litle opportunity will be for particular businesse. The House has orderd that on Tuesday se'nnight the House be called over. Made a Committee to report the ways of levyng Fines upon Members for their absence; orderd that no member have leave to goe out of town, but after desiring and allowing betwixt eleven and twelve a'clock. It was proposd to publish their names who are absent, in the news book. These things are not without cause. I would you could acquaint your neighbors with it. A Bill sent down to-day from the Lords for naturalizing all Forainers that shall take the Oths of Allegiance and Supremacy. I am mindfull of all your businesse, and am, &c.

Westm., Dec. 3, 1670.

The Bill for 'Conventicles' calls the meetings 'riots,' &c., &c. Of Sir John Bennet before. 'The strange escape' refers to Blood's attempt.

Letter CLXIV. TO THE SAME.

'Dec. 8, 1670.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

WHEN it is time I sent my letter to the post I can but just begin it, having sat late at the Committee upon the Merchants petition for taking of the 4li. a tun upon Wine. We sit again on Munday, when I hope we may find that the Act has bin satisfyed, and so procure the taking it of. There is not yet brought in either the Act for addition on Beere and Ale, nor that of Excise on forain Commodities; nor are the House yet resolved what value they set upon them, to judge how farre they have yet complied with his Majesty's occasions; but this Act is ordered for to-morrow [Friday], and Saturday

to be the last day for any farther proposall towards the King's Supply. The House hath orderd another Bill of imposition upon all proceedings in all the Law Courts, not excepting those of the Bishops. We shall have much adoe to get businesse of so various nature into fashion before Christmasse: we yet thinke that we can scarce rise before Lady-day. The 10l. upon 'Licences for Pluralities, the House hath quite struck of. Col. Gilby told you of the rubbs to the Boston Bill. The Committee has adjourn'd it till a week after our next sitting: the opposition of neighbors concern'd give it this stop, and may probably quite dash it. The Bill for Conventicles hath bin twice red and committed: it makes them henceforth riots, and orders that who cannot pay his 5s., or who shall refuse to tell his name or abode, shall worke it out in the House of Correction. Also that Constables may break ope House by day, by warrant, for a distresse. There is a Bill come in for regulating Servants Wages. The strange escape of the Duke of Ormond you have in the Proclamation. There are foure of their horses taken: sure themselves cannot long escape. Sir J. Benet insists upon the right of what you complain of, and will refer himselfe either to counsell or law therein. Concerning the other matters in your letter I shall not be wanting to any opportunity. My attending thus late make me more abrupt than I should be, but you know how to excuse, Gentlemen, &c.

Dec. 8, 1670.

The King is again 'needy' and again sham-war-rumours in his mouth. Poor wretched thing that he was! Yet the information was quite true that the French king was going to Dunkirk. He went; but his army was about 28,000. [See Evelyn 2nd May, 1671, and letter CXCVII.

Letter CLXV. To THE SAME.

‘Dec. 10, 1670.’

SIR,

THE House hath sate all this day long without intermission, so that I must be very short. Yesterday having bin appointed for an estimate of the three Bills of additional Excise upon Beere and Ale ; of forain Excise and of the Imposition upon all Proceedings at Law ; which Bills are not yet come in : the House came after a long debate to a division betwixt those who valued them higher, and those who reckond them but at 400,000*l. per annum*, and the last carryed it. So that hereby those that were for raising further the greatest summe of ready mony, the next day obtained much of their end. And this day the King sent for the House to Whitehall, representing to them that the French Ambassador last Wednesday night told him that his master would next Aprill be at Dunkirk with 40,000 foot and proportionable horse, but without intent to disturbe the peace. This and other arguments the King used for the necessity of 800,000*l.* in ready mony. The House in this debate had occasion to divide twice, once 128 against 112, another time 124 against 111 ; so that at last the question was carried that the Grand Committee should find ways to raise a summe about, and not exceeding 800,000*l.* and that it should not be by a Land Tax ; and Wednesday is now appointed the last day of receiving proposalls to that purpose. This is all at present. I am, Sir, your very affectionate friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, Dec. 10, 1670.

The King gets his £800,000 and Andrew Marvell his
 — ale.

Letter CLXVI. To THE SAME.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I SUPPOSE you have heard the vote of the Committee, that the summe about and not exceeding 800,000*l.* should be raised by way of Subsidy, according to the present rent, with respect also to mony, goods and offices. They have since voted that 100*l.* in mony shall pay 10*s.* that all mony in the hand of banquiers shall pay 15*s.* per 100*l.* That all mony which shall be lent the King, or transferd upon security of these acts for the future, shall not be taxed. That the King shall be in this Act impowered to give seven *per cent.* That stock for trade (deducting debts) shall pay 6*s.* *per cent.*; stock on Land and Household Stuffe not to be taxed; Offices and profitable Places two shillings in the pound; and upon Land, the question being put whether 8*d.* or 12*d.* the pound, 'twas carryed by 103 against 96. that it should be 12*d.* The Committee are to report to-morrow; none of the other three Bills is yet come in. We are like to sit on 'till we have done our work. I humbly thank you for my ale. I am in hast, &c.

West., Dec. 15, 1670.

It is somewhat amusing to find the Representative asking the worthy Mayor 'What is your opinion at Hull,' &c. There would be many ponderings for an answer.

Letter CLXVII. To THE SAME.

'Dec. 17, 1670.'

SIR,

SINCE my last, the House has agreed with the Grand Committee in all the votes about the 800,000*l.* It is to come in in one yeare, in fourè quarterly

payments: the first quarter to end in Midsummer next; deduction to be made for debts, annuities, fee farms, rent charges, rents reserved: Commissioners to be named by the King; they, the assessors and witnesses, all to be upon oath. So a Bill is ordered to be brought in; none of these four Bills are brought in as yet; so that we are like to have tedious work of it. The Committee for the 5l. per tun at the Custom House upon Wine voted yesternight that the 310,000l. with interest, was already paid, secured or recoverable; upon which report, the House voted to-day, that his Majesty be desired to take of that payment, and the members of the Privy Council to present the said desire to his Majesty, which there is no doubt but it will be granted. We have a Bill ready to be reported for liberty for exporting Beere. What is your opinion at Hull of the Bill from the Lords for general Naturalization of all Forainers that shall take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy? we have not yet given it a reading. Pardon my abruptnesse. I am, &c.

West., Dec. 17, 1670.

'Mum' was a malt liquor prepared in Germany, although it must at this time have been made in England, seeing the bill is for 'exporting' English Beer, Ale and Mum. A receipt for making it is given in Ree's *Encyclopædia*. The receipt as preserved in Town-house, Brunswick, is also given by Dyche in his Dictionary (s.v.) One of Andrew Yarranton's schemes was to bring the mum trade from Brunswick and fix it at Stratford-on-Avon (*England's Improvement*). Pepys (II. 124) writes: "I went with Mr. Norbury, near hand to the Fleece, a mum-house in Leadenhall, and there drank mum, and by and by broke up." There is grim humour in the 'Sinners Fregate.' Doubtless the 'one' who proposed it was Andrew Marvell, Esq., M.P. for Kingston-upon-Hull; but these things don't get into Parliamentary History, &c.

Letter CLXVIII. TO THE SAME.

‘Dec. 20, 1670.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

HIS MAJESTY yesterday sent a message to the House that they might adjourn themselves from this day till Thursday se’night. None of the foure Bills orderd for Supply are yet brought in, which is the reason of so short an adjournment. There is a day appointed after our next meeting for the first reading of the Bill of Naturalization. A Bill is reported, and orderd to be ingrost, for exporting English Beere, Ale and Mum, at one shilling per tunne, for six years from Midsummer seventy-one. The members of the Privy Councill to-day gave account to the House, that his Majesty had bin pleased upon the House’s request to take away the 4l. per tun upon Wine at the Custome House. The House, before their rising to-day, orderd, that on Munday come fortnight the House be calld: that the Sheriffs of all countyes give notice accordingly; that all members not then present should be rated double in the Bill of Subsidy, so that it will concern them in the country to be up by that time, and if sooner, the better. One moved that a Fregate might be built particularly out of that mony, and She might be named, the *Sinners Fregate*. After this the House adjourn’d till the 29th of December. I shall observe what you write in yours of 16th, and am, &c.

Westminster, Dec. 20, 1670.

Sir John Coventry’s ‘misfortune’ is a historical fact. See of it in the Satires (Vol. I. 324, 326, 333). The House met on Thursday, 29th, but there appears to be no letter for that week: probably a mere formal meeting. The calling of the House was on Monday, 9th, as resolved on 20th December.

Letter CLXIX. To THE SAME.

‘Jan. 5, 1670-1.’

SIR,

WHAT hath been done of late requires methinks no lettter to the Bench, but may by this word to yourselfe be communicated as you thinke fit. On Tuesday the 800,000*l.* Bill had its first reading, and its second reading orderd on Tuesday next. Yesterday the Bill of forain Excise, and its second reading orderd on Thursday next week. To-day the additionall Excise on Beere and Ale, the second reading orderd to be this day fortnight. And so we adjournd till Munday next, when the House is to be called, and will probably be very rigorous to those that are absent. If the House be full, 'tis likely many things in all the Bills may be moderated to the better. No mention hath yet been made of Sir John Countrye's misfortune, but will be shortly.

I am, &c.

Westminster, Jan. 5, 1670-71.

A local difficulty on which he can't help. 'I am jealous' is like our 'I suspect,' and the like.

Letter CLXX. To THE SAME.

‘Jan. 10, 1670-1.’

SIR,

IN answer to the letter to Colonell Gilby and me from yourselfe and the other gentlemen concerning your Wines, the case is indeed very considerable, but I doubt there is no remedy to be expected; I am sure none from our House: severall merchants in many places are concerned in the same manner, but have thought it in vaine to attempt that way. I understand that those of London addrest themselves to the King therein, but their petition [was] rejected;

so that all I can imagine is, either to use means with the customers of your Port to delay the returning of any account since December, untill such time as the whole of what was before collected shall be stated in the Treasury; or else that you would however try a petition to his majesty, expressing your case, and recommend it by my Lord Bellassis his hand, who being so lately qualified as High Steward of your towne, will doubtlesse as most willing, so be the most able to serve you herein: though indeed, considering all the circumstances, I am jealous, as I said before, that you will very hardly attaine your end: I beg your pardon not being able to give you better advice, assistance, or encouragement herein, but am, &c.

Westminster, Jan. 10, 1670-71.

'Absentees' from 'the House' rigorously dealt with. Sir John Coventry's 'nose' business is up.. Sir Thomas Clarges was brother of the famous 1st Duchess of Albemarle. He was knighted 18th May, 1660, being then Muster Master General. He was M.P. for Westminster. He died 4th Oct., 1695. The title expired so recently as 1834. The date '11th' is explained by the letter having been written on 10th but not sent away until 11th. So also on the 31st.

Letter CLXXI. TO THE SAME.

'Jan. 11, 1670-1.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the House was called; no excuses then made, but the defaulters orderd to be calld over on Munday next, when the House will probably proceed severely toward their penaltyes, and allow none but very plain and urgent excuses. The House was very full and fills daily, many being upon the way. When Dorsetshire was called for, which Sir John Coventry serves, his uncle Sir William, made

his excuse, upon the freshness of his wounds, which made him yet no fit spectacle for the House. Here-upon the House resenting it, presently voted that it should be taken into consideration the first businesse at this morning; accordingly to-day Sir Thomas Clarges, a member of the House, having been one of the Justices of Peace who examined the fact, made a perfect narrative of the matter, and after a long debate till three in the afternoon, they voted at last, *nemine contradicente*, that a Bill be prepared prefixing a day to the offenders, by which time if they shall not appear, then to be banished the kingdome, &c. and a clause to be inserted for pardon to such of the malefactors (not being principal contrivers and actors therein) as shall make a full discovery; and a Committee was appointed for the drawing of this Bill, and that untill this Bill be past, the House shall [have] no other businesse whatsoever taken into consideration, and so they rose. Hereby the Bills of Supply are retarded for a while, but I believe within foure days at farthest we shall have dispatched it to the Lords. This is all at present from, &c.

Westm., Jan. 11, 1670-71.

Sir John Coventry's 'nose' is still the all-in-all before 'the House.' It has an element of the ludicrous somehow; and yet the word 'assassinate' is not a whit over-strong.

Letter CLXXII. TO THE SAME.

'Jan. 11, 1670-1.'

SIR,

YESTERDAY the House red the Bill about Sir John Coventry the first time, and forthwith adjourned; to-day they red it the second time, and committed it to a Committee of the whole House, which forthwith sate, and continued their debates

upon the Bill till foure a'clock; they past through the whole body of the Bill which relates only to those who were guilty of that assassinate; but the House having given leave for a clause to prevent all such things for the future, and such a clause being presented, which makes it felony, without clergy, to wound, or strike, or bruise any Parliament man during his attendance on the House, &c. the Committee, hath some disliking it, and others desiring it to be in another Bill distinct, the third party, who were for proceeding upon it, and amending it, carryed it upon division 85 against 78. So it being late, the Committee desired the Speaker to take the chaire, and leave to sit againe to-morrow. It will therefore probably be Saturday before the Bill can be agreed in gross, read the third time, and sent to the Lords. We admit no other businesse whatsoever. I am, Sir, your most affectionate friend, ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Jan. 12, 1670-71.

The 16th of February is prefixed, by which time the malefactors, if they come not in, are excluded from all pardon, unlesse by Act of Parliament expressing them by name.

The Notes in the Satires (as before) sufficiently elucidate the names *in re* Sir John Coventry's 'assassination.' It is sorrowful that 'his Majesty' was not told a few plain things on the infamous matter. If despised George Fox had been given the commission, how grandly he should have acquitted himself!

Letter CLXXIII. TO THE SAME.

'Jan. 14, 1670-1.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House have been constant to their vote, and not meddled with any other businesse till they finished the Act concerning those that assassinated Sir John

Coventry. It hath been something changed in the Committee: for after the clauses against Sir Thomas Sands, Captaine O'Brian, Parry and Reeves, it is further inacted, that whoever after the 16th of February next shall put out the eye, cut the lip, nose or tongue of any of his Majesty's liege people, upon malice forethought, or without provocation, shall be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. And whoever shall in any other manner wound or maim any Parliament man, or any of the House of Lords during their attendance, or their coming or returning from Parliament, shall be imprisoned for a yeare, pay treble damages, to be assessed by the jury, be bound to the good behaviour for life, and be deprived and made incapable of all offices whatsoever. This Bill was to-day sent up to the Lords, and read there the first time. I heare they have ordered the like Bill against those that some time agoe set upon the Duke of Ormond. Our house have ordered that upon Munday, after the call of the Defaulters, and severity upon them, they will read the 800,000*l.* Bill of Subsidy the second time. I am, &c.

Westm., Jan 14, 1670-71.

Another 'question of privilege' in which the 'courage' of their 'opinion' is exhibited by 'the House.'

Letter CLXXIV. TO THE SAME.

'Jan. 19, 1670-1.'

SIR,

SINCE I writ on Saturday last, the House upon Munday calld the Defaulters, and afterwards ordered that the House be calld againe that day fortnight, and whosoever should goe out of town without leave, and be absent at the call, should incurre the same penaltyes as those absent at the first call. On

Thursday they sate in a Committee of the whole House upon the Bill of Subsidy, and made litle progresse further then to change the imposition of 10s. upon an 100l. in mony, to be onely upon mony at interest. Yesterday was taken up wholly in a debate concerning ordering a new writ for Devonshire in the place of the young Duke of Albemarle, and being controverted whether he though a peere, being not of age to sit in the Lords House, did not yet retaine the right which he had of sitting during his father's life as a member of the Commons; but the House orderd at last a new writ to issue in his place; and further there appearing some undue proceedings of late in that county, in order to forestall the election, voted, that all Warrants, or Letters like Warrants, or Letters to be communicated to Freeholders, Constables, Petty Constables, &c. when there was to be election of Knight or Burgesse to Parliament, were a violation of the privilege of Parliament, and of the just freedome of Elections. And had not the gentlenesse of the House prevailed, one or two of their own members were in great danger to have been censured on that account. To-day the Committee onely passed the 7l. per cent. for those who shall lend mony upon the Act. I am, &c.

Westminster, Jan. 19, 1670-1.

Further Legislation reported on—'hearth-money,' 'ovens,' 'land-tax,' &c., &c.

Letter CLXXV. To THE SAME.

'Jan. 24, 1670-1.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

TO-DAY severall gentlemen of the country made complaint concerning the encroachments of the col-

lectors of Hearth-money, upon pretense of certain instructions sent downe, and particularly of their gathring it upon smiths forges. Of ovens none complained, which I remember you formerly spoke of ; but publick ovens are certainly within the Act. Friday come se'night is appointed by the House for that matter ; against which time if you please to state to us particularly wherein any of your town are agrieved in those matters, I suppose we may do you service therein, for the House is become very sensible of it. To-day we sent up the Bill for exporting of Beere and Ale ; also we sent to mind their Lordships of a Bill lodged with them at our former meeting, for prohibiting foraine Brandy. The Lords sent us down to-day the Bill about Sir John Coventry. The House goes upon it to-morow. I suppose you have heard already that on Saturday 12^d against 11^d carryd it still for the 12^d. against the 8^d. a pound upon Land. Yesterday was all spent upon Mines of Coale, Lead, Tin, and Alume, all which are voted to be taxd. To-day words were put in concerning the taxing of land, that it should be according to the cleare value (which we reckon will give scope to deduct rates for the poore, highways, &c.) and that it should be according as they are let, or as worth to be let at the time of the assesment, which will also admit deduction upon the fall of rents. And further, whereas there was a clause that the Commissioners should be upon oath, that also is revoked, so that they will still have hereby a more beneficiall latitude for the subjects ease. I am, &c.

Westminster, Jan. 24, 1670-71.

Sir John Coventry's 'Bill' is opposed in 'the Lords' or at least 'amendments' made that went far to neutralize it. To-day—Monday, 30th : see note in letter CLXXII.

Letter CLXXVI. To THE SAME.

‘ Jany. 31, 1670-1.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE mine wherein I gave you notice of the order to debate on Friday next the irregularities in the gathering of Chimny Mony, I have perused the notes you formerly sent up, and what grievances were voted therein the 7th of December 1667; so that I think you need not trouble yourselves to give further memorials therein, unles there be something in the late practice further to be complained of; but several members of us having consulted of these matters we cannot find amongst us all a copy of the late Instructions by which the Collectors thereof pretended to act; perhaps we may by that time; but for more sureness, if you can in the mean while procure us a copy of them, it may be of good use, for I scarce belive but that the debate will be put off somewhat longer, the House having advanc’d so little of late in the two great businesses of the Subsidy Bill, and Sir John Coventry’s Since I writ you last, we spent two days on the Lords Amendments upon Sir John’s Bill, with which we disagreed, and gaue them the reasons at a conference; since which the Lords have been busy, and adhered to their most material differences with us, as I hear, but they have not yet done their debates, nor sent down to us. The most considerable thing lately past in the Subsidy Bill is that, although the oath of the Commissioners is struck out, the oath of the Assessors is voted to continue. To-day the House was called, and then orderd that the Grand Committee do bring in a clause of double Subsidy, upon all the members absent and not excused, and their names are to be inserted in the Act.

Also the House is to be calld this day fortnight, and upon the same penaltyes. But beside all this, there is a much severer censure intended against those who, after an utmost day set, shall persist to absent themselves.

I remain, &c.

Jan. 31, 1670-71.

'The Lords' desire a re-Conference: 'the House' remains 'of the same mind' on the 'differences' of Sir John Coventry's 'Bill.' It reads oddly to find 'Leuerpoole' incidentally named—no foreshadowing of its present magnificence.

Letter CLXXVII. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 4, 1670-1.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, the House hath proceeded still upon the Bill of Subsidy, I mean in a Grand Committe; and they have now past through the whole Bill, excepting some clauses of difficulty which were postponed; so that I suppose some day next week the Committee may be ready to report that Bill to the House. Yesterday the Lords sent to desire a Conference to be had this day at eleven a'clock, upon our last Conference about Sir John Coventry's Bill, and so to-day showd their Reasons why they were not satisfyd with the Reasons given by our House against their alterations. Our House upon debate have continued in the same mind; especially for having a day certain by which the offenders shall come in, or else stand attainted; whereas the Lords still insist to have it 25 days after the royall assent to this Act, and that recorded in the Lords Journall, and also that the clause which the Lords have wholly left out, for the defense of Parliament members during their attendance, may

continue. The Committee of Grievances yesternight, upon complaint of the Masters and Owners of Leuerpoole and Chester, voted, a Patent for Light-Houses on the Irish Coast, whereby a 1d. and 2d. per tun was collected, to be illegal and a grievance; so that upon report to the House on Wednesday next, 'tis likely to have the same fortune there. The Boston Bill, upon disagreement of the neighbors, is in a manner extinct. The debate of Chimny irregularitys is put of till next weeke. I am, &c.

Feb. 4, 1670-71.

A singular 'arrest' at the Sacrament 'between the bread and the cup.' 'Growth of Popery' complained of. 'Notwithstanding his Majesty's sincerity in the Protestant religion,' &c. Faugh—a thousand times! 'Banquiers' are 'Bankers.'

Letter CLXXVIII. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 7, 1670-1.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY upon complaint of some violent arrests made in severall churches, even during sermon time, nay of one taken out betwixt the bread and the cup in receiving the sacrament, the House orderd that a Bill be brought in for better observing the Lord's Day. After this, complaint was also made of the growth of Popery. One gentleman particularly affirmd that in Monmouth and Herefordshire there were more Popish Priests then orthodox Ministers, and that in six Hundred of that country, three were grown in a manner all Papists, and whereas of late years there were not above 400, they were now grown to betwixt 4 and 5000; another said, that notwithstanding his Majest's sincerity in the Protestant Religion, there were some eminent persons whose example gave encouragement to the contrary.

A Committee was orderd to inquire into the growth of Popery, and to bring an Act in to prevent it; the Jews were also added into the question. Yesterday we had a free conference of several hours with the Lords about Sir John Coventry's Bill: we shall perceive shortly what effect it has had with them. The Grand Committee hath voted in the Bill of Subsidy, that every debtor may deduct six shillings for every 100l. he owes at interest, and to-day a clause where a man desires to call his money out of the Banquier's hands, that he may lend it at 7l. per 100l. to the King; there to enforce the Banquiers to give them assignments in the Exchequer of such money as is there due from the King to the Banquiers, and that the King be so farre dischargd of what he owes to the Banquirs at 10 per cent. The debate of Chimny Money is yet put of by other business. To-morrow we expect the Report from the Committee who have voted the Irish Light Houses to be a grievance. I am, &c.

Feb. 7, 1670-71.

Another Letter to Trinity House on Light-houses, &c.

Letter CLXXIX. For the right Wor'pfull George Acklam, one of the Wardens and the rest of the worthy Society of the Trinity House, Hull.

'Feb. 7, 1670-1.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE yours, which mentions Mr. Whittington's businesse. I heare from a friend of his that he intends to come and speake with me, of which I shall give you account. I am in very litle apprehension of what he can make of his papers, nor yet if it were parchment. We shall within this day or two receive

the report from the Committee of Grievances concerning the Irish Light-houses, which they have voted a grievance; when many of us are prepared to speak both in generall and particular concerning severall grievances of the same nature and the illegality of those impositions. So that I believe we shall put a very good stop henceforward to such projects, having made examples of them also formerly in the same Parliament. I returnd some time agoe the 25li. which had laid in my hands for your use, only diminisht by a fee I gave Mr. Uffley and the entring of caveats and some other litle expenses. I am,

Gentlemen,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Feb. 7, 1670-71.

‘Irish Lighthouses;’ Sir John Coventry, whose ‘nose’ becomes rather wearisome; ‘reasons on the growth of Popery,’ &c., &c. These this letter reports on.

Letter CLXXX. To the Mayor [Acklam].

‘Feb. 9, 1670-1.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE but little leisure this post. However would let you know this much, that yesterday after a very considerable debate, the House voted that the Patent for the Irish Light Houses was a common grievance, and that his Majesty be desired to null the Patent; and the Members of the Privy Counsell are to acquaint his Majesty therewith, who I doubt not but will agree therein, as formerly this same Parliament in the case of the Lights upon St. Anne’s Head by Milford. The Lords had this day a free conference with the Commons upon Sir John

Coventry's Bill. The matter therefore to be reported to our House to-morrow morning, who will then consider a-fresh how farre to agree with them. The Committee have considered of the reasons of the growth of Popery, which they have reckoned eleven, and voted to report them to the House to-morrow morning. The Committee of Conventicles have also gone thorow, with their Bill, and voted to report. This is what I have leisure to tell you at present, and that I am, &c.

Westm., Feb. 9th, 1670-71.

Much the same as the preceding Letter in its 'news.'

Letter CLXXXI. To THE SAME.

'Feb. 16, 1670-1.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, his Majesty sent word to the House of Commons, that he had given command to extinguish the Patent for the Lights in Ireland; and further, that understanding some Bills were past both Houses, he desired that what Mony Bills were near perfecting might be dispatcht, that he might passe them together about the 22d of this month, and that he had given orders to the Judges to adjourn the Goale Delivery at the Old Bailey till the 10th of March; that is the utmost day prefixd in the Act for the coming in of the malefactors in Sir John Coventry's matter. The House has to-day perfected the Bill of Supply in order to be ingrossed; so that to-morrow it is orderd the Committee about the growth of Popery do make their report, and nothing to intervene, and after that to proceed upon the list of absent members; for though the clause for their double Subsidy was thrown out to-day by a division

of 115 against 98, yet the House intends to be severe upon them in another manner. On Munday there is order to report the Bill of Conventicles. We are like to sit on I doubt this two or three months still, having the four Bills—of Salt—of Proceedings at Law—of Addition on Beere and Ale—and Excise on forain Commodities, still to go through. I am, &c.

Westm., Feb. 16th, 1670-71.

Sir Phillip Froude is at last roused to decision, &c. This and next Letter are now first printed. 'Misse-led' may be a pun.

Letter CLXXXII. For my much respected friends
Mr. Thomas Holtbee and Mr. George Dickinson,
Wardens of the worthy Society of the
Trinity house at Hull.

'Feb. 18, 1670-1.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

COLONELL GILBY and I have considered of your letters of the 11th and 14th Febr. Sir Philip Froud hath since that sought us, and being awakened by Mr. Whittington's stirring about the Light-houses, seems to be more concerned then formerly to agree with you. He saith that he hath been since with the King and the Duke of Yorke, and that Mr. Whittington had obtained no more then a reference, but that he is secure that nothing will be done by his Majesty to the prejudice of his grant. He appears willing to come to a lesse imposition and to a lower proportion for himselfe then formerly. But he is still irresolute and never knows perfectly what he would be at. He would now have himselfe and you joyne for an Act of Parliament with those who you know obtaind a Patent for foure Lights at St. Nicholas Gat (as I think you call it) and Ferne

Island, &c., and thinks that they have so many hands as might be usefull if applyd also to those Lights at Humber. Upon Munday or Tuesday next he hath promis'd to come to us againe and to impart his mind fully. I wish he can, for I think he never knows his own mind; but if anything materiall come on't, I shall give you notice. I am in the meanetime well pleas'd to find him and Mr. Whittington jealous of one another, which shall not want fomentation; and I am somthing confident that the Irish Light-houses will make the Court more wary whom they comply with and what impositions they grant henceforward of that nature. Col. Gilby and I intend on Munday morning to waite on the D. of Richmond *pro formâ*. We shall pay him that civility in your name, but do not conceive what he writes or will doe, to signify much: he being onely misse-led into this businesse by one Bickerstaffe, who together with Mr. Whittington make him believe as as I heard that of 17 he hath the consent of 16 among you. I have not at present more to say then that I am, Gentlemen, &c.,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

An interview with the 'Duke of Richmond.'

Letter CLXXXIII. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 21, 1670-1.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

COLONELL GILBY and I having appointed to go to the D. of Richmond yesterday, the Col. being something indispos'd could not stirre out, desired me to goe. I told the Duke so, and that you had desired us to wait upon him upon occasion of his letter, which you had received with due respect, and that

it could not but have a great influence upon you, coming from a person of his quality. But that the D. of Yorke and his Majesty being also, as you understand, interested for Sir Philip Frowd, you were in some difficultys how to behave yourselves betwixt persons of that high quality. And therefore you hoped it would not seeme strange to him if you walked in this affaire with some reserve and deliberation. But that he was misinformed concerning your having as yet given your consent to Mr. Whittington's pretence, and at his speaking with you you had onely given a civill audience as to one of your towne that you had a respect for. But whereas you did much rely upon the Col. and myselfe in this and other your affaires, Mr. Whittington had not all this while he has been in towne, seen either him or me. So that we could not be mature to declare anything of your mind in this matter. The Duke prayd me to thank you for this message; said he had embraced this matter only because Mr. Whittington's father had been a great sufferer for the King; that Sir Philip was like the dog in the manger, and had no mony to go thorow with the businesse; that he had not yet spoke to the King for Whitt., but intended it; that he should be able to get the consent (which I question) of the Trinity house of London; that he would ask Mr. W., come to us, &c. Since that, Mr. Whittington hath been twice at my logging, but missed me. I met with Sir P. to-day at Col. Chand. He saith he hath made all sure with the King and D. of Yorke against Whitt. He is still upon joyning all those Lights in one Act, and on Thursday saith he shall be ripe to make us an intire proposall. We give him the hearing. I think we shall perplex one of them against the other, so that neither shall make

any promise, but what good we shall make of it I cannot yet foresee. I am, Gentlemen,

Your very affectionate friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Feb. 21, 1670-71.

A 'grave Address' to 'his Majesty' on the 'dangerous growth of Popery,' &c. Continued slack attendance of Members, and rigor again enforced. What thoughts 'of Popery' were now passing through Marvell's mind the reader will discover by turning to his masterly 'Growth of Popery' (Vol IV).

Letter CLXXXIV.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Bill of Subsidy is gone up to the Lords; also our House have drawn up a very grave address to his Majesty concerning the dangerous growth of Popery, desiring his Majesty to put the laws in execution. They have sent it up to the Lords to desire their concurrence. The House hath also considered the list of the absent members, and about twenty of them are not excused, but orderd to be fetchd up by the Sergeant, and to pay his charges, and to be brought in custody to the barre of the House, and so to be committed to the Tower; and the House is orderd te be called a fortnight hence, and upon the same penalties. The Bill of additionall Excise upon Beer and Ale hath been red the second time yesterday, and the debate of it appointed for to-morrow. I do not know what fortune it will have, but many do believe that it will be a Bill of very ill consequence, and not answer the end. I will take care to get you a copy of this addresse to the King about Popery as soon as may be. I have but little time more, nor matter at present, therefore breake of. I am, &c.

Westminster, Feb. 21, 1670-71.

Another out-come of the social immorality to absolute *abandon* in the killing of 'a poor beadle, praying for his life upon his knees.' This, by persons of '*great quality*.' See for names of the persons herein pointed at—Letter CXC VII. Query—"Sunday night last, or rather Monday morning?" [27—8th].

Letter CLXXXV. To THE SAME.

'Feb. 28, 1670-1.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, the House hath been in a manner wholly taken up with the Bill of Excise upon Beere and Ale; they have altered the 15d. strong, and 6d. small, unto 9d. and 3d. They have struck out that clause of prohibiting private Houses which had not brewd before, from Brewing: this revenue they have given for six years. There was to day a long debate for bringing in an inacting clause, that it should be appropriated towards paying the King's debts; but upon division it past in the negative 71 against 62. The Lords have to-day sent us down the Bill of Subsidy, with some amendments, which the House goes upon to-morrow, and I think will not take up much debate; so that it is likely the King may pass that and other Bills which are ready this weeke. The Excise upon Beere and Ale is orderd to be ingrossed. The Lords will now I suppose consider of the Address concerning Popish Recusants. There is a Bill ready for our House for the better convicting and proceeding against them. On Saturday night last, or rather Munday morning at two a'clock, some persons reported to be of great quality, together with other gentlemen, set upon the watch and killd a poore beadle, praying for his life upon his knees, with many wounds. Warrants are out for apprehending some of them, but they are fled. I am, &c.

Westm., Feb. 28, 1670-71.

‘The Lords’ nearly concur in the Bill against ‘Popish recusants.’

Letter CLXXXVI. To THE SAME.

‘March 4, 1670-1.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you the House hath been in conference with the Lords upon their desire, about the Adresse intended to the King concerning Popish Recusants. The Lords concurred in most things thereof, onely would be satisfyd concerning some matters of fact inserted by the Commons, and not evident to them, whereof our House will shortly informe them to the full, and then I believe they will join unanimously. Also the Bill against Papists has bin twice read, and the Committee have almost perfected it. The Bill against Conventicles is re-committed. All things in the Subsidy Bill are agreed betwixt the two Houses, so that and the Bill for Excise of Beere and Ale are now ready for the King, and we are proceeding on the Bill of forain Commodities. The House this day gave instructions upon its commitment; it should be layd not as an Excise, but in the same nature at the Custom House as the former additional duty; also to consider of the Eastland commodities, which being imported at so much advantage in their native shipping, destroys our navigation. There is a Committee appointed upon the complaints for Chimny Mony. Orderd to-day at the Committee for Dover Peer, that the members of the Out Ports be desird to write to their several corporations to send up particular accounts of all moneys payd by all masters and owners to any person toward the repair thereof, from June 24, 1662, to the 24th of June, 1669, by

Wednesday come se'nnight. If we had it in quarterly and yearly accounts from you it would be to very great purpose. I am, your servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

March 4, 1670-71.

'Bills' passed by the King.

Letter CLXXXVII. To THE SAME.

'March 7, 1670-1.'

SIR,

BEING in some haste I onely acquaint you that yesterday his Majesty pass'd such Bills as were ready ; the principall of which were—the Subsidy Bill—the Bill of Excise upon Beere and Ale—the Duke of York's Bill, exchanging his Wine Licenses for 24,000li. a yeare out of the Excise of Beere and Ale, and this Bill which is onely yet printed : the rest I shall send you when they come out. We are now proceeding on the Bill of forain Commodities, to be paid at the Custome House in three moneths. To-day whereas it was 6d. we have at the Committee voted 4d. on Spanish Tabacco, and instead of 3d. on Virginia three halfe-pence. I am, Sir, your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

West., March 6-7, 1670-71.

'Salt' and 'Popery' and Sir John Coventry are strangely intermingled. There are *data* here for Free Traders also, *in re* Protection.

Letter CLXXXVIII. To THE SAME.

'March 11, 1670-1.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

EVER since his Majesty passed the Bills which were ready, and desired the House to hasten what

more they had before them of publick nature, the House has always sate or been in a grand Committee upon the Bill, especially of the new impost at the Custom House upon forain Commodities, both forenoon and afternoon; it continues 1d. a gallon forain Salt imported in English botomes, and 2d. imported in forain. As for our home-made Salt it is like to escape any imposition: there is a good clause referred by the House to the Committee, which I think will passe, that when Wheat is under 48s. the quarter, Rye under 30s. Barley under 28s. here in England; the exporting merchant shall have allowed him at the Custom House 4s. 6d. the quarter for Wheat, 4s. for Rye, and ten groats for Barley exported. Some other things the House hath attended, as having given satisfaction to the Lords of their doubts in the addresse about Popery; both Houses have agreed therein, and the Lords having sent to know his Majesty's pleasure, he hath ordered them to attend with the addresse at Whitehall on Munday morning. The House hath also past to-day the Bill against Popery, and sent it up. The Bill against Profanation of the Sabbath is under commitment. The Bill of Conventicles ready to be reported from the Committee to the House. Munday will be the great tryall at the Old Baily of those that wounded Sir John Coventry; Simon Parry onely hath renderd himselfe beside Wroth and Lake, which were under baile. I remain, Gentlemen, &c., your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Mar. 11, 1670-71.

The King with reservations is to issue his 'Proclamation' against 'Papist recusants.' This Letter has important *data* also. 'Defalked' = deducted.

Letter CLXXXIX. To THE SAME.

‘ March 16, 1670-1.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I TOLD you in my last of a clause of incoragement to be given by the King for exporting of Corne, which is since past by the Grand Committee thus: that when wheat exceeds not 48. rye 36. and malt and barley 28. the quarter, the customers shall allow the exporter 4s. 6d. 4s. and ten groats a quarter respectively. Also for incoragement of exporting Coale, that Sea Coale, the chaldron, Newcastle measure, exported, shall in English vessells pay but 1s. London measure, 8d. and Pit Coale, 8d. but in forain vessells, 8s. Newcastle measure; 5s. 4d. London measure; Pit Coale, the tun; and so where I mentioned it before, 5s. 4d. There is a severe prohibitive clause against importing of Brandy put in by the Grand Committee into this Bill, because the Lords delay to passe the Bill of Prohibition which we sent them up long ago. Yesterday we being toward the conclusion of this Bill on forain commodities, the Grand Committee divided whether there should be an estimate how much this Bill amounted to, casting up what had bin defalked, and what additions made in it since the first project, but it was carried in the negative by 108 against 74. Then they divided whether it should be given for nine or but for six years: it was carryd for nine years by 105 against 78. We conceive this and the addition on Beere and Ale amount to 300,000l. a year at least; so that the one for nine years, the other for six years, are sure a faire supply to 1,300,000l. debt, beside the Subsidy Bill given over and above, and the Law Bill, which for ought I see we must yet enter upon and

go thorow with. His Majesty upon the addresse of both Houses on Munday, about Papists, said, he would issue his Proclamation against Priests, &c. and cause the laws to be executed against those that had lately turnd; but he must have respect for such as had bin so educated, and merited in the service of himself and his father. I doubt not but that we shall hinder the Dover Peer from coming into a Bill, or however from passing. I am, your humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, Mar. 16, 1670-71.

The 'Conventicles' Act is 'softened.' The meetings are not to be 'riots.'

Letter CXC. To THE SAME.

'March 23rd, 1670-1.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you the House hath been for the most part taken up with the Bill upon forain Commodities, which to-day hath been red ingrossd. The clause of exporting coales and corn upon the conditions I writ you do stand so in the Bill, onely this addition as to Corne, that onely our own ships shall receive that allowance of so much a quarter upon exportation, the incouragement of our own navigation having prevaild against that of the land owners, after severall long debates. Though we have sat to-day morning and evening, yet so many things are offerd by addition after the ingrossing, that we shall not have ended till to-morrow; especially one long proviso for the prohibiting of Brandy, imposing 3s. per gallon upon what shall be found after the 1st of May, 1671; but that if any export it before the 1st of November, to be repayd

his mony, or security vacated. The Bill of Conventicles hath bin re-committed, and ready again to be reported. The clause that makes them riots is thrown out, and severall other clauses softned, so that the most materiall thing now left in it, is onely indemnity to such as have exceeded in prosecuting the law, except such as have not restord overplus of distresses, or have detain'd the fines in their own hands. The Paper Bill hath bin once red. We do hamper the Dover accounts so well at the Committee, that we shall keep them of from bringing in any Bill this session. I am, &c.

Westminster, March 23rd, 1670-71.

The King of Sweden is again brought up in the matter of 'shipping.'

Letter CXCI. TO THE SAME.

'March 25, 1671.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

ALTHOUGH we have sat but one day since my last, and all that we have done since hath been to expedite the Bill of forain Commodities, which is now ready to be sent up to the Lords on Munday; I thought it convenient to give you notice thereof, in order to give you account of the successe of the petition concerning the Swedish shipping, and the advantages they have over us: the matter thereof was upon the debate of the House, among other things, refer'd to the Grand Committee, and although we spoke with the members of several ports, who did concern themselves likewise therein, yet between the consideration of the treaties betwixt the two crowns, and the retaliation that we were in this case to expect from Sweden; we could not make strength enough to get thorow with it. And though

nevertheless at the reporting of the Bill from the Committee to the House, they were again moved therein, yet it would not passe; so that there is no remedy at present to be had but for others also to make themselves capable of the Swedish privileges; and iron stands no otherwise regulated then to pay the 10s. per tun, according to this additionall Bill. Which though we are very sensible of, and of your being frustrated of so reasonable an expectation, yet we are confident you will not attribute to any defect on our part, but however acquiesce in the present judgement of the House, which we must all submit to. This is all I have at present, but to remain, &c.

Westm., March 25, 1671.

Still the 'Conventicles' Act engages 'the House.' If only they could have seen the wisdom of letting them alone! How many bloody and infamous pages of History might then have been unwritten!

Letter CXCII. TO THE SAME.

'April 6, 1671.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THAT I have not writ so lately has bin for no other cause but that the House having bin taken up with the imposition upon proceedings at law, that Bill dos not afford much matter for a letter. Yet on Thursday last the Bill of Conventicles was reported. The debate turned into that principall question, whether there should not be indemnity as well for those who have bin punished by the former law as for them who have overacted in the execution of it. This being carryd in the negative by 77 against 53, the question for ingrosment passed without dividing the House again; so it was yesterday red the third time and sent up to the Lords; but our House

divided upon it 74 against 53: the Lords red it once, and divided for throwing it out, but it was retained by the odds of two voices. The Lords have not yet returnd our Bill upon forain Commoditys, wherein they have made many very considerable alterations, having particularly thrown out the whole clause concerning Brandy, as contrary to the proceedings of Parliament betwixt the two Houses; so that we are like to have very great and hazardous conferences with them upon that Bill. It is impossible we should rise before the very brinke of Easter. I am, Gentlemen, &c., your very affectionate, &c.,

April 6, [1671.]

We still stave of Dover peere.

The King's debt to the Prince of Orange—to be paid by the King with the 'grant' conceded. Neither King nor courtier, male or female, to wear 'forain manufactures,' &c.

Letter CXCI. TO THE SAME.

'April 13, 1671.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Bill upon Proceedings at Law hath since my last been sent up to the Lords, and they have made so good dispatch with it, that it is returnd to us already without any amendment. It is given for nine years. A debt that his Majesty hath long owd to the Prince of Orange, was used among other inducements to give it for so long a time; and it is voted that the Speaker, when he shall deliver the Bill to the King, shall mention it. But whereas there was a motion made to apply a clause to this Bill, whereby all these mony bills, except that of Subsidy, might be affixed to the payment of his Majesty's debts, it was upon debate rejected as impracticable, by reason of the

anticipations upon his revenue; and the Speaker onely orderd at the same time also to desire his Majesty that he would appropriate a summe equivalent to these aids to the discharging of his debts. We have now to-day considerd of their Lordships amendments unto the Bill of forain Commodities, wherein they have made many alterations in many matters, having altered the imposition on Sugars, thrown out the clauses of Corn, of Coales, of Brandy, in which our House hath wholly disagreed, orderd a Committee to consider of reasons for a conference, and have besides made a solempne vote, That aids given by the Commons ought not to be altered. Insomuch that considering the present temper of both Houses, there is some hazard that this Bill may be lost betwixt them; but however Brandy may more probably continue at the old 8d. per gallon only; the Houses being in that point so farr intangled in the manner of their proceedings, that it will be very difficult to find the right way back to an agreement. We daily expect an Act of Grace from his Majesty for the kingdome, which will come very welcome, and is already prepared. We labour every day and night almost at the Committee to hinder the report from the Committee of the necessity of continuing that Act, and hitherto we have prevailed. The Lords and we have agreed on an addresse to his Majesty, that he weare no forain manufacture, and discountenance whether man or woman at Court that shall weare them. We have sent up the Bill for the Lord's Day. I am, &c.

April 13, 1671.

Again 'a question of privilege.' 'Hull is to be a free port.'
'The King—for it.' "Long live the King!!!"

Letter CXCIV. To THE SAME.

'April 18, 1671.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, we desired a conference with the Lords upon their amendments of the bill of foraine Commodities. Our Managers there being so directed by the House, did not insist upon our general vote, that no aids given by the Commons ought to be alterd in the value by the Lords; but only that no impositions upon Merchandize ought to be alterd (which was the proper case of this Bill) and over and above gave particular reasons against each amendment, according to the nature of the matter respectively. The Lords hereupon have voted, *nemine contradicente*, that what they have done in this bill is as to the matter, measure, and time, a fundamentall and inherent right of their Lordships; and from which they could not depart. And since that they have been preparing themselves with reasons and precedents in order to desire another conference with us. But we have not yet heard from them, and however it is at present certainly supposed that both Houses are so firme to their contrary resolutions, that this Bill will fall betwixt us. And therefore, that his Majesty, passing such Bills as are in readynesse, and he approves of, will to-morrow, or next day, prorogue us. And I heare the Commission for proroguing us is ingrossing. Most say the prorogation will be for a very short time, that so this Bill, the bone of contention, being cut off thereby, another may be offerd next meeting, of the same nature but more consonant to the

inclination of both Houses. Others say the prorogation will be till next February ; but of these things I believe I shall next post be able to give you the certainty. The Bill against Papists, and against Conventicles, are both also like to fall by this means. Yesternight, at 10 o'clock, the Committee gained a vote to report their opinion to the House, that an Act should be brought in to continue the levy for Dover Peere upon shipping, but they have not bin able to get the report in, and it likewise will fall to nothing. Here is a thing in motion, not in Parliament, but by his Majesty's favor, to make Hull a free port, and he is for it. I shall write you more of this shortly. The Act of Grace will scarce come down, because we have not given all the Aids.

I am, your humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

April 18, 1671.

"A plague of both your Houses," I daresay expressed 'his Majesty's' sentiments. At any rate he—prorogues, since there was "no present medium of reconciliation." This prorogation was several times renewed, and Parliament did not sit again till Feb. 5th, 1673.

Letter CXCv. To THE SAME.

'April 22, 1671.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

TO-DAY the House of Commons having desired a conference of the Lords, read and delivered to them an answer to what the Lords had delivered to them at a former conference. To speak in short, the two Houses were so directly contradictory in their affections concerning the power of the Lords in altering of rates, &c. that his Majesty, there being no present medium of reconciliation to be found, thought fit

to-day to prorogue us. So that the Bill of forain Commodities is falln to the ground, and the other Bills that I writ of in my Tuesday letter, except that of the London Ministers. I shall take care that you have the paper of the Lords, and ours; this last, indeed, deserving all men's curiosity, and, I think, approbation, though the Lords have voted our reasons unsatisfactory. We are prorogued till the 16th of Aprill next. Dover Peere was not able to get in its report; so that matter is expired. I have sent you a cursory catalogue of the Bills now past, all which have anything of publick nature; but in all there were four or five and thirty. When they are in print I shall take care to send you them.

I am, &c.

Westm., Apr. 22, 1671.

Still other private Letters—undated—. The reference to 'Prince Edgar' as 'dying' informs us it must have been written before 8th June, 1671, when the poor young thing, after a lingering illness, died. Parliament was still proceeding, and they were prorogued 22nd April to April of next year. The reference to Sir John Coventry's bill suggests, about 4th February or in latter half of that week. See the February letters. Edgar was 4th son and 6th child of James, Duke of York, by his 1st wife, Anne Hyde; born 14th Sep., 1667. The Letter therefore finds place here. The closing sentences are portentous.

Letter CXCVI. To William Ramsden, Esq.

[Undated.]

DEAR WILL,

THE Parliament are still proceeding, but not much advanced on their eight hundred thousand pounds Bill on money at interest, offices, and lands; and the Excise Bills valued at four hundred thousand pounds a year. The first for the navy, which scarce will be set out. The last to be for paying one

million three hundred thousand pounds, which the King owes at interest, and perhaps may be given for four, five, or six years, as the House chances to be in humour. But an accident happened which liked to have spoiled all : Sir John Coventry having moved for an imposition on the playhouses, Sir John Berkenhead, to excuse them, sayed they had been of great service to the King. Upon which Sir John Coventry desired that gentleman to explain whether he meant the men or women players. Hereupon it is imagined, that, the House adjourning from Tuesday before till Thursday after Christmas-day, on the very Tuesday night of the adjournment twenty-five of the Duke of Monmouth's troop, and some few foot, layed in wait from ten at night till two in the morning, by Suffolk-street, and as he returned from the Cock, where he supped, to his own house, they threw him down, and with a knife cut off almost all the end of his nose ; but company coming made them fearful to finish it, so they marched off. Sir Thomas Sands, lieutenant of the troop, commanded the party ; and O'brian, the Earl of Inchequin's son, was a principal actor. The Court hereupon sometimes thought to carry it with an high hand, and question Sir John for his words, and maintain the action. Sometimes they flagged in their counsels. However the King commanded Sir Thomas Clarges, and Sir W. Pultney, to release Wroth and Lake, who were two of the actors, and taken. But the night before the House met they surrendered them again. The House being but sullen the next day, the Court did not oppose adjourning for some days longer till it was filled. Then the House went upon Coventry's busyness, and voted that they would go upon nothing else whatever till they had passed a Bill, as

they did, for Sands, O'Brian, Parry, and Reeves, to come in by the sixteenth of February, or else be condemned, and never to be pardoned, but by an express Act of Parliament, and their names therein inserted, for fear of being pardoned in some general act of grace. Farther, all such actions, for the future on any man, felony, without clergy; and who shall otherwise strike or wound any parliament-man, during his attendance, or going or coming, imprisonment for a year, treble damages, and incapacity. This Bill having in some few days been dispatched to the Lords, the House has since gone on in grand Committee upon the first eight hundred thousand pounds Bill, but are not yet half way. But now the Lords, instead of the sixteenth of February, put twenty-five days after the King's royal assent, and that registered in their journal; they disagree in several other things, but adhere in that first, which is most material. Adhere, in this place, signifies not to be retracted, and excludes a free conference. So that this week the Houses will be in danger of splitting, without much wisdom or force. For considering that Sir Thomas Sands was the very person sent to Clarges and Pultney, that O'Brian was concealed in the Duke of Monmouth's lodgings, that Wroth and Lake were bayled at the sessions by order from Mr. Attorney, and that all persons and things are perfectly discovered, that act will not be passed without great consequence. George's father obliges you much in Tangier. Prince Edgar is dying. The Court is at the highest pitch of want and luxury, and the people full of discontent. Remember me to yourselves.

Another private undated Letter from its reference to the death of the Duchess of York (who died 31st March, 1671) may follow preceding. There is intimation of a prospective visit on 'an honest fair employment to Ireland' by Marvell. One would like to trace him thither and on what? The gossip-history is elucidated by the public letters: too notorious to call for further annotation. But a comparison of the preceding letters shews this to have been subsequent to the last, and others.

Letter CXCVII. To William Ramsden, Esq.

· · · [Undated.]

DEAR WILL,

I THINK I have not told you that, on our Bill of Subsidy, the Lord Lucas made a fervent bold speech against our prodigality in giving, and the weak looseness of the government, the King being present; and the Lord Clare another to persuade the King that he ought not to be present. But all this had little encouragement, not being seconded. Copies going about every where, one of them was brought into the Lords House, and Lord Lucas was asked whether it was his. He sayd part was, and part was not. Thereupon they took advantage, and sayed it was a libel even against Lucas himself. On this they voted it a libel, and to be burned by the hangman. Which was done; but the sport was, the hangman burned the Lords order with it. I take the last quarrel betwixt us and the Lords to be as the ashes of that speech. Doubtless you have heard, before this time, how Monmouth, Albemarle, Dunbane, and seven or eight gentlemen, fought with the watch, and killed a poor bedle. They have all got their pardons, for Monmouth's sake; but it is an act of great scandal. The King of France is at Dunkirke. We have no fleet out, though we gave the Subsidy Bill, valued at eight hundred thousand pounds, for that purpose.

I believe indeed he will attempt nothing on us, but leave us to dy a natural death. For indeed never had poor nation so many complicated, mortal, incurable, diseases. You know the Dutchess of York is dead. All gave her for a Papist. I think it will be my lot to go on an honest fair employment into Ireland. Some have smelt the court of Rome at that distance. There I hope I shall be out of the smell of our

Your's, &c.

Here is another singularly full and truly Marvellian private Letter that gives us *autobiographic* touches of the rarest value as well as facts, e.g. being in Spain. There are incisively-put political opinions also—as ‘The King having upon pretence,’ &c. . . . ‘the number of the constant courtiers increased by the apostate patriots,’ &c. ‘We truckle to France,’ &c. All honour to the Earl of Clare! All dis-honour to the ‘Duchess of Cleveland’ as herein described! All the other names familiar save ‘Angier,’ who was Francis Aungier, eldest son of Rev. Dr. Ambrose Aungier; succeeded his uncle Gerald as 3rd Baron Aungier in 1655; created Viscount Longford 8th Nov., 1675: Earl of Longford 18th Decr., 1677: died 22nd Decr., 1700. Of ‘Blud’ see Poems (Vol. I. p. 417).

Letter CXCVIII. To a Friend in Persia.

‘August 9, 1671.’

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE yours of the 12th of October, 1670, which was in all respects most wellcome to me, except when I considered that to write it you endured some pain, for you say your hand is not yet recovered. If I could say any thing to you towards the advancement of your affairs, I could, with a better conscience, admit you should spend so much of your precious time, as you do, upon me. But you know how far those things are out of my road, tho’, otherwise, most desirous in all things to be serviceable to you. God’s

good providence, which hath through so dangerous a disease and so many difficultys preserved and restored you, will, I doubt not, conduct you to a prosperous issue, and the perfection of your so laudable undertakings. And, under that, your own good genius, in conjunction with your brother here, will, I hope, though at the distance of England and Persia, in good time operate extraordinary effects; for the magnetism of two souls, rightly touched, works beyond all natural limits, and it would be indeed too unequal, if good nature should not have at least as large a sphere of activity, as malice, envy, and detraction, which are, it seems, part of the returns from Gombroon and Surat. All I can say to you in that matter is, that you must, seeing it will not be better, stand upon your guard; for in this world a good cause signifys little, unless it be as well defended. A man may starve at the feast of good conscience. My fencing-master in Spain, after he had instructed me all he could, told me, I remember, there was yet one secret, against which there was no defence, and that was, to give the first blow. I know your maxim, *Qui festinat ditescere, non erit innocens*. Indeed while you preserve that mind, you will have the blessing both of God and man. In general I perceive, and am very glad of it, that by your good management, your friends here get ground, and the flint in your adversaries' hearts begins to be mollified. Now, after my usual method, leaving to others what relates to busyness, I address myself, which is all I am good for, to be your gazettier. I am sorry to perceive that mine by the Armenian miscarried. Tho' there was nothing material in it, the thoughts of friends are too valuable to fall into the hands of a stranger. I wrote the last February at large, and

wish it a better passage. In this perhaps I may interfere something with that, chusing rather to repeat than omit. The King having, upon pretence of the great preparations of his neighbours, demanded three hundred thousand pounds for his navy, (though in conclusion he hath not set out any) and that the Parliament should pay his debts, which the ministers would never particularize to the House of Commons, our House gave several bills. You see how far things were stretched, though beyond reason, there being no satisfaction how those debts were contracted, and all men foreseeing that what was given would not be applyed to discharge the debts, which I hear are at this day risen to four millions, but diverted as formerly. Nevertheless such was the number of the constant courtiers increased by the apostate patriots, who were bought off, for that turn, some at six, others ten, one at fifteen thousand pounds in mony, besides what offices, lands, and reversions, to others, that it is a mercy they gave not away the whole land, and liberty, of England. The Earl of Clare made a very bold and rational harangue, the King being present, against the King's sitting among the Lords, contrary to former precedents, during their debates; but he was not seconded. The King had this April prorogued, upon the Houses cavilling, and their harsh conferences concerning some bills, the Parliament from this April till the 16th of April, 1672. Sir John Coventry's Bill against Cutting Noses passed, and O'Brian and Sir Thomas Sands, not appearing at the Old Baily by the time limited, stand attainted and outlawed, without possibility of pardon. The Duke of Buckingham is again one hundred and forty thousand pounds in debt, and, by this prorogation, his creditors

have time to tear all his lands in pieces. The House of Commons has run almost to the end of their line, and are grown extreme chargeable to the King, and odious to the people. Lord St. John, Marquess of Westminster's son, one of the House of Commons, Sir Robert Howard, Sir John Benet Lord Arlington's brother, Sir William Bucknoll the brewer, all of the House, in fellowship with some others of the city, have farmed the old customs, with the new act of Imposition upon Wines. and the Wine Licenses, at six hundred thousand pounds a year, to begin this Michaelmas. Yov may be sure they have covenants not to be losers. They have signed and sealed ten thousand pounds a year more to the Duchess of Cleveland, who has likewise near ten thousand pounds a year out of the new farm of the country excise of Beer and Ale, five thousand pounds a year out of the Post Office, and, they say, the reversion of all the King's leases, the reversion of places all in the Custom House, the green wax, and indeed, what not? All promotions, spiritual and temporal, pass under her cognizance. Buckingham runs out of all with the Lady Shrewsbury, by whom he believes he had a son, to whom the King stood godfather; it dyed young Earl of Coventry, and was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers. The King of France made a warlike progresse this summer through his conquests of Flanders, but kept the peace there, and detains still the Dutchy of Lorain, and has stired up the German Princes against the free towns. The Duke of Brunswick has taken the town of Brunswick; and now the Bishop of Cullen is attacking the city of Colen. We truckle to France in all things, to the prejudice of our honour. Barclay is still Lieutenant of Ireland; but he was forced to

come over to pay ten thousand pounds rent to his Landlady Cleveland. My Lord Angier, who bought of Sir George Carteret, for eleven thousand pounds, the Vicetreasurership of Ireland, worth five thousand pounds a year, is, betwixt knavery and foolery, turned out. Dutchess of York, and Prince Edgar, dead. None left but daughters. One Blud, outlawed for a plot to take Dublin Castle, and who seized on the Duke of Ormond here last year, and might have killed him, a most bold, and yet sober fellow, some months ago seized the crown and sceptre in the Tower, took them away, and if he had killed the keeper, might have carryed them clear off. He, being taken, astonished the King and Court, with the generosity, and wisdom, of his answers. He, and all his accomplices, for his sake, are discharged by the King, to the wonder of all.

Yours, &c.

April 9, 1671.

At Trinity House this Extract, preserved—of the irrepressible 'Sir Philip' again: as in the next two Letters now first printed.

Letter CXCIX. The coppies of a peice of a letter out of Mr. Marvell's, and sent by Mr. Popple to this House, the 17th Feb., 1672, with a paper reserved by him from Sir Ph. Frowd.

DEAR BROTHER,

AS for the busines at London Trinitie house, they have still put it of, and if they be prest to certifie, which 'tis probable they may, they are resolved to certifie the contrary, but should it prove otherwise, wheresoever it fall, I doubt not but to have acceptable conditions for your House. I send you here, and pray send it me backe, the state of Sir Philip's

affaires, as he gave it me tother day. As for convoy I understand the Duke has appointed Robinson with 18 gunnes, and another frigate about 30.

[Here the letter is cut of.]

There are new Litigants in the Light-house business—one named Angel who seems rather to have been of the ‘devil’ or evil-spirit tribe, full of all greed and mischief, and insistent.

Letter CC. [No address.]

‘April 18, 1672.’

SIR,

IN answer to yours and Mr. Harris’s of the 13th Aprill, which I received this last post, I believe Colonell Gilby is not in towne; for I saw him not at the meeting of Parliament last Tuesday, neither have I heard of him lately here. So that I must adventure to give you my single opinion, submitting to better judgements. I thinke that Mr. Angell’s pretense unlesse he unite with Sir Philip Frowd, will prove as others have formerly, unsuccessfull. And no probability that Sir Philip will close with him upon so moderate an undertaking as you mention. Neverthelessse if as you write, Mr. Angel hath desired your approbation upon reasonable termes, truly I thinke you will do well to hearken to them. For if Mr. Angel can obtaine the Patent upon a mutuall understanding betwixt you, you shall have so farre prevented the greedy appetites of those who have been so many years gaping after this profit. But if his indevors prove ineffectuall, you are but as you were. I could indeed be jealous lest your approbation and subscriptions being added to the rest should but give more life to Sir Philip’s grant and your farthing may serve but as a stick for him to graft his half-penny or penny upon. But when I consider his

Majestye's equity and the many burthens already laid upon navigation, I am the lesse prone to thinke that of the two loads his Majesty would chuse to impose the heavyer. Besides that Mr. Angell's being owner of the site of Spurn-head is methinks no improper foundation to goe to worke upon. This is the best that I can thinke at present, for which I desire your excuse, remaining Sir.

[Next leaf wanting.]

April 18, 1672.

Letter CCI. For the Wor'pfull Mr. George Acklam,
one of the Aldermen of Kingston upon Hull.

'May 14th, 1672.'

SIR,

IN answer to yours and Mr. Harris his of the 7th May, I have since been severall times with Mr. Angell and twice at the Rolls: I did not find it necessary to put you to the charge of a Counsell, the businesse being onely to examine the Records, which I have done carefully, and find thus. There is first of all a Lease from the crown the 17th of March, the 29th of Queen Elizabeth, to Sir Christopher Hilyard, for 40 years, among other lands of six acres of land *cum pertinentijs*, called Raven Spurne, and of foure acres of land neare Ravenssea, called Cong-hill, bounded on the one side with the river Humber. On the 29th of Aug., in the 7th of King James, I find these lands described exactly as before, sold and confirmed by Letters Patent, to Robert Angell and John Walker. Then upon the 23rd of May, in the 9th of King James, I find the same lands sold by deed inrolld in Chancery by the said Robert Angell and John Walker to William Angell and his heires. These are all in the Rolls. After which I find this,

Mr. Justinian Angell, of Crowhurst, in the county of Surry, son and heire to William Angell above said, doth convey to this Justinian Angel, his younger sonne, the said lands of Raven Spurne and Cong-hill. So that upon perusall of the whole I do not find that there is any flaw at all in Mr. Angell's right to these grounds, if these be the proper place for erecting of the Light-houses deliberated upon. The next thing therefore which you committed to me being to perceive what termes he stands upon in relation to your House or otherwise, I have also discoursed that with him, and this he sayes that at the same instant when he hath your certificate and desire for the Lights according to his proposall of a farthing, &c. he will on his part give you the best security as Councell shall advise for establishing 50li. per annum for the poore of the Trinity house, from the time that the light-mony shall begin to be payd, as long as it shall continue. I have insisted to have more. He intended to have come this night, and perhaps yet may, to my lodging, that we might have writ more distinctly of these things. But it grows darke so that I dare not venture any longer on the Post, and perhaps it will be as well for me to receive your further thoughts before we go further. In the meanetime pray present my service to your worthy Society, as I am no lesse,

Sir,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

May 14th, 1672.

Another private Letter. Fires abounding—perilous to give news. The great John de-Witt, who is introduced into the

‘Last Instructions’ (Vol. I. p. 269), “is stabbed.” Peace was not made till 1674.

Letter CCII. To William Ramsden, Esq.

‘June, 1672.’

DEAR WILL,

AFFAIRS begin to alter, and men talk of a peace with Holland, and taking them into our protection; and it is my opinion it will be before Michaelmas, for some reasons not fit to write. We cannot have a peace with France and Holland both. The Dutch are now brought very low; but Amsterdam, and some other provinces, are resolved to stand out till the last. De-wit is stabbed, and dead of his wounds. It was at twelve a clock at night, the 11th of this month, as he came from the council at the Hague. Four men wounded him with their swords. But his own letter next morning to the States says nothing appeared mortal. The whole Province of Utrecht is yielding up. No man can conceive the condition of the State of Holland, in this juncture, unless he can at the same time conceive an earthquake, an hurricane, and the deluge. France is potent and subtle. Here have been several fires of late. One at St. Catharine’s, which burned about six score or two hundred houses, and some seven or eight ships. Another in Bishopsgate-street. Another in Crichton Fryars. Another in Southwark; and some elsewhere. You may be sure all the old talk is hereupon revived. There was the other day, though not on this occasion, a severe proclamation issued out against all who shall vent false news, or discourse ill concerning affairs of state. So that in writing to you I run the risque of making a breach in the commandment.

Your, &c.

June, 1672.

Here is a very beautiful, soft, tender Letter. It is undated ; but ought to have been placed along with the Epitaphs [See pp. 214—217]. There is nothing however in this letter that makes non-adherence to chronology of much moment. Still, be it noted that this Letter belongs to 1667. Sir John Trott was of Leverstoke, Hants, and was created a baronet 12th October, 1660. He died 14th July, 1672. Uncomfortable = uncomforted.

Letter CCIII. To Sir John Trott. [Undated.]

HONOURED SIR,

I HAVE not that vanity to believe, if you weigh your late loss by the common ballance, that any thing I can write to you should lighten your resentments : nor if you measure things by the rules of christianity, do I think it needful to comfort you in your duty and your son's happyness. Only having a great esteen and affection for you, and the grateful memory of him that is departed being still green and fresh upon my spirit, I cannot forbear to inquire, how you have stood the second shock at your sad meeting of friends in the country. I know that the very sight of those who have been witnesses of our better fortune, doth but serve to reinforce a calamity. I know the contagion of grief, and infection of tears, and especially when it runs in a blood. And I myself could sooner imitate than blame those innocent relentings of nature, so that they spring from tenderness only and humanity, not from an implacable sorrow. The tears of a family may flow together like those little drops that compact the rainbow, and if they be placed with the same advantage towards Heaven as those are to the sun, they too have their splendor ; and like that bow, while they unbend into seasonable showers, yet they promise, that there shall not be a second flood. But the dissoluteness of grief, the prodigality of sorrow, is neither to be

indulged in a man's self, nor complied with in others. If that were allowable in these cases, Eli's was the readiest way and highest compliment of mourning, who fell back from his seat and broke his neck. But neither does that precedent hold. For though he had been Chancellor, and in effect King of Israel, for so many years, (and such men value, as themselves, their losses at an higher rate than others) yet, when he heard that Israel was overcome, that his two sons Hophni and Phineas were slain in one day, and saw himself so without hope of issue, and which im-bittered it farther, without succession to the government, yet he fell not till the news that the ark of God was taken: I pray God that we may never have the same parallel perfected in our publick concernments. Then we shall need all the strength of grace and nature to support us. But on a private loss, and sweetened with so many circumstances as yours, to be impatient, to be uncomfortable, would be to dispute with God. Though an only son be inestimable, yet it is like Jonah's sin, to be angry at God for the withering of his shadow. Zipporah, though the delay had almost cost her husband his life, yet, when he did but circumcise her son, in a womanish peevishness reproached Moses as a bloody husband. But if God take the son himself, but spare the father, shall we say, that He is a bloody God? He that gave His own son, may He not take ours? It is pride that makes a rebel; and nothing but the over-weening of ourselves and our own things that raises us against Divine Providence. Whereas Abraham's obedience was better than sacrifice. And if God please to accept both, it is indeed a farther tryal, but a greater honour. I could say over upon this beaten occasion most of those

lessons of morality and religion which have been so often repeated, and are as soon forgotten. We abound with precept, but we want examples. You, Sir, that have all these things in your memory, and the clearness of whose judgment is not to be obscured by any greater interposition, should be exemplary to others in your own practice. 'Tis true, it is an hard task to learn and teach at the same time. And, where yourselves are the experiment, it is as if a man should dissect his own body, and read the anatomy lecture. But I will not heighten the difficulty while I advise the attempt. Only, as in difficult things, you would do well to make use of all that may strengthen and assist you; the word of God; the society of good men; and the books of the ancients; there is one way more, which is by diversion, business, and activity; which are also necessary to be used in their season. But I myself, who live to so little purpose, can have little authority or ability to advise you in it, who are a person that are and may be much more so, generally useful. All that I have been able to do since, hath been to write this sorry Elogy of your son, which if it be as good as I could wish, it is as yet no indecent employment. However, I know you will take any thing kindly from your very affectionate friend, and most humble servant.

Again the endless 'Light-house' business returns and 'Mr. Angell,' &c., &c.

Letter CCIV. For Mr. Thomas Coates at Hull.

'June 13, 1672.'

SIR,

IN answer to yours and Mr. Harris's of the 4th June, I have spoke to-day with Mr. Angell and did communicate to him what was proper of your letter.

He seems notwithstanding what I could say to him, resolute to keep all in his own hand, presuming no other place to be fit but his land, and that he descending to the lowest value, none can impose upon him, and that he is qualify'd and strong enough to make the best of his own. But upon further discourse with him this he agrees to, and promised me that he would write to you to-night to the same purpose, that if the Trinity house of Hull please to certify in his behalfe, and further to use their interest with the Trinity house of London, so that they likewise shall certify without bargaining any share for themselves, that then he will assure you instead of 50li. which was before, 80li. a yeare, for the benefit of your poore, to commence from the first payment of the light-mony; but to give you security that he will so doe, at the same time that your certificate shall first be delivered to him. When I have told you this, I do not thinke fit to add any byas to it of mine own, remitting all unto your prudence as it is most fit. And further whereas I perceive by him to-day that he wrote something to you formerly to desire you to give me power to conclude with him, it was without my privity, and if you were so disposed I should positively request the contrary. For though I do not question mine own integrity, yet I must distrust my single discretion in transacting concerning your interest in a thing of that moment, and which is especially very intricate, if more then Mr. Angel be to be treated with and accommodated. But I shall desire that you will give him some kind of resolution as to this last proposall, either by this or the next post; for he is hasty and I gave him some hopes of it, and wherein you judge I may serve you while I am in towne, I shall never be unwilling to

observe your House's directions, being your and their affectionate friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

'Sir Philip Frowde' seeks 'tidings' from Trinity House, Hull; 'Mr. Angell' is evidently quickening him to a decision—and yet he will disappear in the Correspondence with the matter as unsettled as at first, albeit he lived on.

Letter CCV. For Mr. Thomas Coats and Mr. John Harris, Wardens of the worshipfull Society of the Trinity house of Kingston upon Hull.

'June 22, 1672.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

HAVING received yester night your letter of the 18th, according to which I shall regulate myselfe upon occasion, I have not further at present then to acquaint you that upon Thursday last I accidentally did light into Sir Philip Frowd's company, and he askd me whether I had not somthing to him from the Trinity house, and added that he knew I had; to which I replied that all I had from you was to imploy some fit person to treat with him; for indeed I told him I had been so unhappy in former discourses with him as to meet with such delays, uncertaintyes and repugnances that I was tired out of the businesse; yet neverthelesse if there might be any probability of negotiating to more purpose, I would wait upon him yet as often and where he pleased. He answered me that the Trinity house and he were now upon better termes, and that as soon as the terme was over he would send to me. I said I was glad of it and would not faile to wait his motion. Also yester night Mr. Angel came to my lodging and imparted what you had writ to him, and seemed to expostulate as if you had made formerly some promise to him and

that it could not be expected unlesse the thing were effected that you should have the allowance for your poore, and that what he writ was onely as proposalls and means of better effecting it rather then any conditions imposed upon you. He seemed much to resent his having been obliged to show you his title, and for the rest appeared very confident of his own design. I answerd him what was fitting, not discovering any commission that I had to treat with Sir Philip. I remaine,

Gentlemen, &c.,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., June 22, 1672.

Still the Light-house business, with graphic touches and astounding patience. These all hitherto unprinted Letters may be read right on without almost any 'note or comment.'

Letter CCVI. For my very worthy friend, Mr.
Thomas Coates, these Hull.

' July 4, 1672.'

SIR,

HAVING received a letter of the 28th June from you and Mr. Harris, this is to acquaint you that in pursuance thereof I have since been with Sir Philip Frowd. It is unnecessary to particularize what difficulty he still made concerning the lownesse of the rate, and the yearly value according to that rate. For in conclusion, I refusing to write to you as he desired of those things as having been so long both under your and his consideration, and tending onely to delay if not misunderstanding, he assented that I should advertise you that he is content to proceed

upon those three principall grounds which you limited me to. That is to say: first, that the imposition shall not exceed a farthing and halfe-penny. Next, that one-third thereof be to your use and propriety. Lastly, that he will beare two-thirds of the whole expense, you making up the other part. And the next weeke, he having indeed some just excuse at present upon settling his businesse in the Post-office, we appointed to meet againe in order to the drawing up such articles betwixt you as may lead and bind to the performance of the above said. And indeed it is fit that he should give you very good security in a thing of that concernment. As also that you please to consider in what way you will transmitt either your security or authority hither to the same purpose. For it is of absolute necessity that those things be perfected on both sides before any step be made further towards a Patent. Therefore I shall be glad to heare from you still as oft as you shall judge materiall, and that as soon too as the businesse will beare. For beside the convenience which is in carrying things on with the maturest expedition, we shall be forced to allow some time more then ordinary for Sir Philip's usuall deliberation; he being neither too quick nor over certain even in affairs that tend to his own advantage. I have nothing more at present, but after my service, which I intend you to present to your worthy Society, to assure you and your partner that I am,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., July 4th, 1673.

‘No address;’ but to Mr. Richard Lindall. See next Letter and next.

Letter CCVII. [No address.]

‘Nov. 2, 1672.’

SIR,

AT my retorne to towne on Tuesday, I found yours of the 25th October. Your businesse hath not on my part had the lest delay. I have spoke with Sir Philip since my coming, and he desired me to write to the House that he doth still continue certain to the former resolutions taken betwixt us, and that the later end of the next week he shall be wholly released from his former partners, and that then he will proceed with me immediately to perfect Articles to be drawn betwixt you and him, and then to take out the Patent. I do not believe there is any fraud in him, though there has been some delay, but that we shall now shortly come to a good issue. Whereof therefore you may please to advertise your worthy Society, assuring them likewise that I am as yours, so their

Most affectionate servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Nov. 2, 1672.

Pray remember my respects to your Partner, Mr. Robert Wright.

Letter CCVIII. For Mr. Richard Lindall,
at Hull.

‘Nov. 14, 1672.’

SIR,

I HAVE spoken with Sir Philip since and this very night before I write my letter. He thanks you for the advertisement, and saith he had heard

something of it before. That he hath indevord, as before, to meet with his partners that were formerly, and that of the principall of them chancing not to be well, it could not be. But that in a very few days he shall without all doubt effect it. And that then we shall goe on with expedition. That as for Angel he has no feare of him; his businesse being already secured at Court. And indeed I am of that mind that Sir Philip is secure enough on the King's side. But therefore I tell him that we must get the Patent passe before Parliament, where onely Angel or any man else can make any impediment (and that I think can be very litle) Sir Philip seems to apprehend it so, and promises no neglect. I desire you to communicate this to your partner, Mr. Wright, and so to the House with my service.

I am, Sir,

Your very affectionate friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Nov. 14th, 1672.

Letter CCIX. To THE SAME.

‘Nov. 28, 1672.’

SIR,

I DESIRE that you and your partner, Mr. Wright, will informe the Trinity house that I have and do constantly attend their businesse. But indeed Sir Philip is, I can not say so negligent but so tedious that I think any one almost but mysele would be tired out with it. He layes it all upon the difficulty still of getting a meeting with all those persons that he hath bin formerly intangled with in Articles about the five Lights; though he saith 'tis so well understood among them that one meeting would make an end of it. I have layd out in the meantime

on all hands to learne anything elsewhere that may herein concern you. And I have found that Angell hath applyed himselfe to the king by petition and interessed my Lord Buckhurst and my Lord Hawley in the matter. And hereupon a reference was granted to the Trinity house here, that they might certify their judgements of the convenience or necessity of such a Light. I have a generall acquaintance with this Trinity house, having obliged them much in our last Session of Parliament by opposing a new Act for Dover peere and otherwise. And we have you know besides a very good friend there. So knowing that yesterday my Lord Buckhurst's agent and Angel would be there, I chose to dine with the Trinity house then, having been often invited. I found they had a full debate of it, and upon perusall of all their former papers concerning that affaire when we had to do with them in the same, they returnd for answer that they saw no reason for it without new matter produced. So that they (Angel and the rest) returnd very ill satisfyd. I have bin also to-day with Sir Philip who knew not so much and is well netled, and I told him that his slownesse was the occasion that these impediments grew daily upon us. He seemes sensible of it. I shall observe things very close, and do not yet apprehend but that all these accidents may be managed to your advantage. I shall very shortly write further. In the meanetime be pleased to present my service to your worthy Society, wherein you will oblige,

Sir,

Your very affectionate friend,
ANDREW MARVELL.

Westm., Nov. 28, 1672.

Letter CCX. For my much respected friend
Mr. Robert Wright, at Hull.

‘January 2, 1672-3.’

SIR,

In answer to yours subscribed by the rest of the gentlemen, Dec. 24th, I went to Sr. Jeremy [Smith] and discoursed with him concerning the most probable course for procuring convoy for you, both now and for the future. And his opinion then was that there being so many other considerable places as well as your port concerned, that it were best to joyn^e with them in a petition to his Highness for that purpose. And though we did at the same time consider that it would be something dilatory and longsome for you to effect such a subscription, yet he thought^t there was some impediment that would not so easily be removed as by your joint addresse; and that the doing of it once for all effectually might countervaile the detriment of time, which perhaps and probably might be as long if you went another way to work. This was the last we could then agree upon; but we appointed the next day to meet again about it. But I understood that he was suddenly commanded down the river, so that our meetieg having failed, I know not neither whether he had time or no; so that this imperfect advice and account is all I can at present nor could well sooner give you. As for that businesse of the Lights, it is in so much tediousnesse and uncertainty some pleasure to see, however, that Sr. Philip himself is thus hamperd. The Trinity house here are appointed to meet again about them, the last Wednesday of this moneth, when and before too I intend to wait on them. I am told that they will again certify against the erecting. And this as

things are at present seems the most desirable. That so the Court competition being extinguished there might a mutuall understanding be indeavourd betwixt the Trinity house and yours towards the setting up of these Lights, to the advantage of both Houses; which we sometimes talke of. I shall from time to time observe anything you please to direct, and give you advice of what here. I am, sir, yours and the rest of the gentlemen of the Society,

Most humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Letter CCXI. To Mr. Edmond Popple, at Hull.

[Post-mark, April 5, [1673] '—]

LOVINGE BROTHER,

I HAVE received the Trinity house's letter by the last post, and perceiving that you are Deputy-Warden at present, I shall desire you to communicate to those gentlemen my sense concerning that matter, which they themselves are much abler to judge of. I thinke it is fit that they return an answer within the time, in a civill but declinatory way. For though I do not see, considering our former transactions, how they can deny absolutely the convenience of such Lights thereabouts, yet it seems to me that upon the shortnesse of the time, the weight of the matter, your desire of giving a full reply to so considerable and prudent a Society, the absence of your Wardens and severall of your Masters, and any other just pretences which wise men can easily find when they desire not to speak cleare in a businesse, they may referre to a longer time, and to make a more satisfactory reply to their letter. But if it be thought fit to enter nearer and further into the

matter, I thinke it may not inconveniently be said that when severall times heretofore the same thing hath bin propounded, many of the ports have opposed it upon such and such reasons, and that you heare they still do so ; these great collections of hands that come men found themselves upon having been procured among the raffie of the meaner and most unexperienced mariners. But however if any time a Light there might be serviceable, yet in those times of warre it would be dangerous. Something also might be said or deliberated as to the particular place which might be most proper thereabout, not pitching upon any ; but that if they which are of all others the most knowing of such matters and the best judges, the Trinity house of Deptford Strand would think it worthy by any of their members to make an inspection upon the place, your House would be ready to accommodate and serve them to the best of your capacities. Besides it may not be as I humbly conceive, improper to mention the charge on navigation having much increased since the time you yourselves appeared in this businesse, and such kind of impositions, if necessary, yet where new, might much more naturally be diverted to the relief of poore seamen, their widows, or orphans, &c., then obtruded on the publick for a private advantage. This is what I thinke materiall, and submit it for you to add or relinquish as convenient. In generall, I think, considering how things depend, 'tis good that your letter be writ with such temper as that it may neither approve absolutely nor deny, but admit a construction suitable every way to your advantage. I went this morning to my friends at the other end of the town, whom if I had found at home I should have answered you more pertinently. Next Wed-

nesday is appointed by the Trinity house to give their resolution. I intend, God willing, to be there and give you account what passes. I pray present my service to the gentlemen of your House, assuring them that I am their most affectionate friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

It is interesting to note that this Letter is dated 'High-gate.' Let the Reader turn to Vol. III. (in 4to.) for an engraving of his House there. To 'Trinity House,' as before.

Letter CCXII. [No address.]

'June 24th, 1673.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE not long since in mine to my brothe[r] given you some account how the business [of the] Lights succeeded here at the Trinity House, [of] London; that the king and the Duke of York have been upon their report fully satisfyd of [the] inconvenience in that place, and in short that [Angell's] project with the two lords, his partners, is utterly quashed. I have now though somthing late by reason of my being out of towne, procured a copy of the Report here inclosed; which the king orderd the Duke to preserve carefully to stop the mouths of any pretenders for the future; and which it will concern you also to keep for your use and direction upon any further occasion. For his Majesty himselfe was pleas'd to [say that] if any such thing were necessary 'twas [but proper] to apply the profit to the benefit of the [poor seamen], and I believe that after this attempt hath been coold awhile and forgotten, you may find out some other place more proper than that of Angel's, and upon communication with the Trinity house here, revive the businesse at a more proper season to mutuall advantage. You have in this

whole matter been much obliged to Sir Jeremy Sm[ith] who is the present Master; and truly their [torn away] in generall consists of very grave and prud[ent] persons who do witnesse upon all occasions great respect to your Society; and as [torn away] plainly co-operated with their [torn away] make a Report suitable to your [torn away] I may without vanity say that the [torn away] the affection of the former Mast[er] legally hath to them. I shall be glad upon all further occasions to testify how much I am,

Gentlemen, &c.,

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

High-gate, June 24th, 1673.

Letter CCXIII. For my much respected friends the
Wardens and Assistants of the worthy
Society of the Trinity House of
Kingston upon Hull.

‘Aug. 9, 1673.’

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YOUR letter of the 6th of Aug. arrived yesterday, and one indeed I had from my Brother Popple of a former date, but by some accident it came not to my lodging till a post after. I was as much surprised at the news as yourselves, and therefore have made it my businesse since to inquire after it. One thing I can assure you of that there hath not been any the lest compliance from the Trinity house here with Mr. Angel. So that whatsoever hath been informd you or you may have suspected of that nature, is an absolute mistake. And those whom I have spoke with since, of that Society, do believe that whatsoever

Mr. Angel saith now is as false as many things he hath formerly, and that he hath obtained no grant at all but only builds at adventure, hoping hereafter to prevaile either for a voluntary payment from the Navigators or as times may fall to gain the king's Patent. Concerning this last, whether he has yet a Patent or no, I have not yet been able to assure myselfe; but shall give you account with the soonest. Some of those things do sometimes passe by surprise. But I can assure you this Trinity house will oppose it to their uttermost. Therefore I would desire you by the first dispatch to write to them acknowledging and commending the prudence of what they have done hitherto; informing them of what is acted and what reported; desiring them to continue the same indevors and offering your own service to the same purposes as they shall direct and advise you. And if you have any new matter or arguments you may please to add them. I shall be vigilant to inquire the thing to the bottome, being in this businesse and in all others as cordially, Gentlemen, &c., your very affectionate friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Aug. 9, 1673.

It is pleasant to learn from this Letter that Marvell and Sir William Jones had intercourse; more pleasant still that the keen-eyed penetrative visitor was favourably impressed with the Knight. "As able and honest a Counsell as any that wears the gown at this season" meant a great deal from such a man. Jones became a distinguished legal authority—not to be confounded with the great Oriental scholar (later).

Letter CCXIV. For my much respected friends,
*Mr. Edward Popple and Mr. Andrew Raiks,

Wardens of the worthy Society of the Trinity
House of Kingston upon Hull.

‘ March 19, 1673-4.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THIS is onely to give you account that upon Tuesday last I was with Sir William Jones, and gave him the fee which you ordered, and your letter. He accepted of them both very kindly, and caused his clerke in my presence to enter a memoriall that he was retained for all causes wherein you might at any time be concerned. We had some discourse concerning your affairs and constitution, wherin according to that generall knowledge that he hath of things materiall and considerable, he was already no stranger. In conclusion, he desired me to assure you that he will upon all occasions be ready to approve the respect and esteeme he has for you. And I am very glad that you may henceforward reckon yourselves provided of as able and honest a Counsell as any that weares the gown at this season. Whensoever you shall have any further occasion to commend me, I shall not faile to testify that

I am, Gentlemen, &c.,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Mar. 19, 1673-4.

I cannot make out the date-place of this Letter; it looks like ‘Yours, St. M.,’ as printed, but it might be a Q. Trinity House, Hull, has been sending ale to Trinity House, London, and the latter, taking it ‘very kindly,’ resolved to recompense with ‘some good sack.’ Marvell was a member of both the ‘Trinity’ Houses, ere very long, i.e., between April and

October, 1674 : (Cf. Letters CCXVII. with CCIX. : also CCX. and CCXI.)

Letter CCXV. For Mr. Edmond Popple, at Hull.

Yours, St. M.,

‘ April 26, 1674.’

LOVINGE BROTHER,

I THIS day receivd from Mr. Lindall a letter for you and Mr. Raikes. Sir Jeremy being out of town probably till Wednesday next, makes that I can not returne any proper or perfect answer; but at his first coming shall consider what is fitting. But Mr. Lindall's contrary to what in your letter, saith that Angel's Light is in a place so right for the avoiding of this new Sand, that all the men in England could not have set it more directly. And this will be fitting for you to reflect upon; yet, indeed, if it be so this new Sand may excuse you from the objection of any inconstancy. I am afraid we shall still find the thing intricated here among so many partners or contrary interests, that 'twill be difficult to disentangle it. The Tr. house here took your ale, I remember very kindly, and resolved to send you some good sack in requitall. I shall chuse to stay and come down with Will, who is before this at Paris. There is a Proclamation orderd to stop the reports of dissolving this Parlt. Lauderdale will be here the next week. Sir Joseph Williamson comes to be Secretary and Arlinton Chamberlain, for which he gives St. Albons 10,000li. out of Sir Joseph's pocket.

[No signature.]

April 26, 1674.

In relation to the much-vexed 'business' of the Light-house I intercalate here a hitherto unprinted Letter from John Pepys brother of the renowned Samuel, about whom so very little is

known that this Letter is a prize. Lord Braybrooke in his Pepys seems to confuse father and son, and otherwise not to have gathered much on this Pepys. There are other letters of his at Trinity House, Hull; but I content myself with one additional sentence giving a rap across the knuckles to the dignitaries of the Trinity House: "[May 25, 1675]—To this I shall (as from my selfe) add, that when you draw up the letter I pray you will only intimate matter-of-fact without making any reflections or observations on it." Now for the complete Letter to the Wardens, &c. of Trinity-house.

GENTLEMEN,

This is only to give you a more perticuler account (then I had time to doe by a former post) of our proceedings concerning the Lighthouse at the Sporne-head; namely that the Master and Wardens of this Corporaçon having about a year since presented to his Rll. Highness their arguments against the Erecting the said intended Lights, his Rll. Highness was pleasd to communicate the same to his Majesty, who was so farr satisfied therewith as to cause a Stopp to be put to ye passing of Angell's Patent; Upon which account it was expected Mr. Angell would not have proceeded further in that designe; Neverthelessse upon some small encouragements given him hee goeing in hand with the erecting a Light-house (and the same being nere finish'd) hee againe sett his pretençons on foot and us'd his utmost endeavours for the procuring a Patent for the said Light and to have the allowance of a farthing per Tun upon all vessells tradeing from London to Newcastle, Sunderland, &c. of which haveing but very lately had advice and that it had pass'd the Signett Office, the aforesaid Gentlemen immediately made their applicaçons to my Lord Keeper, who was pleas'd to respitt the fixings the fixing the great Seale (which he intended to have done that afternoone) till his Majestie should [he]

further advis'd with in this matter. Whereupon his Majestie being attended upon on Fryday last (to whom our former arguments being read) hee was pleas'd to order the stopping of ye said Pattent there being only the opinion of ye Trinity house of Newcastle for it; which his Majestie (till then) thought to have been the consen of our Trinity house of Deptford Strond. Least any attempts of the like nature should be offer'd by Mr. Angell, or that hee should proceed upon finishing ye said intended Lighthouse, it is desired you would give timely notice of his proceedings. I am further to acquaint you that one of the chiefe arguments us'd by Mr. Angell was the benefit likely to arise from these Lights for the avoyding of the New sand lately growne up in the Mouth of the Humber; which was easily refuted. It is thought adviseable that notis be given to persons using the trade of the beareing of the said Sand, and the mark how to avoid, in order to which it is judgd convenient that the Buoy lately laid by some Gentlemen of the House upon that Sand bee continued there for the preservacon of which they earnestly desire yt. you will take care to see the Sand Buoy laid in deeper water, before winter weather comes on, which being all at present, I remaine,

Gentlemen,

You most humble Servant,

J. PEPYS.

Trinity-house, July 25, 1674.

Here is another interview with Monk, 'Duke of Monmouth' and again a 'gift' of 'six broad pieces'—as evidently the us and wont. Better still, here is a modest account of how the Writer so executed his commission as not to have the 'six broad pieces' given back to himself. That 'blush on you

behalf for the meanness of the Present' is noticeably well-turned.

Letter CCXVI. For the Right Worshipfull Daniel Hoare, Mayor, and the Aldermen his brethren, of Kingston upon Hull.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Duke of Monmouth returned on Saturday from Newmarket. To-day I waited on him, and first presented him with your Letter, which he read all over very attentively, and then prayd me to assure you, that he would, upon all occasions, be most ready to give you the marks of his affection, and assist you in any affairs that you should recommend to him; with other words of civility to the same purpose. I then deliverd him the six broad pieces, telling him that I was deputed to blush on your behalfe for the meannesse of the present, &c. but he took me of, and said, he thankd you for it, and accepted it as a token of your kindnesse. He had, before I came in, as I was told, considerd what to doe with the gold; and, but that I, by all means, prevented the offer, or I had been in danger of being reimbursd with it. I received the Bill which was sent me on Mr. Nelthorpe, but the surplus of it exceeding much the expence I have been at on this occasion, I desire you to make use of it, and of me upon any other opportunity, remaining,

Gentlemen, &c.

Your most affectionate and humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, Oct. 20, 1674.

By 'our House' is meant Trinity House, London. At Trinity House, Hull, there is a letter from Trinity House, London (29th October 1674), to them which is signed by Marvell along with others—John Kempthorne, Sir Jeremiah

Smith, &c. 'Mr. Angel' is as inevitable as eyer on the Light-house. 'Warped'—Query, so designated because in nautical language a 'warp' is a flax cable, and a vessel is warped or hauled into a different place by it? Or is it=wafted or washed?

Letter CCXVII. For Mr. Andrew Raikes, at Hull.

'Oct. 22, 1674.'

SIR,

BY reason of the uncertainty of the Wardens being at home, I have chosen to write this to you, that if there be any thing therein worthy the notice of your House, you may please communicate it to them. Which is that our House hath to-day entered at last seriously into consideration of Lights about the mouth of Humber, and will so continue untill they come to a perfect resolution. Angel was with us to-day, and gave in six papers, which he calls new matter, among which I observed one, a very formall certificate from Hull, dated in August last, with many hands to it; concerning which I may give you a further account. Those are referred to some members of our House, to be considered on Wednesday next, and Angel then to bring in the copy of the Patent. Our House hath also orderd a letter to be sent down to you to-night, desiring you to sound once again whether the Sand do continue as when the Captains last surveyed, or it be warped up higher, or otherwise than you then left it. This is in order to the retracting or rectifying with more honour the reasons formerly given by your House and ours against the Lights of Humber. For I perceive that from all parts there is now a concurrence for the necessity of Lights, and this new banke which occasions it, will serve for a just pretense to the variance of our judgements. What further can dextrously

come under consideration for advantage to the Poore will not be neglected especially not by one who am, Sir,

Your very affectionate friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Oct. 22, 1674.

Here is another private Letter—never before printed—addressed 'For Mr. Edward Thompson, Merchant, Yorke.' Curiously it is simply signed 'Marvel' (one 'l'). Its 'newes' are matter of History, and call for no comment. But again the freedom of these private, in contrast with his public Letters, is noticeable. (See our Preface for source of this letter.)

Letter CCXVIII. To EDWARD THOMPSON.

'5th Nov., 1674.'

MON TRES CHER MONSIEUR EDOURT THOMPSON,

I thanke you for yours of Nov: 2. and particularly for the care you have of George wherein you much oblige his father and me. I hope, by the good acquaintance you have among those spirituall people you will be able to bring him of without a scratchd face. Sure the old man dos not put them upon it dos he? But it is onely their stickling for fees. Sr Jer [=Jeremy Smith]: has acquaintance with Dr Watkinson Mr Aslaby and those kind of men if necessary but I hope you are more then sufficient and that all may be slub-bord over with the least noyse or any need of Sr Jer appearance. George is not carefull to write any particulars, nor one word of this matter. Insomuch that we have no intelligence how things have passed and how the old man demeans himselfe what he thinks saith or doth that we might better judge how to write to him and what counsells to take. Yesterday Sr John H: appeard first in the Hall as spruce as any Bridegroom and we saluted one another passing

the first complements. I intend to give him the visit to morow morning and whensoever we fall to talke any thing to the purpose I will give Sr Henry notice of it. In the mean time pray present him my service. The most remarkable thing among us here is that the King has caused severall of the Bishops to be writ to to come up to town as Winchester, Salisbury &c omitting others, to conferre with him concerning somewhat. But truly what it is I do not yet understand but it must of consequence be about some religious matters. I suppose it is to try their tempers as to some regulation of proceeding toward the severall dissenting partyes. Carleton the B. of Bristol hath playd the madman in that City and is come up to complain and be complained of. The E. of Ossory (some ad the L. Arlinton) is gone over for Holland (they say too as Ambr. but that I know not). Indeed things stand as I heare but ticklish and insincere betwixt us and Holland. I do believe the Pr: of Orange will come over this winter hither and marry the D. of Yorks daughter. I conceive the campayne to be at end on all sides and that they have parted without any further blows. Tis said the Emperor's Confessor was of the conspiracy with Lobhowits to have poisond him and you know the Religious were in that too with Rohan against the K: of France. I am glad that clergy begin to show their good affection to king killing and Emperor killing. E of Pembroke married to Madame Qerronal's sister. The King gives 1000 first peny. I am yours,

Nov. 5, 1674.

MARVEL.

Parliament is 'prorogued.' In contrast with the 'thin' attendance and apparently perfunctory attention during the Session, "neare 200" are present to hear 'the Commission' read. Of the Earl of Arlington already. The Earl of Ossory

known as 'the gallant Earl of Ossory,' was Thomas Butler, son of James 1st, Duke of Ormonde, and was Earl of Ossory by courtesy, that being one of his father's titles. He was summoned to Parliament in 1665, as Lord Butler, of More Park. He died during his father's life-time, and was first buried in Westminster Abbey, 31st July, 1680, and afterwards removed to Kilkenny Cathedral. His name recurs in Pepys and Evelyn. The latter held a friendship with him uninterrupted, 'of above thirty years,' and was with him 'night and day' in his last sickness, and 'closed his eyes.' (See a pathetic Letter to the Widow: iii. 254-5.) The 'discourse' of the Prince of Orange proved to be true.

There is no Letter from Marvell between 5th and 10th. It is not difficult to account for this, nor to realize to ourselves what he was about in the interval. One entry suffices for both:

JOHN MILTON, DIED NOVEMBER 8TH, 1674.

We may be sure 'his friend,' saw the grand old man, if not in his sickness—for it was swift—at least in his dead venerableness and beauty, and joined the 'little company' that laid him to rest within the ancient Church. The Corporation or public Letters were scarcely channel for venting of such a sorrow.

Letter CCXIX. To the Mayor [as before].

'Nov, 10, 1674.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THIS day, as his Majesty had formerly appointed by his Proclamation, such members of Parliament as were in town (and I thinke they were neare 200) met in the House with their Speaker. The Black Rod being at the Doore the Speaker took the Chaire, and being summoned to attend the Lords Commissioners, we went to the Lords House, where was read the Commission for Prorogation, and accordingly the Parliament was declared by the Lord Keeper to be prorogued untill the thirteenth of Aprill next insuing. The same morning the Earle of Arlington, and the Earle of Ossory tooke leave of his Majesty

to goe for Holland. The Dutch Ambassador Odijek went also, so that now of the foure there is onely Van Beunighen remaining ! The Lord Latimer too went along with them. It is generally discoursed as if the Prince of Orange would be here this Christmasse, and that he should marry the D. of Yorke's daughter. I have nothing further but to desire that you will retaine me in your good affection, being, Gentlemen, &c. your most affectionate servant,
ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Nov. 10, 1674.

The Light-house on 'Spurn-head' has been 'under consideration' in the 'whole business' of it, by Trinity House, London which definitely set aside Angel's Light but without doing what Trinity House, Hull, wanted, other 'lights' being deemed necessary.

Letter CCXX. For my much respected friends Mr. Anthony Winter and Mr. John Toll, Wardens of the worthy Society of the Trinity-House of Kingston upon Hull.

'Nov. 26, 1674.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Trinity House here, having received your last letter, did this day take the whole businesse of the Light-house or houses, under consideration. And I thinke myselfe at liberty to acquaint you that they came among themselves to a question and resolved that upon perusall of all the papers touching Light-houses upon the Spurne they found no reason to recede from the answer and arguments which they had formerly tenderd unto his Majesty to the contrary. So that they have hereby bound up and concluded their judgement against Angel's whole designe; and if he shall neverthesse pretend to

pass the Seale, it is to be expected that they will abroate and confute him with the most solid reasons, such as have been suggested to them by you, by the Captains that were sent down, and from their own experience in like matters. But as to the erecting of Lights for Humber in any other place, they are not come to any determination; neither will they probably for some considerable time ingage themselves further in any thing of [this] nature. The motives which may I guesse have induced this resolution are their constancy to their former judgment; their tenderness of multiplying such like charges upon navigation, and their reall, true conception of things as it layd before them. So that I have nothing more at present but to assure you that I am, Gentlemen, your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Nov. 26, 1874.

The Light-house 'businessse' has been consulted on further, and has been 'meditated upon' by the Writer. He would fain save such 'charitable Societyes' all possible expenditure in such a matter. Trinity House, Hull, had evidently been writing of their expenses in the case and as they put it, as so much lost to the poor [seamen, &c.] there being no result.

Letter CCXXI. TO THE SAME.

'Dec. 12, 1674.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE let your's of the 4th of Decr. ly some days by me before I answerd it, that I might have better time to collect from others and upon mine own meditation, what were advisable further in the businessse you write of. It is indeed great pity that any expenses should be made by so- charitable Societyes which do not in some measure retaliate to

the Poore. But those revenues ly under occasionall and as it were conditionall burdens. For even our Trinity House here reckons that they have been at 200li. charge about this businesse of the Lights, from which they might as probably as any others have expected some good advantage. Neverthelesse they have slighted all that; doubtlesse out of their duty concurring with their judgement and supposing that indeed every man's lead is his best light, all the circumstances considerd. But whereas you differ from them in some facts, agreeing in others, it is my single opinion that you, not having receivd answer of your last letter, may fairly and naturally write again, relating what you are since informde of concerning the indevors of Angel and others; and desiring to know their resolutions upon the reasons you sent them against one place and for the other, to the end so good a correspondence may not interfere for want of understanding timely each other's minds. But concerning the Poore I think you need not mention. And as our House will not be wanting to oppose the passing his Patent so can you object also or accomodate yourselves as farre as you have privilege or reason. Thus far I thought myselfe bound to answer, being your very affectionate servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Decr. 12, 1674.

Another 'barrell of ale' to Marvell and apparently 'vessells' of 'plate' for the Duke of Monmouth. Parliament is again about to sit.

Letter CCXXII. To the Mayor [as before.]
'Feb. 6, 1674-5.'

WORTHY SIR,

I RECEIVED your kind letter of the 25th of January, and also the barrell of ale, for which I

returne my thankes to yourselfe and Brethren. I have not yet had the good fortune to speak with the Duke of Monmouth, &c. but understand that the vessells were well delivered according to order, and accepted upon the first opportunity; neverthesse I shall not faile to obey your commands. Here is at present all the appearance of a sitting of parliament when the prorogation expires. I have here sent you inclosed the resolutions of his Majesty in Councill upon Wednesday last, which came out in print yesterday. I have nothing further at this time worthy your notice but to give you my hearty service, and desire you to recommend the same to the worthy Bench of Aldermen, for I am, Sir, your's and their most affectionate friend.

Westminster, Feb. 6, 1674-5.

'The House' is again met. The King professes loudly his wish to "know what further he could do towards the securing of their Religion and Property, and to establish a durable correspondence betwixt him and his people." Then comes a pseudo-solemn reiteration of 'his Majesty's' adherence to the Church of England, &c., &c. It was an 'acceptable speech.' And so the infinite credulity and infinite hypocrisy went on. Thanks doubly returned for 'gracious promises and assurances' and all the rest of it. When this Letter is read the famous mock-royal Speech may be studied.

Letter CCXXIII. TO THE SAME.

'April 13, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Parliament having assembled this day, I must not neglect to give you account of what hath passed. His Majesty having called the Commons before him in the Lords' House, told them the occasion of this Session was, that he might know what further he

could do towards the securing of their Religion and Property, and to establish a durable correspondence betwixt him and his people. He tooke notice, that there were some pernicious persons who did indeavour the contrary; but testified his great satisfaction in [i.e. of] this Parliament, the most of which had in their own persons, or were descended of those who had signalizd themselves in his service. That for his part he should always maintaine the Religion and the Church of England as now established, and be all his life constant in that profession. That the Navy did stand in need of repairing and increasing, that something might be done in it this summer, for otherwise a whole yeare would be lost. And that he intended a long Session, not being now seasonable to meet the Parliament again in winter. The Keeper spoke very largely to the same purpose, but no account was given of that to the Commons by their Speaker; and I must desire you not by this summary relation I give you of his Majesty's speech, to conceive of it accordingly; for by reason of the shortnesse of my memory and conception, I do it much wrong, both as to the matter and the expression: when printed I will send it you. The Commons in sense of so acceptable a speech, after some hours time for the wording of their thankfulness, voted, That the humble thanks of this House be returned to his Majesty for the gracious promises and assurances expressd in his speech of maintaining religion and property as established by law, and for calling the parliament at this time for the said purpose. The Lords I heare also voted generall thanks to his Majesty. This is what this day hath produced, and I hope all the rest of this session may prove proportionable. If you have any particular commands for me I shall be very glad to obey you,

being, Gentlemen, &c. your most affectionate friend
and humble servant, ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, April 13, 1675.

Now for the mock-royal Speech which Marvell prepared and issued anonymously in anticipation of the re-assembling of Parliament. It will be noted that the opening mention of the 'Winter' meeting and 'April' correspond with the present facts. Of sterner stuff than the Cobbett Georgian 'royal speeches,' this fine example of Marvell's sarcastic yet light if penetrative raillery, is incomparable for its grave irony. 'Reformado' officers were those who had no command in their respective ranks, captains, &c. in excess of the companies in an army. They were formed into bands by themselves, while, it is to be presumed, awaiting vacancies. Marvell applies the term waggishly. 'Changling' here is only = given to change. 'My natural sons,' i.e. by Duchess of Portsmouth. 'Carnell' i.e. Mde. Querouaille.

HIS MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I TOLD you at our last meeting, the winter was the fittest time for business, and truly I thought so, till my Lord Treasurer assured me the spring was the best season for sallads and subsidies. I hope therefore that April will not prove so unnatural a month, as not to afford some kind showers on my parched exchequer, which gapes for want of them. Some of you, perhaps, will think it dangerous to make me too rich; but I do not fear it; for I promise you faithfully, whatever you give me I will always want; and although in other things my word may be thought a slender authority, yet in that, you may rely on me, I will never break it.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I can bear my straits with patience; but my Lord Treasurer does protest to me, that the revenue, as it now stands, will not serve him and me too. One of us must pinch for it, if you do not help me. I must speak freely to you, I am under bad circumstances, for besides my harlots in service, my reformado concubines lye heavy upon me. I have a passable good estate, I confess, but, God's-fish, I have a great charge upon't. Here's my Lord Treasurer can tell, that all the money designed for next summer's guards must, of necessity, be applyed to the

next year's cradles and swadling-cloths. What shall we do for ships then? I hint this only to you, it being your busyness, not mine. I know, by experience, I can live without ships. I lived ten years abroad without, and never had my health better in my life; but how you will be without, I leave to yourselves to judge, and therefore hint this only by the bye: I do not insist upon it. There's another thing I must press more earnestly, and that is this: It seems a good part of my revenue will expire in two or three years, except you will be pleased to continue it. I have to say for't, pray, why did you give me so much as you have done, unless you resolve to give on as fast as I call for it? The nation hates you already for giving so much, and I'll hate you too, if you do not give me more. So that if you stick not to me, you must not have a friend in England. On the other hand, if you will give me the revenue I desire, I shall be able to do those things for your religion and liberty, that I have had long in my thoughts, but cannot effect them without a little more money to carry me through. Therefore look to't, and take notice, that if you do not make me rich enough to undo you, it shall lie at your doors. For my part I wash my hands on't. But that I may gain your good opinion, the best way is to acquaint you what I have done to deserve it, out of my royal care for your religion and your property. For the first, my proclamation is a true picture of my mind. He that cannot, as in a glass, see my zeal for the Church of England, does not deserve any farther satisfaction, for I declare him wilful, abominable, and not good. Some may, perhaps be startled, and cry, how comes this sudden change? To which I answer, I am a changling, and that's sufficient, I think. But to convince men farther, that I mean what I say, there are these arguments.

First, I tell you so, and you know I never break my word.

Secondly, My Lord Treasurer says so, and he never told a lye in his life.

Thirdly, My Lord Lauderdale will undertake it for me; and I should be loath, by any act of mine, he should forfeit the credit he has with you.

If you desire more instances of my zeal, I have them for you. For example, I have converted my natural sons from Popery; and I may say, without vanity, it was my own work, so much the more peculiarly mine than the begetting them. 'Twould do one's heart good to hear how prettily George can ready already in the Psalter. They are all fine children, God bless

'em, and so like me in their understandings! But, as I was saying, I have, to please you, given a pension to your favourite my Lord Lauderdale; not so much that I thought he wanted it, as that you would take it kindly. I have made Carwell dutchess of Portsmouth, and married her sister to the Earl of Pembroke. I have, at my brother's request, sent my Lord Inchequin into Barbary, to settle the Protestant Religion among the Moors, and an English Interest at Tangier. I have made Crew, Bishop of Durham, and, at the first word of my Lady Portsmouth, Prideaux, Bishop of Chichester. I know not, for my part, what factious men would have; but this I am sure of, my predecessors never did any thing like this, to gain the good will of their subjects. So much for your religion, and now for your property. My behaviour to the Bankers is a publick instance; and the proceedings between Mrs. Hyde and Mrs. Sutton for private ones, are such convincing evidences, that it will be needless to say any more to't.

I must now acquaint you, that, by my Lord Treasurer's advice, I have made a considerable retrenchment upon my expences in candles and charcoal, and do not intend to stop there, but will, with your help, look into the late embezzlements of my dripping-pans and kitchen-stuff; of which, by the way, upon my conscience, neither my Lord Treasurer nor my Lord Lauderdale are guilty. I tell you my opinion; but if you should find them dabling in that busyness, I tell you plainly, I leave 'em to you; for, I would have the world to know, I am not a man to be cheated.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

I desire you to believe me as you have found me; and I do solemnly promise you, that whatsoever you give me shall be specially managed with the same conduct, trust, sincerity and prudence, that I have ever practised, since my happy restoration.

Ancient MSS. 'in law-French' are to be routed out and certain things 'requested' (significantly) from 'his Majesty'; especially removal of Lauderdale. Curiously enough in 'the' Lords House' the 'thanks' to the King were deemed over much. Surely 'his Majesty' will 'take heed.' Eheu! Eheu! He goes back to his 'wallowing in the mire'—and patriots' cheeks grow alternately blanched and flushed.

Letter CCXXIV. To THE SAME.

‘April 15, 1675.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, at the opening of the Session, the House of Commons began yesterday to debate concerning some records; the one of an Act of Parliament (as it was proposed) in the 2d of Richard the 2d; containing that all Bills and Petitions should be made into Statutes, or receive a reasonable answer from the King before the Parliament were dismissed; which not being to be found in the Booke of Statutes, ’twas moved that it should be printed. The second matter was of a printed statute in the 4 of Henry 4th, wherein a clause extant in the record was omitted, against the pressing of men. The third was against the committing of men by the King’s warrant: the House orderd those records should be brought in as this morning. Then they enterd into debate concerning the Earle of Guildford, D. Lauderdale, and they renewed their resolution of making a new Adresse to the King for his removeall, &c. in the same terms, as in the former Session; but that first a Committee should draw up reasons of this desire, to be presented at the same time to his Majesty. In the afternoon the Speaker and House attended his Majesty at Whitehall with their thanks; in returne of which, his Majesty assurd them of his good opinion of the House, and that he would always be constant in securing their religion and property. This morning the Records were brought in, being in Old Law French, and red; which concluded, after long and mature discourses in a Committee, ordered, to translate the said records into English, and to bring them this day se’nnight into the House, when

they will proceed upon the printing, or otherwise, as shall be judged expedient. Some of the Lords have entered their Protests against the generall thanks of their House, having rather desired that they should have been limited, much after the same manner as the House of Commons. The Lords ordered that the King's and the Lord Keeper's speeches should be printed, which we expect will be out to-morrow morning. I am, Gentlemen, &c. your most affectionate servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, April 15, 1675.

Another shorte private Letter—here first printed from the original.

Letter CCXXV. For Mr. Edward Thompson,
Merchant, near Yorke.

‘Decr. 8, 1675.’

DEARE Monsieur Edward, to make a little amends for all my neglects, pray take notice that I assure you Wismar is taken by the Banc, and pray acquaint your Brother so much with my kindest services. This is the first night that the Duchess Mazarene appears at our Court. You know sure that Mr. Garway [i.e. Garroway] and Sr. W. Thompson are out and Sir E. Deering and Mr. Cheiny actually (as sure as Wismar) possess of their places; that George Weld, young Mr. Wyn, Sr. John Hanmer, (all members) are at 500li. a year each, created Inspectors of the New Irish Farme. Sr. Robt. Worsley is dead: Col. Gray that serves for Barwick dying; Two vacant Pt. places. What uncomfortable doing is all this at poore Bourdeaux. Pray how dos your great New Heire Mr. Smyth. I doubt he will beat some of

us. I am with more inward respect than this exterior familiarity, Your most affectionate servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westmr., Decr. 8, 1675.

Other 'good things;' There speaks the Andrew Marvell of the private Letters. At long-last there is to be a distinction drawn between 'Papists and Protestant Dissenters.' There is a scare of Popery no doubt, but with the ongoing in the palace, and the probability of the succession.—James II., &c., &c.—it is not to be wondered at that there should. Popery unfortunately for its 'civil liberties,' has never known how to take and give.

Letter CCXXVI. TO THE SAME.

'April 17. 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons hath this two days been in a Committee of the whole House concerning Religion; the occasion of which rose from the motion of a member of the House concerning the growth of Popery; for giving ease to Protestant Dissenters, and other good things of the same tendency. The Committee first, and then, upon their Report, the House have voted, that a Bill be prepared for a Test upon the members of both Houses, that none may be capable of sitting there without taking it. That another Bill be prepared for the speedyer conviction of Papists. That the penaltyes be placed not in the crowne, but either in the church, or the justices of peace, for buying in impropriations or other publick uses. That there be therein a clause to distinguish between Papist and Protestant Dissenters. That a very considerable reward be therein allotted to whosoever shall discover a Romish Priest. That he shall be deemed a Romish Priest, who shall be proved to have said masse, or officiated

as a Romish Priest, or to have taken Romish orders beyond sea or here. That those who shall be found to have bin present during such officiating, shall incurre such penalties as shall be mentioned. That this law shall not derogate from any former laws against Papist Priests. And the House resolved to enter Tuesday next upon further consideration of the same subject. On Munday is appointed a Bill to be brought in against levying mony without or beyond the consent of Parliament. There have bin once read,—A Bill against transporting of Wooll, a Bill for better packing of Wooll, a Bill for continuing the Act for the Transportation of Leather, a Bill for repair of Churches and recovery of small Tithes in poore Vicarages. I remain, &c.

Westminster, April 17, 1675.

Still decisive advances to a reckoning and plain-dealing with 'his Majesty.' It argues much for the moral weight and influence of Marvell and the minority that such few noble stands as were taken were so taken. "Treason to raise money without or longer then consent in Parliament" hit high and hard. The 'Corporation oath' is to 'exercise the best deliberation' of the Peers.

Letter CCXXVII. TO THE SAME.

'April 20, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, the House of Commons have read the first time a Bill against transporting any beyond sea into prison, being a subject of England, and another for the speedy and effectual granting of Habeas Corpus upon imprisonment at home; a third for making it treason to raise mony without or longer then consent in Parliament. Yesterday also that House ordered an Adresse to his Majesty, for recall-

ing subjects that are in the French service, and the forbidding of any going over for the future. His Majesty being informed thereof, and desired to signify his pleasure when the House should wait on him with that Addresse, has appointed to-morrow at three of the clock. The Bill for the better Packing of Wool hath been cast out. A Bill prohibiting New Buildings about London being read also to-day was rejected, but another ordered to be brought in more free from exception. The Committee for the Addresse concerning L. Lauderdale, with reasons of their request, will be ready to-morrow or next day to report. The Lords having to-day read the second time their Bill imposing the Corporation Oath upon the House of Peers and Commons, debated till four a'clock whether it should be committed or no. But, after so long a contest, adjourned the same debate 'till to-morrow; the matter being of so much weight, that it will, I believe, exercise their best deliberation. I am, &c.

West., Apr. 20, 1675.

Besides other historic legislation there is in this Letter apparently the first enactment of the law of re-election of a Member of Parliament on taking any office in service of the State, albeit onward it is 'rejected by 145 against 115' (Letter CCXXXI). The Test-oath is given. 'Non-Pros'=no prosecution of any particular case.

Letter CCXXVIII. 'To THE SAME.

'April 22, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons was yesterday in a Committee of the whole House concerning Religion, and voted (which the House agreed to) that in the Bill intended there should be a clause for regulating the

Attorney Generall as to his entring Non-Pros. against Papists; another clause for the speedyer levying the fines upon them; and lastly, a particular Committee was appointed to prepare the Bill upon all those heads which had been already voted. In the afternoon they waited on the King with their Adresse for recalling his subjects out of the French service, to which his Majesty answered, that the matter was of too great importance for a present answer, but that he would consider of it, and returne them an answer. To-day the Records concerning not pro-roguing the Parliament till reasonable answer to all Petitions, or that they were made into Statutes; that wherein a printed Act, a clause for Pressing (I mean against it) was omitted; and the third, concerning not committing subjects upon the King's warrant, were brought in translated. A Bill was read the first time, that any member of parliament who shall hereafter accept any office after his election, there shall be a new writ issued to elect in his place; but if his borough shall then the second time elect him, it shall be lawfull: upon the question whether it should have a second reading, 88 carryed it against 74. The Bill against Imprisoning Men beyond Sea was red the second time and committed. Orderd, that the Commissioners of the Navy bring in the state of the Fleet and Stores. A Committee to inspect what defects in the Acts of Militia, and what abuses. A Committee to consider what ill manage of the Revenues of Hospitalls. The Lords sate the whole day yesterday, till ten at night, without rising, (and the King all the while but of our addresses, present) upon their Bill of Test on both Houses, and are not yet come to the question of committing it. They adjourned themselves then and the debates till to-

morrow. The test is: I A. B. do declare that it is not lawfull upon any pretense whatsoever to take up arms against the King, and that I do abhorre that traytrous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him, in pursuance of such commissions. And I do sweare that I will not at any time indeavour the alteration of government either in church or state. I am, Gentlemen, &c., your affectionate servant,

Apr. 22, '75.

ANDREW MARVELL.

Lauderdale is on his defence. Burnet is giving on examination astounding evidence—against him. Very memorable are the 'sayings' here reported on. 'Throats to be cut'—'King's edicts to be laws,' &c., &c., &c. Sir Robert Viner is brought forward in no enviable way; one indeed of the great scandals of a scandalous period, although it is not mentioned in the usual authorities. As told in this Letter Sir Robert Viner (or Vyner) was ruined by the shutting of the Exchequer. The crown owed him on 1st January, 1676, £416,724 13s. 1d., to pay which the King granted him £25,000 9s. 4d. per annum out of the duty of Excise. He figures in *The Spectator* (No. 462) and Pepys tells pleasantly of a pleasant visit paid by himself (II. 291),

Letter CCXXIX. To THE SAME.

'April 24, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons having received a report from the Committee for drawing up the addresse concerning D. Lauderdale were informed by them, that Doctor Burnet being examined whether he knew any thing of bringing over any army into any of his Majesty's dominions, told them, that discoursing of the danger of rigorous proceedings against the Presbyterians in Scotland, while his Majesty was engaged in a war with Holland, the Duke said he

wished they would rebell; and in pursuit of that discourse said, he would then hire the Irish Papists to come over and cut their throats: but the Doctor replying, that sure he spoke in jest, the Duke answered, no, he said it in earnest, and therefore repeated the same words again. Further, that being asked whether he knew any thing of bringing the Scotch army into England, the Doctor had answered the Committee that he had acquainted them with that of Ireland, because no secret, [being] but what the Duke had said also the same to others, and particularly to the Duchesse of Hamilton; but that if the Duke had said any thing to him single, if he knew any such thing, he asked their pardon, and should not reveale it but upon the utmost extremity. Hereupon the House thought fit to send for the Doctor, and having acquainted him with the authority that House had of punishing him, if he delt not candidly with them, he at last said, that in September 1673, speaking about the declaration, the Duke told him all had forsaken the King but himsele and the Lord Clifford, and then asked him whether he thought, if the English Parliament were untoward, Scotland would not assist the King; the Duke replied, he thought not, for the Presbyterians to be sure would not come in, neither did he conceive the Royalists, who were discontented. But the D. replyd, the coming into England would draw a great many. The House deferd the consideration of these informations till next Thursday, but passed their Adresse upon the two reasons, that of his saying the King's Edicts were equall to Laws, and to be observed in the first place; and the other of the Act passed in Scotland, while he was Commissioner, that the Scotch army of 22,000 men should be ready, upon order

from the Privy Councill there, to march into England in case of, &c. and at any time else when the King's honour or greatnesse were concerned. The King hath orderd the House to attend him on Munday next at three of the clock with that Adresse. To day Mr Pepys, according to the House's order, brought in the state of the Navy Stores and Provisions, which the House will consider of next Tuesday. The Lords were yesterday again till foure a'clock upon their Bill of the new Test, and are not yet come to the committing of it; for they dispute it by inches, and those against it seeme rather to get ground. I send you the Protests entred in their Journall by some of them upon the former question. I had almost forgot a vote made to-day by the House of Commons after they had receivd the state of the Navy. That his Majesty be moved by an Adresse from this House to cause that there be no further anticipation or charge upon the customes, it being a disservice to himselfe and the nation. The other day at the King's Bench, in open court, were produced articles signed and sealed betwixt Sir Robert Viner and Emerton reciting the marriage solemnized between the son and daughter, and severall advantageous covenants for Sir Robert, and all this while in the time he was treating with the Lord Treasurer to marry her to Lord Dunblane: 'Tis a detestable and most ignominious story; to which if the consideration be added of his late enterprising to subvert in all manners the libertyes of the city, and then how miserable he is plunged by the stop of the Exchequer, I do not know a man more unfortunate or under less compassion. I am, &c.

Westminster, April 24, 1675.

The Lauderdale 'impeachment' advances: 'the King' is to 'consider' the 'Paper' as it 'was long.'

Letter CCXXX. To THE SAME.

'April 27, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons have this two days been in a manner wholly taken up with the inclosed articles, in which yet they have made little progresse; and therefore the things inclosed concerning very great persons, and the successe yet uncertain: I need not admonish your prudence to be reserved in communicating them. They waited on the King yesterday in the afternoon, who returnd them this answer, That the Paper concerning the D. Laud[erdale] was long; he would therefore consider of it, and returne them an answer shortly. I am in exceeding hast, but, Gentlemen, &c. your most affectionate servant.

Apr. 27, '75.

'The King' seems to have had a thrill of penitence or remorse. He is saying now in respect of the anticipation of the customes "that whatsoever he had been before, he would henceforward be a very good husband," i.e. economist of his monies. Little liklihood with such gouls, male and female, sucking him!

Letter CCXXXI. To THE SAME.

'April 29, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons was taken up yesterday with a second patent (a former had bin considered the day before, and voted no sufficient cause of Impeachment) which also determind [=ended] in the same resolution. And these patents being the onely proofs produced upon the first article, it passed that upon

that article there appeared no cause of impeaching the L. Treasurer [Lord Clifford]. This day had been a weeke agoe appointed to resume the consideration of Dr. Burnet's testimony against the D. Lauderdale. But, his Majesty not having returned yet a particular answer of his pleasure therein, the House thought fit to adjourn this matter againe till this day se'nnight. The Bill of Habeas Corpus was read the second time and committed. The Bill for issuing out a new writ in case any member hereafter elected should receive an office, was upon the second reading, and the question of commitment, rejected by 145 against 113. The House resolved to proceed to-morrow again upon the remaining articles against the Lord Treasurer. Order was granted to summon such witnesses as the managers of the accusation desired: among the rest, summons to the Lord Mayor, and to Brandley, the minister, said to have marryed Emerton and Mrs. Hide. The Lords sat again this whole day till six a'clock about their Bill of Test, and advanced very little. I have inclosed this paper to you for your judgments, there being a Bill to come in to this purpose: Newcastle will of course strongly oppose it. I am, &c.

April 29, 1675.

The King's answer to day to the Commons, upon their addresse to him against Anticipation of the Customes, was, that he would consider of it, but so much he would tell them at present, that whatsoever he had been before, he would henceforward be a very good husband.

If the Reader remarking the closing words of this Letter "These things are too curious" wishes to enjoy the humour, the 'wise fooling' of Marvell, let him turn to the Defence of John Howe and read the disquisition on the word 'curious'—

a *bit* that might be transferred bodily to the "Essays of Elia."
(Vol. IV.)

Letter CCXXXII. To THE SAME.

'May 1, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons yesterday proceeded upon the second article of Impeachment. Several questions were delivered to the Speaker, upon which to examine the L. Mayor, who was summoned as a witness. But those questions being one by one put to the question, were cast out, and one onely of the lest weight remained. Then 'twas put to the question whether the L. Mayor, should have a Chaire, and it was carried in the affirmative upon division 141 against 137. He was called in, and answered according to what was asked. So then it was resolved upon the question, that there appeared not in this article any sufficient cause of impeachment. Ordered to proceed upon Munday on the rest. To-day the House sate not. I have inclosed to you some of the latest proceedings of the Lords; so that I hope shortly neither will they be so taken up with that Bill, nor the Commons with Impeachment, but that more usefull and publick businesse may be resumed. I forgot to tell you that some days agoe the King sent to demand my Lord Clarindon's key, which he wore in quality of Chamberlain to the Queene: He asked leave to render it into the Queen's hand, which he had and did. I heare not that the place is yet disposed of. Some criticall persons observing his name among the protesting Lords, would remarke, that he loseth his key against that oath which was first invented and inacted by his father: but these things are too curious. I am, &c.

May 1, 1675.

The phrase 'if the King live' is ominous. So far back as 1665 he is deemed to be in a consumption, and Pepys reports him as 'weary of life and everything' (II 292). Such is one penalty of your sated profligates. Whether or no, the House was holding to its before expressed determination not to allow any of these imposts to become perpetual, and underneath this is the feeling fostered by Buckingham and Shaftsbury, then and henceforward against the Duke of York.

Letter CCXXXIII. To THE SAME.

'May 4, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

WE are but just risen now almost at ten a'clock at night, from the Committee of Elections, so that I have scarce time to tell you that the House of Commons spent yesterday in acquitting the Treasurer upon the five remaining articles. And to-day having considered the state of the Navy, voted, that a Bill be brought in to appropriate the Tunnage and Poundage by act of 12^c of this King, to the use of the Navy, for three years if the duties so long continue (that is if the King so long live). I am, &c.

May 4, 1675.

'The House' is engaged in the same distracting and passionate matters, and is self-evidently resolute and vigilant, being well led by others than its titular Leaders.

Letter CCXXXIV. To THE SAME.

'May 6, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

HAVING writ to you every post since the Parliament's meeting, what I have further at present is, that yesterday the House of Commons voted a second addresse to his Majesty, for recalling his subjects out of the French service, and prohibiting others to goe over, and to issue his proclamation in that behalfe;

and the Privy Counsellors in the House to know when his Majesty pleased they should wait upon him with this Adresse. They have not yet received his Majesty's pleasure herein. Then they voted a second Adresse to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to send them an answer to their late request concerning the D. of Lauderdale. This day had been appointed to consider of Dr. Burnet's testimonies concerning the said Duke, but after a long debate was carried by a division of 146 against 132, to adjourn it till Friday se'night; the reason of which seems to have been because they reserved the application of this further testimony till they perceived what answer came from his Majesty. The Lords having voted yesterday that an oath should be tendered by their Bill (not what oath) to the members of both Houses, some nineteen of them have entered now their fourth protestation in this Bill. The Act against transporting Men into Prison beyond sea is past the Commons, and sent to-day to the Lords; that of Habeas Corpus, and that of levying no Money but by Parliament, is under commitment. That against Pedlars and Hawkers, &c. will have its second reading to morrow. The Bill of applying the old Customes, only to the use of the Navy, and that against Popery, are ready to be brought in from those who were ordered to draw them. Some reports you may chance to heare of a speedy recesse, but not rashly to be believed. am, &c.

May 6, 1675.

The King returns an answer—evasive and unsatisfactory though taking the guise of plain speaking, on Lauderdale and recall of troops. There will be lightnings out of these thunder-nutterings by-and-bye.

Letter CXXXV. To THE SAME.

‘May 8, 1675.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

HIS Majesty (not having yet appointed a time for receiving the second address about the Duke of Lauderdale) was pleased yesterday to send to the House of Commons concerning their first address, this answer, that as to the words charged upon him, they were however spoke, if spoken, before the Act of general Pardon, and as he had observed the great fruit arising from the Act of Indemnity, so he was thereby the more inclined to keep the late Act of general Pardon inviolate, lest it should disquiet the minds of his people. And as to the Act of 22,000 men from Scotland to march upon occasion, &c. into England; the first act of that nature was passed in 1663, when the said Duke was not yet Commissioner, and the second in his time was but in pursuance of the former. The House debated a considerable time upon this answer, and thought fit to adjourn without resolution till Tuesday the further reasoning of that matter. In the afternoon they waited on the King with their address the second time about the forces in France, and his Majesty said he would return answer by writing as this morning, which he did. That as to recalling his troops out of the service of the most Christian King, which were there before the conclusion of the peace with Holland, and which he was not thereby obliged to recall, he took it to be contrary to his honour and dignity, and that it might prejudice the peace, which he had publicly promised to intertein with all his neighbours; and that those troops were now very few in number. But for the prohibiting of any more to go over, he

would set forth his Proclamation in the most effectually manner. The House after severall motions thought convenient to adjourn their further consideration of this answer till Munday next. I have sent you the copy of the Lords fourth Protestation in the carrying on of their Bill of Test: they are yet earnest in that Bill, having continued sitting yesterday till five of the clock. I am, &c.

Westm., May 8, 1675.

Odd confusions in the vote in 'the House'—'man by man standing up in their places,' ordered 'to oblige each their honour not to take any resentment,' &c. The word 'all' the pivot of 'debate,' &c., &c. 'Oblige'=ob-ligare, bind each against the other.

Letter CCXXXVI. TO THE SAME.

'May 11, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

ALTHOUGH since my last, the House of Commons hath both days been long and very busy, the relation falls within a little compasse: for the Committee of the whole House, having all day debated yesterday the King's answer concerning recalling his subjects out of the French King's service, divided upon the question whether there should be a further addresse to his Majesty for a fuller answer; but the tellers not agreeing of the numbers upon dividing, it caused a misunderstanding in the House, which made all the Committee's work fruitlesse; and the gentlemen, all of them man by man, standing up in their places, were ordered to oblige each their honour, not to take any resentment or dislike of whatsoever had then happened. So that to-day the House itselfe resumed that businesse, and came to a question, whether a further addresse should be made to his

Majesty to recall all his subjects out of the French King's service; the word "all" was first put and carryed upon a division, by 173 against 172, to be left out; the remaining question was then put and carryed unanimously in the affirmative. This is all which is fit to say at present, after I have subscribed myself, Gentlemen, &c.

West., May 11, 1675.

Sir John Fagg whose case comes up here was of Wiston, co. Sussex: created a baronet 11th Decr., 1660. He died 18th Jan., 1700-1. Kimber and Johnson's Baronetage (II. 125) thus annotates: "This Sir John Fagg was the person about whom the House of Commons made so great a stir in the reign of King Charles II. on an appeal being brought against him in the House of Lords by Dr. Thomas Shirley (whose ancestors were possessors of Wiston) for a large estate in the county of Sussex; when Dr. Shirley, &c. was ordered into custody for a breach of privilege," &c. The Marquess of Winchester was John Paulet, who succeeded as 5th Marquess in 1628, and died 5th March, 1674-5, aged 77, being then premier Marquess of England. His house at Basing which he defended against the Parliament Army in 1645, was destroyed by them, when he lost £200,000.

Letter CCXXXVII. TO THE SAME.

'May 13, 1675.'

WORTHY SIR,

I MUST beg your pardon that I have not mentioned and thanked you for your particular letters; having been always on the writing nights in an hurry, by reason of the Committee of Privileges long and late sitting. But to day proves an holyday, so that I have better leisure to bethinke my self, and acknowledge your favor and my omissions. The House of Commons yesterday receivd the Bill which they had orderd of appropriating the customs for

three years, &c. to the use of the navy. It hath not been yet read. They receivd also the report from the Committee of the Bill for redressing several incroachments in the Chimney-Money, and went thorow part of the amendments, the rest to be resumed to morrow: They orderd also, that one Doctor Shirley should be taken into custody for bringing an appeale in the Lords house, against one Sir John Fag, a member of the House of Commons; and, whereas the Lords have proceeded on the appeale, and Sir John Fag hath appeared before them, they ordered that he shall not answer or appeare further without leave of the House, which may possibly raise some debate of privilege between the two Houses, and that the House of Commons may censure and punish Fag for having appeared. The Lords sate the whole day yesterday upon the same Test untill nine a'clock at night, and yet it is not past their Committee of the whole House. This inclosed having been offered by the Marques of Winchester as an addition to that oath, indured severall hours debate and was at last rejected. I pray, Sir, impart these things with my service to the Bench. I ow you in particular a singular respect for yours to me, and am, Sir, your very affectionate servant.

May 13, 1675.

The Shirley-Fagg matter is getting into an *imbroglio*. The Lord Mohun Charles, succeeded his father as 4th Lord Mohun in 1665: died before 1682. It is wonderful how frequently and arbitrarily 'the Lords' placed themselves in antagonism with 'the Commons'—and yet they nearly always needed to recede from their positions. Granted the House of Lords was a Law Court, and remained so till the other day. None the less fatuous was their creating difficulties and humiliations for themselves.

Letter CCXXXVIII. TO THE SAME.

‘May 15, 1675.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE unhappy misunderstanding betwixt the two Houses increaseth for these two days, because the Lords have proceeded upon an Appeale against Sir John Fag one of the Commons. An ill accident hath come in; for a servant of the Commons House having the Speaker's warrant to seize Dr. Shirly the appellant, and finding him in the Lords' lobby, showd the Warrant to the Lord Mohun, who took it and carryed it away into the Lords House, where they kept it. The Commons sent to demand justice against the Lord. The Lords sent that the Lord had therein done his duty; and by their own messengers sent to ask whether the Commons would own that warrant. They have answered in words not very obliging, that they would consider of it; and then voted this message of the Lords unparliamentary. But these things are but circumstantiall to the main matter, the Appeale, and that will be carryed on with no less vigour. Yet I hope there will be some good expedient found out, the rather because I can not imagine what it may be; for when there is a necessity, prudence or God's providence step in by more extraordinary methods. I dare write no more lest the post leave me behind; and I have therefore exprest my self so hastily, that I must advise you rather to diminish then heighten your conceptions of this matter, nor be forward to communicate till further leisure. I am, &c.

May 15, 1675.

‘The contest between the Lords and Commons goes on.’
‘Colonell Worden’ and ‘Mr. Williams’ of Chester, are obscure

nobodies whom no one minds re-calling. I do not find their names in the books of the day.

Letter CCXXXIX. To THE SAME.

‘May 18, 1675.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

WE are sitting in the Committee of Elections between Colonell Worden and Mr. Williams for Chester, and it will be more then midnight before they can be up, so that I steale these minutes only to acquaint you, that the House yesterday debated a question, whether any more Bills should be admitted before the recess mentioned in his Majestye’s speech beside those already orderd by this House, or which might come down from the Lords. ’Twas moved to add these words, unless “upon extraordinary occasions,” but they were rejected by 169 against 121. Then the main question past, that no Bills of Money can be brought in this sitting; no member to go out of town but upon leave after ten a’clock; the House to be calld on Wednesday come se’night. The contest between the Lords and Commons goes on, and I do not yet see the way out, but hope the best, neither do I perceive yet whether it will prolong or shorten our sitting. I am, &c.

Westm., May 18, ’75.

They have put of their Test till Friday.

‘Conferences’ between the Houses, recalling the former on Skyner and the East India Company. ‘The House’ adheres to ‘its privileges;’ and one is thankful, amid abounding poltroony and subservience.

Letter CCXL. To THE SAME.

‘May 20, 1675.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Committees which were appointed for

drawing up the Two Bills against Popery, which I mentiond in the beginning of the Sessions, have now brought them in, and they have had their first readings; to morrow is ordered for their second. The first is a Test for the members of both Houses, containing a large renunciation of the most distinguishing doctrines of the Papists. The second a generall Bill for the speedier conviction of all Papists. The Bill for appropriating the customes for three years to the navy, was yesterday read the second time and committed. The third addresse to his Majesty for recalling the troops in the French King's service was read this day; but forasmuch as Mr. Secretary assured the House that there was a Proclamation prepared to that purpose, they adjourned the further consideration of the addresse till next Wednesday, by which time they will have seen the Proclamation. Very much of the House's time is spent in conferences with the Lords concerning their privileges in this point, of calling up their members thither upon appeals during the sitting or privilege of Parliament; the Lords asserting, the Commons denying it; and diverse repugnant votes have been enterd in both their books. The whole contest is too voluminous for letters; but it resembles that which you may remember upon account of Skinner and the East India Company, but differing by how much members of Parliament are herein concerned: but as long as there is no deniall yet of conferences I hope reason will prevaile. To-morrow I suppose both Houses will adjourn till next Wednesday. I remain, &c.

May 20, 1675.

'Much time slips away, so that the publick Acts cannot be so soon matured as were to be wished': such the burden of this Letter. 'The French King' (Louis XIV) is being talked of—and will still more.

Letter CCXII. TO THE SAME.

'May 22, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons yesterday read the Bill of Test for both Houses and committed it. The second Bill against Popery they had not leisure to read, being taken up with the conference which the Lords desired upon the reasons offered them by the Commons. Much time slips away in this contest, so that the publick Acts cannot be so soon matured as were to be wished, nor are so secure of passing. The Houses have in respect of the holydays adjourned themselves yesterday untill the next Wednesday. The Committee for the Bill of appropriating the Customes have sate, and are ready for a report. I have inclosed you his Majestye's Proclamation, which came out yesterday. It is expected now daily to heare of some great action of the French King in Flanders. I shall take leave at present, having nothing further then that. I am, &c.

Westm., May 22, 1675.

'The attendance in 'the House' is very slack, and 'defaulters' are to be severally complained of in 'a solemn Letter,' signed by The Speaker 'to their places.'—'a sufficient punishment for a modest man' (grim Marvellian humour). More largeness of vision appears now in regarding 'Protestant Dissenters' *versus* Papists. 'Diversions'=turnings aside.

Letter CCXLII. TO THE SAME.

'May 27, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons was taken up for the

most part yesterday in calling over their House, and have orderd a Letter to be drawn up from the Speaker to every place for which there is any defaulter, to signify the absence of their member, and a solemn letter is accordingly preparing, to be signed by the Speaker. This is thought a sufficient punishment for any modest man; neverthesse if they shall not come up hereupon, there is a further severity reserved. To-day hath been chiefly imployed in reading and committing the Bill for conviction of Papists, and distinguishing and exempting Protestant Dissenters from this or any other law made against the Papists. Every day beside hath its part in the contest betwixt the two Houses. The Lords have agreed for to-morrow another conference in that matter; these and other diversions withold them from proceeding in their Committee of their Test with the same vigour and assiduity as formerly, yet I think at last the Bill may find the way down to the Commons. I am, &c.

May 27, 1675.

The 'controversy' on the 'fatal matter' deepens and intensifies—the old absurdity of the pot rising against the Potter. 'The Lords' must—and did—succumb to the Law. 'Welcome commemoration,' i.e. 29th May, the King's restoration. On the counterfeit-letter see Letter CCL.

Letter CCXLIII. TO THE SAME.

'May 29, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons was yesterday (but this is set apart to celebrate its welcome commemoration) imployd in a manner wholly about their business with the Lords; for the Lords having absolutely refused them to conferre about their Judicature, they resolved

to send on Munday to them to desire a conference with them about that message; which conference though the Lords perhaps should grant, yet will not probably better the prospect betwixt the two Houses. And the Commons further upon a most solemne and long debate have resolved, that there lyes no Appeale to the House of Lords from any Courts of Equity. And have further voted, That no member of their House shall prosecute any such Appeale before the House of Lords. In the former mentiond great resolution there was a division of the House, whether the question should now be put, which being carryed in the affirmative by 124 against 116, the main question passed without contradiction. I wish my next may bring you news that their controversy with the Lords in this fatall matter can admit an expedient. I have inclosed to you the onely letter which I received last post. It is of a very new and strange nature to me. I cannot tell whether it be a true or a fained name, whether well or ill ment, whether from a friend or enemy; but it seeming to me that you are no lesse concerned therein than myselfe, I could not withhold it from you, but earnestly desire you to let me know how you understand it, and having read it, that you will returne the same originall letter by the first post to, Gentlemen, &c.

May 29, 1675.

P.S. The House further orderd to take in consideration the excesses of the Jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery, and appointed on Munday to proceed upon his Majestye's answer concerning the Duke of Lauderdale.

'The House' returns threateningly on the Lauderdale 'impeachment' and will again 'address' the King. With all the time-serving and 'Majesty' worship, it is only due to the

House of Commons or rather 'the minority' in it, to remember how they guarded its privileges and asserted its rights as against encroachments. I call it a 'minority' because only their moral weight constrained votes and carried measures. It revives great memories to find three addresses passed to the King to recall the troops from France against the King's known wishes, and address upon address to impeach Lauderdale. (See also Letter CXLIX.) The appropriating of the King's customs to the Navy was an extraordinarily bold and unprecedented measure. Various names in this Letter call for brief notice. (a) Sir John Churchill was cousin of the 'great' Duke of Marlborough; a barrister of Lincoln's Inn; knighted 18th August, 1670; became Master of the Rolls 12th Jan., 1684-5, but died same year. (b) Sergeant Pemberton was Francis Pemberton, born at St. Alban's, Herts, in 1625; descended of the Lancashire Pembertons; appointed King's Sergeant in August, 1675; knighted 6th October following. On 1st May, 1679, he was appointed a Judge of the King's Bench, but removed the following February; On 11th April, 1681, he became Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and on 22nd June, 1682-3, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. He was however finally dismissed from the latter post 7th Sep., 1683, when he returned to practice at the Bar. He died 10th June, 1697. (c) Sir Nicholas Crispe was an eminent merchant of London, who aided the Kings (Charles I. and II.) pecuniarily to an enormous extent. He was Farmer of the Customs, and in many ways a public benefactor. Knighted on 1st Jan., 1639-40, he was created a baronet 16th April, 1665, but died 26th Feb. following, in his 67th year. Other names—not already noticed—have passed into oblivion. It may be noted that in the postscript the word 'Almoner' is written over 'Confessour.' Letter-opening was a common danger then.

Letter CCXLIV. TO THE SAME.

'June 1, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the forme of the letter was brought in by those appointed to draw it, whereby the absence of several members is signified to their respective corporations; and it was approved by the House, and next Thursday the letters will be sent by the post.

Then the House ordered, That the Councill that pleaded last Friday before the Lords upon an Appeale out of Chancery against Mr. Demehoy, a member of the House, should be summond to appear at their Barre. After that, they took his Majestye's answer concerning the D. of Lauderdale into consideration, and after a long debate, and then a division of 136 against 116, they ordered another Addresse to the former purpose should be drawn up against the said Duke, to be presented to his Majesty. Then they went up to a Conference desired by the Lords, who expostulated with them for not having gone up to the Conference which the Lords had granted, but with that unusuall limitation, so that the Commons did not therein debate of the Lords Judicature. To-day the Counsell summond appeard at the Barre, and were heard severally upon their excuses; Sergeant Pemberton, Sir John Churchill, Sergeant Peeke and Mr. Porter. Pemberton was first put to the question, and 154 dividing against 146, he was committed prisoner to the Sergeant at arms. So were the other three without division. Then Sir John Fag, a member of the House, was sent to the Tower for having appeard before the Lords upon an Appeale against him there, after he had complained of it to the House, and they sent to the Lords in his consideration. The same was debated concerning Mr. Demehoy in a thing of like nature, but he was acquitted. Sir Nicholas Crispe and his two brothers are summoned to appear to-morrow for having appealed before the Lords against Demehoy: thus things go at present. I am, &c.

June 1, 1675.

The Lords sate in Committee yesterday till twelve at night, his Majesty present, upon their Bill of Test,

and have not finished, but may now in a few days be ready for their report. The Pope hath given a Cardinall's Hat to Father Howard the Queen's Almoner.

'Chaos' is coming apparently: crimination and re-crimination, but all the while 'the Commons' are firm, even with business at a stand-still. The Lord Chief Justice North was Francis, 2nd son of the 4th Lord North: born 22nd Oct., 1637: Solicitor General 1671; knighted 21st May same year; Attorney General 1673: Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas 23rd Jan., 1674-5: Lord Keeper of the Great Seal 20th Dec., 1682: created Baron Guilford 27th Sep., 1683: died 5th Sep., 1685.

Letter CCXLV. TO THE SAME.

'June 3, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, Sir James Norfolk, the Sergent of the House of Commons, was by them voted to be sent to the Tower, to be devested of all privilege, and that his Majesty be desired to cause a new Sergent to attend, he having betrayed his trust, &c. but Sir James forthwith escaped from the House while they were penning the orders: his crime was neglect in taking the lawyers into custody, and his collusion with the Black Rod to take Sir John Churchill from him, after he had seisd him. The Commons have sent to desire his Majesty to issue a fuller proclamation to recall his subjects out of the French service. Sir John Fag, having been committed to the Tower, is, upon his petition to the House, released. The letters for the Defaulters go this post. The Lords having yesterday sent down a message by L. Ch. Justice North and the L. Ch. Baron for a conference to-day upon matters of high importance, concerning the King's dignity and safety of the government, delivered them to-day this paper, which I inclose to

you. The Commons prepare an answer for to-morrow to it. I have sent you also a catalogue of the publick Bills in our House; but 'tis something erroneous and imperfect, but not much. Twere great damage should they all miscarry by the present differences. I am, &c.

June 3, '75.

More and more offences by the Commons! The King is diplomatic and persuasive, 'The Lords' will be persuaded too.

Letter CCXLVI. TO THE SAME.

'June 5, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the King having upon the House's desire appointed them another Sergeant, the Speaker coming in the morning through Westminster Hall, found Sergeant Pemberton in his way, and caused his Sergeant to seize him. The House afterwards being informed that the other three were at the Chancery Barre, sent the Sergeant with his mace thither to seize them; they read the protection of the Lords House, neverthesse he brought them away; then the House voted they should be sent to the Tower, which was done by a warrant to the Sergeant; they also gave the Sergeant a written authority, whereby himsefe in case any should arrest him, or detain him, he should secure any such person. The Lords, as I heare, voted that they would not, till reparation had from the Commons in this matter, transact further with them, and addressed the King to remove this New Sergeant, and to remove the Lieutenant of the Tower. His Majesty sent to-day at the sitting of the Houses, to adjourne till foure a'clock, and then both wait on him in the Banquetting House; they did so, where his Majesty spoke to them with

great prudence concerning the reconciling of their differences, and I hope to as much effect. The Commons, therefore returning, voted their humble thanks to his Majesty for the gracious expressions in his speech, and his Majesty having declared his sense of those ill persons who fomented the differences, the House voted, that it did not appeare to their House that any member therein had promoted or contrived those differences, or had carried himselfe otherwise in asserting the privileges of their House, then belongd to their duty and the trust reposed in them. Many more particularities I might insert concerning these matters; but truly they were perhaps all better spared; neither will you, I know be forward to propagate the discourse of them. The King's Speech I shall send you by the next post for I will not venture to diminish it by my ill-memory. I am, &c.

Sat., June 5, '75.

They are in a 'labyrinth': King refuses to remove 'Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower,' as the 'Lords' had asked him to do. This Letter is *not* preserved in the collection at Hull. I am compelled to accept Capt. Thompson's text.

Letter CCXLVII. TO THE SAME.

'June 8, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE business of the two Houses since my last hath been in contrary votes; the Commons justifying Sir John Robinson, the Lords issuing an Habeas Corpus for him to bring the prisoner before them, and after, their addresse to the King for another Lieutenant of the Tower, refused by his Majesty. The Commons sent several times to them for Conferences, but none granted: I see not yet any

way out of this labyrinth; there is but little pleasure nor have I, as it chanches, time to particularise these things. I have enclosed to you, though not delivered, yet entered on our book, the reasons prepared for the Lords when they shall be in disposition to admit a Conference, and the King's Speech. I am, &c.

Westminster, June 8, 1675.

A 'prorogation' is the device resorted to for——peace. It won't do.

Letter CCXLVIII. To the Same.

'June 10, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

HAVING writ to you the last post, I think it unnecessary and indecent to give you any other account of the Prorogation of the Parliament, then you will find in his Majestye's speech yesterday here inclosed. I am, &c.

Westm., June 10, 1675.

Just as we eagerly wish for it here is another 'private' Letter, with Marvell's usual manly out-spokenness of his own personal convictions. Again he is at 'Highgate' and again I remind the Reader that he can look at his House (in Vol. III fontispiece in 4to.) There is trenchant criticism of the Duke of York. and the Cavaliers: 'a perfect resurrection of loyalty;' 'the King, forsooth, to ask no money;' the Commons with very difficulty brought to give him ['his Majesty'] thanks; 'scaramuccio acting daily' with a 'twelve-penny gallery . . . for his Majesty's poorer subjects.' to look on. With reference to 'scaramuccio acting daily,' Captain Thompson has annotated in the place, 'performing Mass;' but this can't be the meaning here. The Queen had her private Chapel, and the Duke of York at his own residence, these having been tacitly conceded. But it seems impossible that Mass could have been performed in the Hall at Whitehall. It durst not have been attempted, and certainly Charles II would not have attempted it. The paying Mony as at a common play-house, and 'twelve penny

gallery' point to the meaning being literal, viz., the acting of Italian farcical pieces or Italian-like farces having a Scaramouch in them. What Marvell speaks against is the come-down from plays at Court with select audiences, to daily buffoon exhibitions and the admission of the public on payment as at the ordinary theatres. As the prices of seats were higher by a good deal in Charles II's time, I don't know the status of 12d. gallery, but in previous reigns it was the highest-priced gallery, and would rank next to the seats equivocal to our boxes. What a different atmosphere again in this Letter from that of the restrained or constrained public Letters! 'Unaffected silence' in this letter is a somewhat odd expression to modern ears. 'Affected' is used in the now old but then common sense of 'affectioned,' desired, or wished for; 'Unaffected' would therefore be undesired, unwished for, unchosen. He implies that it was not a silence from want of affection and good feeling, but brought about by hindrances of business and the like.

Letter CCXLIX. To William Ramsden, Esq.

'July 24, 1675.'

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE now before me yours of the 17th of June, with the inclosed paper of the 17th of May, to which I owed you a quicker return. Being resolved now to sequester myself one whole day at Highgate, I shall write four whole sides (if my spirit will hold out) in answer to your kind letter, and to atone for my so long unaffected silence. And now, Will, I have cast it so that I can give you an account of the business of Parliament last sitting. If it should seem to come too late, it is but imagining yourself in the East Indies, and it could not have come sooner. Nor is there any philosophical difference betwixt the ignorance or knowledge of these publick matters. The Treasurer, Lauderdale, and I should have said the Duke of York, had, as they generally have, the great stroke in our counsels.

It seemed necessary for the King's affairs, who always, but now more, wants money, the Parliament should meet. Lauderdale therefore, and the Treasurer Coke, voted so obnoxious to the Parliament, (the second foreseeing himself to have many enemys) that they were forced to make a most strict league with the bishops, and the whole old cavalier party, in order to their own security, and the King's busyness, and for the Duke of York, who ought to be against the Parliament's meeting. They persuaded him, that, in an act for taking the Popish Test, he should be exempted by particular proviso. And though they two could have been content the meeting should have been put off, so the blame might have layed at the Duke's door, yet he thought himself as able to abide the brunt as they were, and so let it take its chance ; for there is no real union betwixt any of them ; but they shuffle and cut every dealing. In order to make their episcopal cavalier party, they contrived before hand a politic test to be inacted, and then taken by all Members of Parliament, and all officers ; though there lay an hook too under that, for after such an Act they thought another Parliament might safely be called, if this proved refractory. Among other chimæras, they discoursed of none having any beneficial offices but cavaliers, or sons of cavaliers. But, for more pageantry, the old King's statue on horseback, of brass, was bought, and to be set up at Charing-Cross, which hath been doing longer than Viner's, but does not yet see the light. The old King's body was to be taken up, to make a perfect resurrection of loyalty, and to be reinterred with great magnificence ; but that sleeps. But principally the laws were to be severely executed, and reinforced against Fanatics and Papists ; Proclamations issuing

a month, which is always time enough, before the sitting, to that purpose. And the King should ask, forsooth, no money, but only mention the building and refitting of ships. And thus the Parliament meets, and the King tells them 'tis only to see what farther is wanted for religion and property. The Commons were very difficultly brought to give him thanks for his gracious expressions. Strait they poured in Bills for *Habeas Corpus*, against imprisonment beyond sea; treason to levy money without, or longer than, consent of Parliament; and that it should be lawful to resist. To vacate any Member of Parliament, and issue a new writ, who, hereafter being chosen, should accept a beneficial office. A new Popish test for Book-Houses, else to be incapable. New test, and way of proceeding, for speedyer conviction of Papists, and which is worse, for appropriating the King's customs to the use of the navy; and, worse of all, voted one morning to proceed on no more Bills before the recess; which the King intimated should be shortly, but to return in winter. Address upon address against Lauderdale. Articles of impeachment against the Treasurer, but which were blown off at last by great bribing. Several addresses for recalling our forces out of the French service. One day, in this last matter, upon dispute of telling right upon division, both parties grew so hot, that all order was lost; men came running confusedly up to the table, grievously affronted one by another; every man's hand on his hilt; quieted though at last by the present prudence of the Speaker; and every man, in his place, was obliged to stand up, and engage his honour, not to resent any thing of that day's proceeding. Shaftsbury of the Lords, Cavendish and Newport of the Commons, are

forbid the Court, Strangways, a flagrant churchman, made privy counsellor. Scaramuccio acting daily in the hall of Whitehall, and all sorts of people flocking thither, and paying their money as at a common play-house; nay even a twelve-penny gallery is builded for the convenience of his Majesty's poorer subjects. Dear Will, present my kind love and service to your wife. O when will you have arrived at what is necessary? Make other serviceable instruments that you may not be a drudge, but govern all by your understanding. When I hear you have received this letter, I have another of more pleasure ready for you.

July 24, 1675. -

P.S. Strangways, a man of seven or eight thousand pounds a year, having, as I told you, been lately made privy counsellor, is dead, like a fool. The same post brings it certain. He was gone into the country, swoln with his new honour, and with venom against the fanatics. He had set the informers to work, and dyed suddenly, notwithstanding his church's letany, 'from sudden death, good Lord,' &c. He was their great pillar in the House of Commons. Thus holy church goes to wrack on all sides. Never were poor men exposed and abused all the session, as the bishops were by the Duke of Buckingham, upon the test; never the like, nor so infinitely pleasant: and no men were ever grown so odiously ridiculous. Dr. Burnet, one of Lauderdale's former confidants, witnessed, at the Commons bar, that, discoursing to Lauderdale of the danger of using such severities against the non-conformists in Scotland, while the King was engaged in war abroad, Lauderdale said, 'He wished they would rebel.' How so? Why, 'He would bring over the Irish Papists to cut their throats.' Farther,

concerning the Parliament, 'if, they be refractory, I will bring the Scotch army upon them:' But it will be difficult to persuade them. 'No, the prey of England will draw in a great many.' Nevertheless Lauderdale is in as much favour as ever.

The Lighthouse-business, with Angel and the 'counterfeit letter' again return on us. (See letter CCXLIII), it seems clear that the weapon of 'bribery' was tried against the incorrupt Member.

Letter CCL. To the Same.

'Aug. 14, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THERE was upon the eleventh instant a letter left at my lodgings, dated the last day of July. The purport thereof was, that I should promote in what I could the establishing to Mr. Angel the continuance of certain lights upon the Spurne, by his Majesty's grant at one farthing a tun of the burthen of each ship, and that I should afford him my best assistance and recommendation therein; which letter one may easily conjecture to be of no small weight with me, coming from your Bench, and backed with so many hands of other persons, after you, the most considerable with me, whether for their own value, or in my deserved esteem and friendship; and I could have therefore heartily wished that you had either taken that resolution sooner, or imparted it, if taken more timely, that I might have been more free from any pre-ingagement; but neither were you pleased, although I sent you that reproachfull and counterfeit letter under Chr. Shores his hand, in behalfe of those lights, to signify to me your opinion concerning them; nor, although I was profered by Mr. Angel any share in the advantage, did that prevail with me to separate from

the judgement of those who at that time onely interested themselves to me. And though in processe of time severall things have intervened, yet you may assure yourselves, that I neither have nor will enter into any obligation which shall engage me either against true reason, or against mine own interest, which consists in doing you all reasonable service ; nor, I hope, have you ever found by experience of former affairs, that if at any time I have seemed to dissent from you, I have done any thing either out of animosity or partiality, nor which you had cause to repent of. Therefore I beseech you to speake in the same matter with Sir Jer. Smyth, before his departure, who is so great a lover of your corporation, and will have no small stroke here in that businesse, that I may receive further instructions from you ; for though I availle litle, you may reckon me of course, your most humble servant.

Westm. August 14, '75.

A mere Note is next.

Letter CCLI. For the Right Worshipfull William Shires, Mayor, of Kingston upon Hull.

'Oct. 16, 1675.'

SIR,

I HERE inclose to you his Majestye's and the Lord Keeper's Speeches; not having further at present then to remaine, your most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

West., Oct. 16, 1675.

A 'Popish recusant' is dealt with and a Paper by him is voted 'scandalous.' The 'state of the Nation' is 'debated' but not to be written of. The horizon is darkening if it be also widening.

Letter CCLII. To THE SAME.

‘Oct. 19, 1675.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

OUR House sat yesterday, and the Speaker giving them account of the great weaknesse and indisposition under which Colonell Thomas Howard laboured, they ordered a Committee of five gentlemen to examine him, whether he ownd that paper; who did accordingly, and his answer was, after many civill expressions to the House, that he owned nothing but what should be proved upon him; which they took not for a good answer, but voted the paper scandalous, and a breach of the privilege of their House; nevertheless considering his infirmities, they gave him this day se’nnight to appeare at the barre of the House, to be examin’d there by them. Yesterday also they appointed this for considring that part of his Majestye’s speech relating to the anticipations on his revenue, and to ships. They red the first time their Bill for appropriating the Customes to the Navy, and appointed Thursday for its second reading. Likewise that against levying mony but by act of parliament, and Friday for its second reading. Then the House ordered to turn itselfe into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the state and condition of the nation, which arose from several members instancing many things very grievous, which I mention not, being only proper within the walls of the Parliament House. To-day they sat in Committee of the whole House ’till foure a’clock, when it came to a question concerning a supply, to take of the anticipations. They divided first whether the question should be put, and ’twas 166 to 166. The chairman was then to give the casting voice. It

was Sir Charles Harbord, who was before, by question in the House, chosen chairman, against Sergent Jones, whom I saw when at Hull. Sir Charles gave it for the ayes. So the main question was put, and by 172 against 165, carryed that the House is of opinion, that no supply be given to his Majestye upon account of the anticipations. These, the late anticipations, (not relating at all to the Bankers,) were given in to be neare a million. Friday is appointed to proceed on what is to be done in reference to the navy. To-morrow the House will be in a Committee of the whole House upon Religion. Shirley's petition is again in the House of Lords, and red, and after debate adjourned it till to-morrow. I wish it do not engage the Houses again in their former controversy. I am, your most humble servant.

Oct. 19, '75.

The 'times are something criticall,' and there has been imprudent shewing of his Letters—here and elsewhere manfully rebuked and forbidden. I can conceive the flutter in the doves as they read and re-read.

Letter CCLIII. To the Same.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I THINKE I forgot in my last to acquaint you that as soon as the Committee of the whole House had voted their opinion concerning a supply upon account of the late anticipations, the Speaker took the chair, and putting the question, the House agreed therein with the Committee. Tuesday the Committee of the whole House upon Religion, voted, as their opinion, that there should be a Committee appointed to examine of atheisticall Books, or against the Doctrine or Discipline established by Law; (to which was added afterwards by the House, 'or against the

civil Government.') A Bill or Bills against profane Cursing or Swearing, and for the better observation of the Lord's Day—To prevent the growth of Popery—That the Children of the Royall Family should be educated in the Protestant Religion, and no Popish Priest to come neare them—For erecting of Churches in all out-Parishes—That nothing concerning the Religion now established can, or shall, or ought to be alterd, or suspended, but by Act of Parliament. The Speaker then taking the chaire, the House agreed in all things with the Committee. To-day they red the second time the two Bills of appropriating 400.000l. out of the Customes for three years unto the use of the navy, and the other making it Treason to raise mony but by Act of Parliament, and after mature debate thereupon, they referd them to severall Committees. To-morrow will be the Committee of the whole House, upon what is fit to be done in reference to the Navy: so that it is likely to prove a long day, and of great accout and argument. The Lord's sitting yesterday till foure, in debate of Shirly's Appeale (which debate and themselves they adjourned 'till next Munday) there was no hearing before King and Councill concerning the Lights, but I suppose it may come on there next Friday (I mean to-morrow). I crave leave to advertise you, that Mr. Cressett this afternoon discoursing with me, told me he had this post a letter from the Mayor and seven or eight of the Aldermen, giving him notice that you had received from me a letter of three sides, partly concerning Parliament busnesse, as also concerning the Lights to such and such purpose; which makes me presume to advertise you, that though I object nothing to Mr. Cresset's fidelity and discretion, neither do I write deliberately any

thing which I feare to have divulged, yet seeing it is possible that in writing to assured friends, a man may give his pen some liberty, and the times are something criticall, beside that, I am naturally, and now more by my age inclined to keep my thoughts private, I desire that what I write down to yon, may not easily, or unnecessarily return to a third hand at London: if in saying this I have used more freedom than the occasion requires, I beg your pardon, being your most humble servant.

Oct. 21, 1675.

'The Navy' is to be looked after: war is looming and there must be readiness against 'French King' or whoever may. Lord Cavendish afterwards became William 4th earl and 1st Duke of Devonshire. He was a personal friend of Marvell's as Cooke's dedication of Marvell's Works would seem to shew.

Letter CCLIV. To the Same.

'Oct. 23, 1675.'

SIR,

HAVING scarce stuffe enough for a letter to the Bench, I content myself for this post with acquainting you that yesterday ended in a vote that there should, with convenient speed, twenty new ships be built. Upon Tuesday next it will be considered how many of each rate, but below the third rate none; as likewise what the charge shall be estimated at, whether by building, be only understood the hulls, or rigging, and cannon, &c. which will alter the matter proportionably, how and within what terme the money for the same shall be raised. All docks will be employed that are capable. I wish there were, but I doubt there is not possibly, commodity of building at your port of so great a burthen. To-day the House voted that all the King's subjects, who are or shall be in the French King's service, contrary to his Majestye's

Proclamation, shall be deemed Contemnors of his Royal authority, and Enemys of the Interest of this Nation. To desire the Lord's concurrence herein, and likewise to prepare an Act (limiting the time for their returne) to the same purpose. Also the Bill was red to-day the second time against Papists, who shall not take the strict Test therein contained, that they sit in neither House. There is a Bill against transporting of Wooll. A Committee appointed to consider in order to a Bill if they find it advisable concerning exportation of Coals, with no higher imposition then of twelve pence per chaldron; it being proposed as a great expedient for the increase of mariners. I forgot to tell you in my last that the L. Cavindish for posting up Mr. Howard, when the matter depended in the House, was sent to the Tower for Breach of Privilege, and yesterday petitioning the House, was forthwith discharged. I heare that it was orderd yester night at Councill, that Angel's Patent should passe, which I hope is according to your desire. Pray, Sir, present my humble service to the Bench, I am, your very affectionate friend.

Oct. 23, [1675.]

Of the 'Chamber of London' see the reference in Letter CLXI. Francis Nuport was no doubt Francis Newport of George Herbert's family by his mother. It is amusing to read the question whether at Hull there was 'convenience of building one or two third-rate ships.' Here is a measure of Hull's magnificent advance.

Letter CCLV. To the Same,

'Oct. 26, 1675.'

Gentlemen, my very worthy Friends,

ALTHOUGH we sat very long yesterday, and to-day till near six o'clock, the result as in matters of

great moment and much debate, will hold in a little compass ; for yesterday the Committee of the whole house concerning the state of the nation, made only this step, that the Atheisme, Profanenesse and Impiety among the people were one point to be redressed in the state of the nation. And before the House to-day should resolve itself into Committee concerning the twenty ships, a debate lasted all day, concerning lodging the money in the Chamber of London ; the question that concluded it was, whether these words—and lodged in the Chamber of London, should be part of the question ; that the money should be appropriated to no other use but the building of ships only ; 'twas carried by 171 against 160 they should not, so the remaining question passed in the affirmative unanimously. I pray Gentlemen, consider whether there may be at your towne the convenience of building one or two third rate shipps, and informe me thereof. Commissioner Tippetts I remember. when he returned formerly from Hull, was of that opinion. The House beside orderd that Mr. Atkins and Mr. Francis Nuport should appeare before them, to be examined concerning a challenge to my L. Cavendish ; and moreover orderd and caused papers to be publickly affixed, that whereas the said Lord had, for his breach of privilege of the House, sufferd imprisonment, that whoever therefore should, either by provocation, message, or challenge, molest him further, should be deemed a disturber of the peace, a contemner of the justice and privilege of the House, and be proceeded against accordingly. To-day Mr. Howard appeard at the bar, and not denying or affirming, they voted it was their judgment he was the author, promoter, and disperser of that scandalous paper, and then sent him to the Towr. A Committee

for improving the vent of woollen mannufacture. The
 Bill for exporting Leather red the second time.
 your servant, ANDR. MARVELL.

Oct. 26, '75.

Still on 'Ships': the 'Darwent' that Derwent which in our
 day has taken new glory from the poetry of Wordsworth, is to
 be made 'navigable into the Trent'—another measure of
 progress. 'No candles'=that the committee and the House
 do not adjourn. (cf Letters CCLIX.)

Letter CCLVI. To the same.

'Nov. 2, 1675.'

SIR,

THE House having sat all day (I mean the
 Committee of the whole House), upon the businesse of
 ships, I have only time to acquaint you, That they
 voted one first rate of 1400 tun; but a division
 whether the number of second rates should be nine
 or five, was carried by 185 against 163, that there
 should be but five, those of 1100 tun. The debate
 of the third rates, whether they should be of 800,
 850, or 900 tun, came to no conclusion, it being
 carried by 160 against 156, that there should be no
 candles; so to morrow, upon the Committee's desire,
 the House orderd them to sit again on the same
 businesse. There is leave for a Bill to make the
 Derbyshire Darwent navigable into the Trent. My
 service to the Bench. I am, &c.

Westminster, Nov. 2, 1675.

One of England's Worthies—Sir Jeremiah Smyth—has just
 died, Marvell present at 'the end'—a death-bed in keeping
 with a sea-king. The former imprudence of shewing or being
 over-talkative about his Letters is finely turned into highest
 compliments and gratitude. 'Some sentinell set upon you and

me,' gathers up in brief the besetting peril of the time. 'Formes' of the House are debated.

Letter CCLVII. To the Same.

'Nov. 4, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

WHEN our House adjourned last week till this Tuesday, I forthwith went over to Sir Jer. Smyth at Clapham: not returning 'till that morning, and the House sitting all day, I writ to Mr. Mayor at supper, before I came to my lodging; so that I took not then any notice of yours of 26 of Oct., which I received not till I came home. I was yesternight again with Sir Jeremy, and saw him expire at eleven a'clock at night, dying very peaceably, and with perfect understanding, memory, and speech, to the last gaspe; and a litle before mentioned you with much kindnesse and respect, desiring me to recommend to you his last wishes and prayers for your prosperity and happinesse. Indeed both you and I have lost in him a very cordiall friend, and we may well condole with one another, such breaches being in these times very difficult to be repaired. And now as to yours of the 26, occasioned by my complaint of intelligence given hither of my letter, I must professe that whosoever did it hath thereby very much obliged me, though I believe beyond his intention, seeing that it hath thence hapned that I have received so courteous and civill a letter from you, that it warms my very heart, and I shall keep it as a marke of honour always to ly by me, among whatsoever things I account most precious and estimable. For it would be very hard for me to tell you at how high a rate I value all expressions of your kindness to me, or how sensibly I should regret the loss of it

by any mistake that might chance on either side. Truly Mr. Cressett met me twice that day, and told me the same story, but the second time more particularly, that of three sides of paper of parliamentary businesse, and as I wrote you; and that Mr. Shores his name was to it among the rest. I met him this day with Mr. Castleton, who was the other Solicitor in Mr. Angel's businesse: I showed him your letter: he told me, as it were boasting, before I showed it him, that he also had advice from Hull concerning my letter where I complained of this matter. Some little evasion he used, that the letter was not writ to himselfe but to another; but when he saw what you writ of the 26th he faultred, and would neither affirme or deny that it was any of you. In conclusion, I am very well satisfied, Gentlemen, by your letter, that it was none of you, but it seems therefore that there is some sentinell set both upon you and me, and to know it therefore is a sufficient caution. The best of it is, that none of us, I believe, either do, say, or write any thing, but what we care not though it be made publick, although we do not desire it. I ask your pardon for having given you this so long but not altogether unnecessary diversion or disturbance. I shall reserve the next side for our news, but therefore fill up this with intreating you to send me that counterfeit writing of Shores, which in a former letter to me you said you had inclosed, but in the postscript, that you would reserve it for further discovery; but seaing there is no likelyhood now of any effect thereof, I should be glad to have it in my own keeping. My last to you left the Committee of the whole House rising without resolve whether 850 or 900 tun be allowed for the third rates. This long debate proceeded, because some

would contest an ancient order of the House, that in all questions the least sum and the shortest time should be first put; but next morning the Speaker being in the chaire, it was declared and resolved to be an undouted ancient standing order, not to be violate, and so was entred and established upon the booke. And then the Committee unanimously voted it should be 900. Then they agreed 14li. a tun for first, 12li. 10s. for second, and 9li. 10s. for the third rates. But then they differd concerning the word ships; some insisting that thereby was ment also rigging and gunning; and these to day, while the Speaker was yet in the chaire, before we enterd into Committee of the whole House, moved to have it so explained in order to have a greater summe directed in the Committee. But upon division 163 against 157 carryd that no farther directions should how be given to the Committee. Then the House turnd into Committee, where towards six at night, 'twas resolved upon, the question put, that a supply not exceeding 300,000li. should be raised for the building and towards the gunning, and rigging, and furnishing of the twenty ships; and this vote with the rest, was orderd to be reported to the House next Saturday morning. It seemd also by several intervening discourses as if there were an intention to put this into the same Bill with the appropriation for the customs. I left the Lords sitting when I came home, in debate of appointing a day to hear Shirley's appeal, his petition having been received. I am, &c.

Nov. 4, 1675.

The Navy 'vote' for £300,000 carried by 176 to 150 against that 'for more.'

Letter CCLVIII. To the Same.

'Nov. 6. 1675.'

SIR,

ALL the businesse of this day hath been that the Committee of the whole House have made their report to the House of all the votes concerning the 20 ships, which I formerly sent you; the House agreed to them all, onely upon the last vote a summe not exceeding 300,000*l.* &c. they debated long; severall gentlemen contending for a greater summe, but upon division of the House 176 against 150, that vote was likewise agreed to. I am, &c.

West, Nov. 6, 1675.

A case of threatening of a convert from Popery causes a stir. It has disappeared in history. The name Luzang (spelled by Capt. Thompson 'Luzaney' as in Letter CCLVIII, but there also Luzaney) I find nowhere else. Nor have I deemed it needful to recover 'St. German, a Popish priest.' 'The House is still agitated about Popery: Papists 'forbidden the Court &c. &c.

Letter CCLIX. To the Same.

'Nov. 9, 1675.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the Bill (of which Col. Gilby sent you the breviat) for making the Darwent navigable was read the second time and committed. Col. Thomas Howard's petition, acknowledging his sense of the House's displeasure, was received, and he thereupon freed from his imprisonment in the Tower. One St. German, a French Popish Priest, having come to the chamber of Monsieur Luzang, a priest lately converted, proffered him a recantation to subscribe, or

else threatened to ponyard him. Luzangg's own narrative was produced, and read in the House, who thereupon made a committee to examine the businesse, to report their opinions, to propose ways for the safety as well of this person as of others that should be converted to the Protestant Religion, to inquire what priests have been convicted, how pardoned, and by whose procurement. Further the House sent to my Lord Chief Justice to issue out his warrant for apprehending St. German and his accomplices, and all other Romish priests here about town. His Majesty had the same the yesternight in councill, and orderd his royall Proclamation for the seizing of the said St. German, &c. and a considerable reward to whosoever should take them. The House then red the third time the Bill for excluding Papists from Court, and from both Houses of Parliament; and it was carried up to-day, the same messinger being appointed to quicken the Lords in our House's vote concerning our King's subjects in the French service, and to desire their agreement. Then they went into a Committee of the whole House, where 'twas voted that the 300,000*l.* should be raised by a monthly sesment, by a Land Tax, at seventeen thousand two hundred and foure pound seventeen shillings and three-pence per month for eighteen months, by quarterly payments. Then the Speaker was desired to take the chair, but in putting the last question to the House for agreement with the Committee, a gentleman desired these words might be added, "And that no further charge shall be layed upon the subject this Session;" this admitting debate, the question was put for candles, which were brought in by 143 against 118; then after debate on the main question, "And that no further charge, &c." 'twas carryed

by 145 against 103 as I remember. So that there is no appearance henceforward of any more money than that 300,000*l.* to be raised this sitting, and that only for the use of ships. There being a late printed book containing a narrative of the Test carried on in the Lords House last session, they yesterday voted it a Libell, and to be burnt by the hands of the hangman, and to inquire out the Printer and Author. Our House this day read the Act against transporting Wool, and spent most of the morning in an usefull debate for raising the price of Wool, and then committed it. There was also a petition against the East India Company. I am, &c.

Westm., Nov. 9, '75

Another mere Note.

Letter CCLX. To THE SAME.

'Nov. 11, '75.'

SIR,

THE House having sat all day till halfe an hour-past eight, the question was then put whether their debate should be adjourn'd; but continued by 150 against 136. Then after a second division upon the maine question, 'twas by 151 against 124 carryed that the Bill for appropriating the tunnage and poundage for three years to the use of the navy, shall be annexed to the Bill of 300,000*l.* for the twenty ships, and then a Committee of five or six was named to draw up the Bill. Yon may easily guess I am now in haste. I remain, &c.

Westminster, Nov, 1875.

He is to attend the funeral of stout and good 'Sir Jeremy.' The State of the Nation is before the House. The patience of the people is being exhausted in the matter of chimney-money and excise. The old matter of Fagg and Shirley is revived but 'more coolly.'

Letter CCLXI. To THE SAME.

‘Nov. 16, 1875.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I AM run something in arrears to you by reason of the long sittings of the House, together with some avocation I have had by businesse relating to Sir Jeremye's estate, and his funerall; but having yesterday waited on his corps out of towne, which is intended to be interred at Hembrough upon Saturday next in the afternoon, I shall use all the leisure I have after the House's sitting to-day, till five a'clock, to give you account in what progresse the matters of greatest moment are yet with us. It was upon Wednesday last the Committee of the whole House sate about the State of the Nation, wherein you know the atheisme, impiety and debauchery now practised were first complained of. The next voted, was the sending for Justices of Peace to appeare at the Councill-board upon matters of Excise judicially, according to the Act of Parliament subject to the said Justices determination. The third complaint was of Instructions sent into the country touching the gathering of Excise and Chimny-Mony, stretching those Laws beyond the proper intention. Therefore the House appointed a particular Committee to inspect those Instructions and make report. I mentioned to you before, the vote of annexing the mony bills upon Thursday. There was that same day another vote, that in the drawing up of those Bills there should be clauses placing the receipt in Exchequer, but with very severe penalties upon all officers issuing or applying the one or other mony to any differing purpose but that of the Navy. That same day a Bill of printing and against

scandalous Libells was read, and the Bill against Hawkers and Pedlars was red the second time and committed. Uppon Friday the Bill against illegal levying of mony upon the subject was reported and ordered to be ingrossd. A Committee appointed to consider of redresse to the multitude of poore in the nation. Also order for a Bill against Bribery, Drinking and other excesses in Elections to Parliament. On Saturday the Weavers petition concerning the importing of Forain Silks and the Looms was red and committed. The Committee of Monsieur Luzang reported to the House that St. German after three days that warrants were said to have been out to apprehend him, and that very Munday morning when Luzang's business, was in the afternoon before the King and Councill, was seen three or four houres walking at leisure in the Pal-mall, having come out of Whitehall. Hereupon the House orderd some gentlemen to draw up an Adresse to his Majesty, representing the default of his ministers or officers therein. Also they orderd thanks to his Majesty, for preferring Monsieur Breval, and recommended to him this Luzancy and one De La Motte, learned converts, to the first vacant dignities in his Majesty's gift. The said Committee is on further inquiry, what Romish Priests lately convicted, pardond and by whose procurement, and are to procure encouragement and security to converts, Forainers. The Lords on Dr. Shirly have given notice by writing to Sir John Fag, that his cause shall be heard on the 20th of this month; so yesterday the Commons voted that Dr. Shirly's appeale was a breach of the privilege of this House, and that Sir John Fag shall not appeare before the Lords without leave had from the House of Commons, but

these things were more coolly handled than last session. We should have gone upon it again to-day, but 'tis set for to morrow; this being taken up by a debate concerning Sir Edmund Jenny's being shrieve of Yorkshire, and indeed the House have voted hereupon, that to make a Member of Parliament shrieve is a breach of their privilege, and have orderd some gentlemen to report to them the way to supersede Sir Edmund's commission. The Bill for explaining Hearth money is under commitment: For Habeas Corpus; Second Bill against Popery. They sent to day to quicken the Lords in first against Papists sitting in their House.

- I am, your most humble servt.

November 16, '75.

'Longest debates, ending in the shortest results.' Sir John Fagg and St. German again dealt with. This Letter is signed only A. M.

Letter CCLXII. TO THE SAME.

'Nov 18, 1675.'

SIR,

WE sate all day yesterday 'till six, and to-day 'till seven; so that you can not expect much from me, having so small leisure, and the longest debates ending in the shortest results. Yesterday the Bill for recalling the forces in France, was reported and orderd to be ingross'd. They went after to the businesse of Sir John Fagg, and Shirlye's appeale. 'Twas long insisted to renew the vote of the former sessions, that no appeales ly from Courts of equity to the Lords House. But on putting the question whether that question should be now put, 'twas carryed in the negative by 158 against 102, so that nothing further was done that day, for it was

carried afterwards by 118 against 108, that the House should then adjourne. To-day the House was calld, and the defaulters orderd to be calld next Wednesday, and the House to be calld again Munday come se'nnight. Then they enterd again on Sir John Fagg's businesse, which is appointed by the Lords to be heard on the 25th, that is next Saturday, but it being two a'clock the question was put for adjourning, and 141 against 81, carryd it for sitting on. 'Twas then very long insisted to renew a vote of the last session, that all lawyers who should appeare at the Lords against Sir John Fagg, should be deemed violators of the privelege of Parliament; but by the exceeding moderation of the House, 'twas carryd in the negative. The result of all was, that a conference should be desired of the Lords to avoid the reviving of the differences between the two Houses, and a Committee appointed to draw up reasons. To-morrow, upon leave given, a great Lord brings in a Bill into the Lords for care of Dissenters. Our House has appointed a Committee to see into the cause of delaying their order to my Lord Chief Justice for his warrant to take St. German, it not being brought to my Lord in nine days after. Yours,

A. M.

November 18, 1675.

The Lords are as obstinate as possible, and as foolish, *in re* Sir John Fagg. The Commons act very nobly, and with all gravity.

Letter CCLXIII. TO THE SAME.

‘Nov. 20, 1675.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the House of Commons sent a message to the Lords to desire a Conference, in order

to preserve the good correspondence betwixt the two Houses. The Lords granted it presently. The Conference was this: His Majesty having recommended to us at the opening of this session of Parliament, the avoiding of this difference, if possible, and if it could not be prevented, that we should defer the debate 'till we had brought such public Bills to perfection, which might conduce to the good and safety of the kingdome; the Commons esteeme it a great misfortune, that, contrary to that most excellent advise, the proceedings in the appeale brought the last session against Sir John Fag, by Dr. Shirly, have been renewed, and a day set for hearing the cause; and therefore the Commons have judged it the best way, before they enter into argument for the defence of their right in this matter, to propose to your Lordships the putting of[f] the proceedings in that matter for some short time; that so they may according to his Majestye's advice give dispatch to some Bills now before them of great importance to the king and kingdom, which being finished, the Commons will be ready to give your Lordships such reasons against those proceedings, and in defense of their rights, that we hope may satisfy your Lordships that no such proceedings ought to have been. After having delivered this, our House went upon the Bill, and red it once, sent down by the Lords, in prohibition of forain Manufactures of Silke, Cloth, &c. and voted an addresse to his Majesty that he would weare onely the English. Then went into a Committee of the whole House concerning the Bill against Irish Cattell, but after some time it was understood, that the Lords were rose without taking any consideration at all of our Conference, and that the cause would go on

this day ; so the Speaker took the chaire, and 'twas orderd that "Whosoever should sollicit or appeare in these appeales from equity before the Lords, should be deemed a violator of, &c." as was the last Session, and this was by order affixed at the Sergeant's Inns, the Inns of Court, Westminster Hall, and the Lobby. The Lords to-day in their House, expecting to proceed in Shirlye's cause, no Councill appeared, being probably deterred by this order. This begat in their Lordships some resentment ; so that though it is now towards nine at night, they are still upon their long debate of addressing to the King to dissolve this Parliament. I wish that all these things weighed together, I may not presage truly that on Munday the Parliament will be prorogued. The Commons have also orderd to take Shirly into custody, and also Sir Nicholas Staughton, who has brought an appeale of like nature against a member. I am sorry I can write you no better news. The Bill of 300,000*li.* and annexing the tunnage and poundage of ships, and for navy, was red to day the first time. I am, &c.

Westm., Nov. 20, 1675.

Following on the last Letter, viz., of November 20th, 1675, there is a gap in the Correspondence at Hull until December 21st, 1676. Singularly enough among Bishop Gibson's MSS. (Vol. V.) preserved in the Library at Lambeth there are three letters of and one letter to Marvell, belonging to this vacant period. The first is an undated, unsigned, and somewhat unintelligible fragment to William Popple, his nephew, as follows—this and the whole re-collated with the original MSS.

Letter CCLXIV. To William Popple, Esq.

[Imperfect.]

DEARE WILL

I RECKON y by this time my quatre feuille letter is arrived to you, and y^t the bookes will

speedily overtake it. Cave omnino ne vel minimum offendam vel abbatem vel uxorem tuam plurimi enim facio utriusq; erga me affectum et meam apud illos existimationem, liber autem iste non est perfectus in suo genere sed strictim et desultorie agit: sed neq; est mutilis: apices rerum tangit. Si autem perfectius aliquid desideras oporteret ipsum Cornelium Agrippam de vanitate scientiarum consulere et præcipue Picum Mirandulanum contra astrologos qui tamen mortuus est anno ab illis præfinito. I doe not perceive the foole hath any harme, nor that although they talk of it, they will or can ansyver him according to his folly; I send you these copyes.

How these Letters should have found their way to the archiepiscopal palace is a puzzle. The next interpret themselves. Good Bp. Croft, grateful to Marvell for his wise as witty Defence of his 'Naked Truth' in "Mr. Smirke," addressed the following Letter to him.

SIR,

"I CHOOSE to run some hazard of this (haveing noe certaine information) rather than incurre y^e hateful censure of ingratitude to y^t person whoe hath set forth Mr. Smirk in soe trim and proper a dresse, unto whose hands I hope this will happily arrive to render him due thanks for the humane civility and Christian charity shewed to the author of Naked Truth, soe bespotted with the dirty language of foule mouthed beasts, whoe though he feared much his owne weaknesse, yet by God's undeserved grace is soe strengthened as not at all to be dejected or much concerned with such snarling currs, though sett on by many spightfull hands and hearts of a high stamp, but as base alloy. I cannot yet get a sight of what the Bishop of Ely hath certainly printed, but

keeps very close, to put forth, I suppose, the next approaching session of parliament, when there cannot be time to make a reply; for I have just cause to feare the session will be short. Sir, this assures you that you have the zealous prayers and hearty service (in voto, and would gladly be in actu) of, Sir, the author of Naked Truth, your humble servant [noe, I am wrong, 'tis your faithfull servant.]

The Letter of Bishop Croft was thus modestly acknowledged.

Letter CCLXV.

‘July 15, 1676.’

MY LORD,

UPON Tuesday night last I received your thanks for that which could not deserve your pardon, for great is your goodnesse to professe a gratitude where you had a justifiable reason for your clemency; for notwithstanding the ill treatment you have received from others, 'tis I that have given you the highest provocation. A good cause receives more injury from a weake defence than from a frivolous accusation; and the ill that does a man noe harme is to be preferred before the good that creates him a prejudice: but your Lordship's generosity is not, I see, to be reformed by the most exquisite patterns of ill-nature; and while perverse men have made a crime of your virtue, yet 'tis your pleasure to convert the obligation I have placed upon you into a civility. Indeed I ment all very well, but 'tis not every one's good fortune to light into those hands where he may escape; for a man of good intentions,—lesse than this I could not say in due and humble acknowledgement, and your favourable interpretation of mee: for the rest, I most heartily rejoyce to understand that the

same God whoe hath chosen you out to beare soe eminent a testimony to His truth, hath given you also the Christian magnanimity to hold up without any depression of spirit against its and your opposers: what they intend further, I know not, neither am I curious; my soul shall not enter into their secrets; but as long as God shall lend you life and health, I reckon our church is indefectible; may He therefore long preserve you to His honour and further service, which shall be the constant prayer of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble,
and most faithful servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

London, July 15, 1676.

For more on Bp. Croft see our Essay in the present Volume and his Portrait (first engraved for me, in the 4to. Vol. IV). Beside these there is another apparently fragmentary Letter to William Popple, also somewhat un-intelligible in its abrupt commencement in Latin. The Dr. Stubbes (rather Stubbe) named with un-characteristic harshness, was a man of note or notoriety in his day—his books shewing a naturally sceptical but also a shrewd, clever intellect, and a full vocabulary. His main book is "A Justification (and a further Justification) of the present War against the United Netherlands" (1672). He was a merciless satirist of Dr. Wallis and of the Royal Society. He sought to popularize 'Chocolata' (Chocolate) calling it 'Indian nectar' (1662).

Letter CCLXVI. To William Popple, Esq.:

[imperfect.]

'July 17th, 1676.'

Ignoscas Gulielme curiositati meæ sed non opus est ut satisfacias tametsi si faceres secretum apud me inviolabile maneret cuperem scire quantum effeceris pecuniæ et in solido collocaveris ut spes aliqua mihi etiam senescenti effulgeret te coram aliquando videndi.

Fruendi antequam in pulverem nativum dissiper, imminuar, revertar, at saltem vano hoc prospe. Liceat summo meo ergo affectus adulari.

AFTER soe many fires in the country, at York, at London, last Saturday night there was another here in Warwick-Lane; some persons burnt and houses. Mr. Jinks will not petition the King; might soe come out, but keeps his prison as his fort, and molests all judicatures with requiring Habeas Corpus and offering baile, yet in vaine, and perhaps he may be prisoner till Michaelmas terme: noe matter, he is a single brave fellow. Dr. Stubbs, physician, atheist, found dead, I mean drowned, between Bath and Bristol, twenty-three guinnies and three broad pieces found in his pocket, suppost drunk: *Es magne Deus.* July 17, [16]76."

Dear Mr. ROBERT THOMSON, July 17.

(The backside of this letter thus written) "Deliver to my nephew, your master, you not reading it, &c.

"From your affectionate friend,

"ANDREW MARVEL."

The superscription was, for Mr. Robert Thomson, at Mr. William Pople's, merchant, in Bourdeaux.

N.B. On the back of the letter (in a different hand) A. Marvell, and the superscription in four lines, is entirely scratched out and illegible.

Notwithstanding the following attestation printed by Capt, Thompson our collation has corrected a number of serious misprints, especially in the Latin.

June 24, 1761. "This is a true copy taken by me,

"AND. COLTEE DUCARELL, LL.D.

"Lambeth Librarian."

Still the 'Lighthouse' business; now in keeping of Sir Francis Pemberton.—of whom before.

Letter CCLXVII. For the Wor'pfull Mr. George
Acklam, one of the Aldermen of
Kingstone upon Hull.

'Nov. 28, 1676.'

WORTHY SIR,

YOU may please by this to take notice and I desire you to communicate the same to the gentlemen of the Trinity House, that upon the receipt of their letter I went to Sir Francis Pemberton, and have severall times disc'used their businesse with him. But he not having the leisure to mature his answer before Saturday last, when I was to goe out of town till this night, I left it to the care of Mr. Trueman's servant to receive his resolution. Which I perceive he had and sent down to you by that post, so that I hope you have full satisfaction in what you proposed. For upon perusall of the Sergeant's opinion, especially that upon your third quære, it seems to mee that he hath perfectly resolved you in what way you are to proceed with most security. Though I suppose Mr. Clipsham may coole upon consideration and not thinke fit to give you further trouble in your just administration of so charitable revenue. It is in the meantime a great obligation to me that you give me the advantage to appeare in any of your concerns, which I shall preferre to my own upon all occasions. This I own as the greater ingagement from you, though I must not forget to give you thanks for your kind present of ale lately sent me. I shall add no more but that I am heartily glad to read

in this sickly time the hands of so many my old and good friends, whose as yours I am,

Most affectionate friend and servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Lond., Nov. 28, 1676.

SIR WILLIAM JONES is again consulted.

Letter CCLXVIII. To my much esteemed friends

Mr. Alderman Ackham, and Mr. George Dickinson Wardens of the worthy Society of the Trinity House, Kingston, upon Hull.

‘ Dec. 21, 1676.

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I RECEIVED your kind letter the former post very welcome to me as coming from you, and the more because of your favorable expressions, but most of all for your intrusting me so farre in so great a concerne of your worthy Society; then which you could not place upon me an higher obligation. I suspended answering you til this post, that I might at the same time be ripe to give you an account of your businesse. Accordingly I went this morning with Mr. Coats (who hath no lesse affection then by this Frost he hath leisure to attend your affaire) to Mr. Attorney Generall. And I do herewith send you his resolution in your case. It is short, yet I hope and it seems to me, that it contains all that is materiall. For the Councill table, hath nothing to do with what relates to propriety; nor do I wish that any should be forward to present them that temptation. But you see he, though I did not communicate it to him, joyns in Sr. Francis Pemberton's opinion, that the only way adviseable for you is to proceed by Bill in the Exchequer. He conceiv'd that upon motion a tryall would be

granted in an indifferent place and he considered that the proceedings in the Exchequer are more chargeable, but however that more is committed to fortune if exposed to a Jury, and that the cause going for you, as probable, in the Exchexquer, the cases [costs] will redound upon Mr. Clipsham. You see he said if a Bill be referred forthwith, &c. He means by that, with the first of the term, when there must be also a sub-pœnâ ready to be served upon Clipsham. These things must be prepared by Councill and some good Exchequer Atturmy. I shall wait till your returne to this letter, because perhaps Mr. Trueman can recommend such approved atturmy to you of his knowledge. Otherwise I have means enough to informe myselfe of one. I am loath to take too much upon me, as on the other side to put you to more expense then necessary; so that as I find I am or am not equal to expedite these things by your direction, I shall or shall not assume some other person to follow it. But it is a cause that I wish well to and shall be heartily glad to contribute what I can to it. Mr. Coats payd me 10li. which I shall husband carefully for you and give good account of or dispose to any your orders. I remain, Gentlemen, &c.,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Lond., Dec. 21. 1676.

This little more private Letter enclosed the preceeding. Sir Matthew Hale is incidentally mentioned.

Letter CCLXIX. To Mr. Edmond Popple at Hull.
'Dec. 21, 1676.'

DEARE BROTHER,

I HAVE inclosed this to you. They will pay you

postage. I hope thus far it will be gratefull to them what I have done. And indeed I am very heartily concerned to do them what service I may, specially in this businesse, having occasion to be sensible of the use of these charitable revenues. I should be glad if you can in that time deliberate to understand something by this returne. But this is your way. I suppose there may be more materialls requisite then you have yet sent me for drawing the Bill, or at lest that you have more. But you must be sure to order it so that your Bill may be ready in time, even I would have it the first day of the Terme. For you see the Atturny Generall's 'forthwith.' If your House can not write me this post, let it be the next however, for then I will 'forthwith' see that no time be lost, provided we have all instructions and materialls. Though your eys be bad your understanding is cleare. So that I need not advise you to looke unto your side of your businesse. I heare we are like to have the late Chief Justice Hales a Parliament man this Session. Remember to all friends and Katy beside.

I am, yours,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Dec. 21, 1676.

There is admirable Marvellian humour in this Letter to his 'loving brother.' The self-important good folks of Trinity House were wishing to push their 'charter' to extremity of claim. 'Mr. Marvell' reminds them it was scarcely 'Magna Charta.' The 'Mr. Sawyer' was Robert Sawyer of the Inner Temple: knighted 17th Octr., 1677, and attorney-general from 1681 to 1687. He died in 1692. Through his daughter he was ancestor of the Earls of Carnarvon, who inherited the 'broad

acres' of High Clere, Hampshire, from him. The Signature of this Letter as in one or two other cases is torn away.

Letter CCLXX. TO THE SAME.

'Dec. 30, 1676.'

LOVING BROTHER,

I SENT on Thursday what I forgot to inclose in my former. Yesterday had another from the Trinity House: all very well. The bill double [= in duplicate] I have thrown into my study. 'Twill not be needfull till Terme. When needfull will receive it. Praysend back a copy or the originall next post of your Queries with the Atturneye's answers. I have been to-day with Mr. Sawyer and interteined him. I discourst it an houre with him, reading over all our papers. Also I have, for so it was fit, for an Atturney in the Chequer, one Mr. Fisher, an able honest man, clerk, once to Mr. Stevens, who is dead. Mr. Sawyer is the best at that Bar, and is a member of House of Commons. When [it] com's to't we must have two or three more, Ward, Lechmore, &c. I have already set the Bill on drawing. Shall next week send a subpoena to you for Clipsham. It must be deliverd to him so that a person here at first of Terme may make oath he saw it served. Be as private as may be from Clipsham of what you do or whereon you found yourselves. Of his proceedings send up as oft as you learne anything. Whether he goes on with his action of trespas. Pray who did put you on making distresse, whereby you ran yourselfe as much as you could into the Common Law, whereas this way lay plain before you? I know the charter impowrs to distrain. But your charter is not a Magna Charta. Country Counsell, like ill tinkers, work for those at London.

Sir W. Morice, Judge Hales dead, L. Mohun dying or dead. Excuse to Tr. house.

ANDR. MARVELL.

Dec. 30, 1676.

The 'businessse' of Trinity House is being made ripe.

Letter CCLXXI. To my much respected friends Mr. Alderman Acklam and Mr. George Dickinson, Wardens of the worthy Society of the Trinity house of Kingston upon Hull.

'2 Jan., 1676-7'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE received your second letter. I have retained Mr. Sawyer for your Counsell already, who is of most reputation at the Exchequer Barr. And shall if and when necessary further retaine Mr. Lechmore and Mr. Ward. I have enterteind Mr. Hall likewise, an able Exchequer atturny, whom Mr. Atturny Generall named to me, and is very well known for his sufficiency and integrity. And finding it necessary to have a sollicitor to follow the businessse, I have imploy'd Mr. Fisher, a very honest man, who was Mr. Stevens his clerke, and made use of by him as long as he lived for his experience and ability in all matters relating to that Court. I shall nevertheless constantly look after the whole transaction. Your Bill is forming already, and when shaped I shall send the draught for your perusall, which you must keep as private from Mr. Clipsham as may be. I have taken order also for a sub-pœnâ which I expect to-night, or shall however send you the next post for Mr. Clipsham. And you must please to take care that it may be served upon him by such a person as may be here with the first of the next Terme to

make oath of the serving. It is requisite that you please by the next to send me the name of your officer, that seised, as also the time or day when. And I desire you to give me what you have further of Mr. Clipsham's proceedings by action of trespassse, which Mr. Sawyer saith he dos to oblige you to plead specially, and that he might bring the whole merits in question. But an injunction out of the Chequer will save both him and you that labour. As I find occasion shall write further, meantime remaining,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, 2 Jany., 1676-7.

Your bill for 20li. I have layd by till if there be occasion, which not at present.

Still the Light-house 'busnesse' is advised on—interminably. 'Wamble' is = roll about hither and thither.

Letter CCLXXII. To Mr. Edmond Popple at Hull.
'Jan. 6, 1677.'

LOVING BROTHER,

I DID on Thursday send down to you a sub poenâ for Mr. Clipsham. I have two letters from Mr. Trewman: one of the first, the other the third of January. In the first it is proposed to addresse to the Lord High-Admirall. It is a way clearly out of the way, and is of no authority or effect. In the second it is said that unlesse you send a messinger on purpose to be there at London the first of the Terme, you can not have one to serve and make oath. I grant it. But is not the busnesse of that consequence to you that it must deserve a messenger on purpose if you have no more familiar opportunity? In some cuntryes there are carriers who make it

part of their trade to serve processe and be ready here at the time to make oath. But you must commit nothing in such concernments to accident or negligence. But Mr. Trewman alledges further that he knows but two cases whereupon injunctions are founded, either upon contempt or upon his appearing and taking commission to answer in the country. But he said Clipsham is an active man and he fears will come up in person and answer, and then plead you must at law, &c. To this: First it is possible that by your expedition in the businesse, you may catch him in contempt. But suppose not, why then your Bill obliges him to put in an answer. That answer will either be perfect or imperfect. If perfect, it must give ground for an injunction, because it will be thereby evidence that the cause is properly appendant to and cognizable in the Court of Exchequer. If imperfect, the defects therein will administer reason for an injunction that he may be brought in thereby to answer more fully. And this is certaine that as the Exchequer is willing to exercise and extend their power, so neither are the other courts so constituted at present as to be in humor to disobey their injunction. But deare Brother, I can not but wonder that after the advice had of Mr. Atturney Generall and Sir Francis Pemberton, beside what other, and your commission to me which I am no ways fond of further then to serve you; you should so soon begin to wamble, which is enough to discourage or turne giddy one of so weak a braine and experience. Surely, Brother, it is the best to steere steddy, and having once set saile to follow one's course. Yet let not my talking thus, which is not out of mine own head, hinder you, I beseech you, from using all freedome and giving me still all the

caution imaginable. For it is your businesse, your purse, and not mine. And all reason you should be Masters. If your sub poenâ be not yet gone, you may do well by the same person, or by another, or by letter to Mr. Clipsham, to make him a tender of restoring his distresse. Such tender can do you no prejudice, but may be of advantage in your businesse. I write it by advice. I hope the sub poenâ is already gone. Your Bill shall be in a readinesse. I expect to send you the draught next post. Pray preserve this letter and what I write hereafter. I am,

Your most affectionate brother,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Jan. 6, 1676-7.

Here is a short Letter written on the side margin of another, signed by John Fowler: dated Jan. 9, 1676, in the *sub-poenâ* of the preceding.

Letter CCLXXIII. To THE SAME.

‘Jan. 9, 1676.’

LOVING BROTHER,

THERE is some further trouble and charge in this. But it is the benefit of dispatch, that as it may run upon an error, so it gains time to correct it. And if your first sub-poenâ therefore be gone before, and before you profer'd him to restore his Distresse, you can when you send this make him also that tender. You have herewith the draught of your Bill, which is done with great advice. Be pleased to supervise it carefully and send it back at your best time, when you have thorowly weighed it, filled up the blanks and made your remarks, by the post, keeping the contents thereof wholly private in your own brests. We shall have nothing further to do

henceforward till we have received your answer in return ; wherein desire you to be very particular.

Your very loving brother,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Here is a noble, self-respecting and in every way inestimable Letter in which speaks a conscience inviolate. He is ready as hitherto to do all possible for his constituency in view of Parliament re-assembling.

Letter CCLXXIV. For the Right Wors'pfull
William Foxley, Mayor, and the Aldermen his
Brethren, of Kingston upon Hull.

‘ Jan. 18, 1676-7.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

NOT having in the intervalls of Parliament any frequent or proper occasion of writing to you, I am the more carefull, though always retaining the same constant due respect and service for you, yet not to interrupt you with unnecessary letters. But the time of Parliament's prorogation being now within a moneth expired, and his Majesty having by his late Proclamation signified that he expects the attendance of the members in order to a Session, I can not neglect to imbrace this opportunity of saluting you, and of giving you account that I am here in Town in good health, God be praised, and vigour, ready to take that Station in the House of Commons which I obtain by your favour, and hath so many years continued ; and therefore I desire that you will, now being the time, consider whether there be any thing that particularly relates to the state of your town, or your neighbouring country, or of your more publick concernment, whereof you may thinke fit to advertise me, and therein to give me any your instructions, which I shall carefully conforme. It is true that by reason

of so many prorogations of late years repeated, the publick business in Parliament hath not attained the hoped maturity, so that the weight and multiplicity of those affairs at present will probably much exclude, and retard at least, any thing of more private and particular consideration ; yet, if any such you have, I shall strive to promote it according to the best of my duty : and in the more generall concerns of the nation, shall, God willing, maintain the same incorrupt mind, and clear conscience, free from faction, or self-ends, which I have, by His grace, hitherto preserved. So wishing you all health and prosperity, I remain, Gentlemen, &c., your most humble servant.

London, Jan. 18, 1676-7.

The 'businesse' of Trinity House is still to be over-seen, with all vigilance.

Letter CCLXXV. For my much respected friends
Mr. Matthew Smith and Mr. George Dickinson,
Wardens of the Worthy Society of y^e
Trinity house, Kingston upon Hull.

'Feb. 3, 1676-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I have recived your last and have also read Mr. Trewman's to Mr. Fisher. And that you repeat your request, which hath to me the force of a ccmmand to assist you in the prosecution of your businesse, is a thing honourable and acceptable to me ; nor have you nor shall [you] faile of my best indeavors. That you are in the meantime solicitous as I perceive concerning the event, I doe not wonder ; for I am so also, and the more because you acting upon the charitable Trust that is reposed with you, have out of your confidence of my (too mean) capacity (but intire

affection) intrusted so weighty a matter to my conduct. But neither would I have you too anxious for I assure you my defects are abundantly supplied by the prudence and faithfulness of your Counsellor and the honest dexterity of your solicitor Mr. Fisher. It was no small thing but that you could scarce have hoped to catch up Mr. Clipsham so soon by an injunction. But that he should come up to Town was what you intended and ought to expect when you served him with a sub-pœnâ. Let him make his best of it. He is yet but preparing his answers, but that his answers should be unexceptionable you need not apprehend. You also, when he is in, will have time to put in yours. And it is much difficulter for you to have obtain'd an injunction, then to retaine it when granted. Yet pray do not you out of reliance upon us neglect to say anything you judge requisite. And if you please, particularly direct us whereupon occasion we may have recourse to all your several patents that relate to this duty. And informe me whether you do pay any small rent in acknowledgment for it to the King. I have nothing further at present in mind that seems necessary but to remind you that I am, Gentlemen, your most affectionate friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Feb. 3, 1876-7.

'News' of the Trinity House 'businessse' at the Exchequer 'Unequal' i.e. with minds not equally balanced between yourselves and your adversary, unjust. 'Primage' is a small duty payable to the master and seamen of a ship by the consigner—variable.

Letter CCLXXVI. For my much respected friend
Mr. George Dickinson and Mr. Matthew Smith,
Wardens of the Trinity house of
Kingston upon Hull.

‘Feb. 13, 1676-7.’

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I WAS yesterday at the Exchequer to heare your Counsell give cause why your injunction should be continued. And notwithstanding the faire alligations in Mr. Clipsam’s Bill inforced as farre as they would beare by his Counsell, your injunction is againe confirmed. Onely because we alledge the Authority of primage at three pence a tun, but could not show the same prooffe and authority for those differing rates which you demand as it seemes for deales and tarre; that is appointed the next Terme to come in issue in the Exchequer. And therefore I hope you will in so sufficient time, mature all instructions and such proofes as make to that purpose. And truly it seems to me that at such season in businesse that so much imports you, you should have some person here upon the place perfectly acquainted with all your affaires, who may be able to answer personally any litle question. For you have indeed been excellently well served by your Counsell and Sollicitor: but I observed how oftentimes we were at a losse when we were discoursing and ripening your businessse among ourselves. You will please to furnish us with some few names that may be good Commissioners, and also with exceptions against any that you can forethink may be named by him, ill-disposed and unequall to you. Mr. Fisher told me he would write further this night. I have not yet touched your 20li. Bill, nor spoke with the person, but if occasion shall now make use of some of it.

I am, Gentlemen, &c.,

Your most affectionate friend,

ANDREW MARVELL.

London, Febr. 13, 1676-7.

'The House' is again met; the King 'again gracious' and calling 'heaven and earth to witness' &c, &c. The only Sir John Holland I can trace is one of Quiddenham, co. Norfolk, created a baronet, 15th, June, 1629. He lived to the age of 98, dying 19th Jan., 1701. The 'Mr. Ashburnham' was not the semi-historic John Ashburnham (who died in 1671) of whom Pepys writes (II. 324 *et alibi.*) 'Assume' = take up.

Letter CCLXXVII.

'Feb. 15, 1676-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I THINKE it befits me to acquaint you, that this day the Parliament assembled in obedience to his Majesty. He was pleasd in a most weighty and gracious manner to profer on his part, all things that might tend to the security of the true Protestant Religion, the libertyes and propriety of the subject, and the safety of the Nation; mentioning also his debts, and the necessity of buildings ships. But most of all he, recommended a good agreement between the two Houses, calling Heaven and Earth to witness that nothing on his part should be wanting to make this a happy Session. But it is an injury to repeat these things but in his own words, which I therefore as soon as printed shall send you. In the House of Commons there arose some debate at first, concerning the nature or legality of our meeting, by reason of this long prorogation, whereas there are laws yet in force for the yearly holding of Parliament. But it tooke not so much place as to come to a formed question, the furthest it went being to petition his Majesty, that by reason of some doubts arisen of this, he would be pleased to call another Parliament. But this was only proposed, and fell also, so that the House went then to the reading of a Bill, which is the formality of opening a session. The first Bill offerd

was to recall the forces in France; but that having been read at the last meeting was not proceeded on now, lest the question which yet remains entire to be argued, whether we act under a prorogation or an adjournment (the prorogation proving unlawfull) should be prejudicate and decided by making this the first or second readings; therefore another Bill was preferd to be read, which the House had never receivd a reading—for regulating Elections to Parliament, and punishing the notorious abuses in that matter, a thing then which nothing were more necessary. Then the House orderd to take his Majesty's Speech into consideration next Tuesday. Their last order was to assume to-morow the debate whether we doe act, as this case stands under an adjournment or a prorogation, and to consider of issuing writs, there being at lest thirty-two vacancies. This hath been all the businesse of this day with the Commons, except a complaint made by Sir John Holland of a member of the House that had traduced a speech of his in the former meeting (to his Majesty) as mutinous and seditious; the House orderd him to name the person, which thereupon he did, Mr. Ashburnham, the cofferer; but it not appearing sufficiently grounded, the complaint had no effect. I heare the Lords are yet debating the question of the Parliament's being dissolved with this prorogation, with more earnestnesse then was by the Commons. God of his mercy give a good issue to all. I am, Gentlemen, &c.. Your most humble and affectionate servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Feb. 15, 1676-7.

The 'Prorogation' leads to 'debate;' but the 'news' of it to be 'tenderly' spoken of. 'Great quality' are ordered to the

Tower—historical names needing no annotation here. With reference to the lesser names of this letter EVELYN mentions that he dined (Sept. 1st, 1671) with a Sir Thomas Strickland, and this is the annotation of the Editor: "Made a baronet by Charles I. on the field at Edgehill, where he commanded a regiment of infantry. After the Restoration he was member for the county of Westmoreland, and Privy Purse to Charles II. He was subsequently one of James II's. Privy Council, and followed him into France, where he died in 1694." (II. 67.) For 'baronet' probably should be read 'Knight-banneret.' Sir Robert Holte, was of Aston, co. Warwick, who succeeded his grandfather in 1654 as 2d baronet. He was Sheriff of Warwickshire in 1660, and M.P. for that county in 1661. He died 3rd Oct., 1679. 'Convict' i.e. convicted: a Roman Catholic. 'Implied the second,' i.e. carried with it the solution of the second question; for if the House decided to name the committees it thereby acknowledged itself to be a validly assembled House.

Letter CCLXXVIII. To THE SAME.

'Feb. 17, 1676-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons was yesterday taken up wholly in the ordering of writts to issue for the severall vacancies, and in two debates of the same nature. The first, upon a motion for a new writt in Sir Thomas Strickland's place, as being a Recusant Convict; but the record of his conviction not being then brought into the House, it received no determination. The second was upon a motion, That Sir Robert Holt, one of the Knights for Warwickshire, being prisoner in execution, might be sent for to attend the service of the House during the Session; but upon the division, it went against him. Onely it was ordered, that there should be a Committee (but not then named, that this day's question concerning the prorogation might be reserved intire)

to consider and report his case to the House. But to-day the House (having for decency not entred any thing concerning the prorogation on their books, but agreed the debate should run upon it) entred upon that matter, which held 'till near six at night, and then formed itself into two questions; one, whether the House would proceed to name their Committee; because if that were carried in the affirmative, it implied the second; but in case that question miscarried, then the second was to be put, whether they should proceed in debate concerning the validity of the prorogation. The first was affirmed by 193 against 142, so that the second remained excluded, and no mention appears in the Journall of any question of the validity of the prorogation, which tendernesse of the House you will also do well to imitate, by not propagating what I confide to you about it. Yesterday the House of Lords ordered the Earl of Salusbury, of Shaftsbury, and the L[ord] Wharton to the Tower during his Majestye's and their House's pleasure. The [Duke] of Buckingham had retired before his sentence, but appearing there to-day, was sent thither also. The warrant bears, for their high Contempt of the House: for they refused to ask pardon as ordered. To-day I hear they are made close prisoners. I am, your most humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, Feb. 17, 1676-7.

The 'Speech' of the King is to be taken 'into consideration.' The Reader might do worse than return upon Marvell's own 'King's speech,' which drastic though it be I have read somewhere the King laughed over consumably. 'Good-natured' some will exclaim—eh? Well it may have been so, but laughter was scarcely the thing for crisis so tremendous and interests so grave.

Letter CCLXXIX. To THE SAME.

‘Feb. 20, 1676-7.’

SIR,

HAVING but little leisure to-night, I content myself with giving you this short account of what businesse since my last, which you may please to communicate. That yesterday the House of Commons gave the first reading to the Bill for recalling the English Forces out of France; the Bill against levying of money but by Act of Parliament; and the second reading to the Bill against Abuses in Elections. To-day the first reading to the Bill of Habeas Corpus; and then they proceeded to the businesse of the day, which was, to take his Majestye's Speech into consideration. After it was read, some gentlemen proposed upon the particular of ships, that there should be a supply of 600,000*l.* another of 800,000*l.* for the building and for buying stores. But a standing order of the House being read, whereby it is not regular after a motion for money to proceed the same day, it was orderd, that a motion having been made for money, the House would to-morrow morning resolve it selfe into a Committee of the whole House to consider thereon. And then they also ordered, that upon Friday they would be in a Committee of the whole House concerning the Grievances of the Nation. There was yesterday a Committee appointed upon a Petition for bringing back the Duke of Norfolk, a Lunatick, out of Italy. The Lords are still prisoners in the Tower. I am, &c.

Feb. 20, 1676-7.

Sir Richard Temple was a prominent member of ‘the House’ after the Restoration. He was made a Knight of the Bath previous to the coronation of Charles II. In 1668, he was ambassador-extraordinary to Aux la Chapelle, and in 1669 one

of the Commissioners of the Customs. In 1683, he succeeded his father as 3d Baronet of Stowe, co. Bucks, and died in 1697. Sir John Trevor, was a native of Wales, kinsman to the infamous Judge Jeffrys, through whose influence he filled various posts, e.g., the Mastership of the Rolls, which he held unto his death, on 20th of May, 1717. He was knighted 29th Jan., 1670. 'The Lords' still in the Tower, but allowed to receive visitors.

Letter CCLXXX. To the Mayor [as before.]
'Feb 22, 1676-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY, the House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take his Majesty's Speech into consideration. There arose some difference, two several gentlemen being called upon, which of them should be the Chaireman of the Committee; whereupon the Speaker took the chaire again, and the two persons in election being Sir Richard Temple and Sir John Trevor the House was divided, and Sir Richard carryed it, having 127 against 105. Then they returned into Committee, and the first debate was concerning shippes, and the sum necessary for building, repairing and stores. Some gentlemen proposed 800,000l, but that after some time slid over, and the debate divided itself betwixt 600,000li. and 400,000li., which about six a'clock at night, formed itself into those two questions: and then the question being put, whether that of the 400,000li. should be now put, the House divided, and it was carryed in the negative by 199 against 165. So of consequence the next question for 600,000li. passed in the affirmative. The Speaker then took the chair, and the House agreed it appointing Tuesday next to proceed. This day the Bill for recalling the French Forces, and that against illegal levying of

mony (both of them under severe penalties) were read and committed. They also ordered the call of the House to be next Thursday, and that no Member goe out of towne, till after leave asked and had, after ten a'clock. Several persons, upon leave asked from the Lords House have had liberty to visit the Lords in the Tower. I am, &c.

London, Feb. 22, 1676-7.

The 'influence of forain counsell's' and the 'extraordinary power and jurisdiction exercis'd by the High Court of Chancery and other courts of Equity' pronounced 'grievous to the people.'

Letter CCLXXXI. To THE SAME.

'Feb. 24, 1676-7.'

WORTHY SIR,

I HAVE, and thanke you for yours of the 20th February. It is a tribute due from one in my station to your prudence, to inform you from time to time of things that passe in Parliament. 'Tis the best thing I can doe; I wish I were capable of greater to testify my gratitude. The House of Commons had yesterday a report from the Committee orderd to inspect Bills of the last Session proper to be resumed, as of that of augmentation of poore Vicarages; that of prohibiting Exportation of Wool from England and Ireland; that of planting Hemp and Flax, &c. Then they turnd, as appointed, to a Committee of the whole House, to consider of grievances. Severall things were mentiond, but not fixd upon, as the influence of foreign Counsell's, the continuance of such persons as had been noted formerly on that account, &c. There was a sharpe complaint of severall Judges, and obstruction of the publick justice, particularly of the Reversall of the Fine upon the Shrieve of Suffolk, in Sir Samuel Barnardiston's case; but the debate spent itselfe upon

the Chancery, and was formed into this resolution; That the extraordinary power and jurisdiction exercised by the High Court of Chancery, and other Courts of Equity, in matters determinable by Common Law, is grievous to the People. The House agreed, and orderd a Bill or Bills to redresse it, and to sit again on Grievances next Thursday. This kept holy-day. I am, your humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Feb. 24. [1676-7.]

The 'Growth of Popery' is again to have the legislative axe lifted up upon it. 'In case of a Popish king' is being whispered. The Duke of York is stirring such antagonisms, for which he shall one day dearly pay. The 'royall children' must have been those of the Duke of York.

Letter CCLXXXII. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 27, 1676-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE most materiall thing yesterday in the House of Commons was, the reading of a Bill of the last Session, now begun againe, to prevent the Growth of Popery; wherein the Test is continued to be taken, and upon refusall of which they are to be convicted, and undergoe the penalties specified. It was read the first time, and ordered a second. The rest of the time was spent in severall matters of priviledge. To-day a Bill was read for the Transportation of Leather. The House after that turnd it selfe into a Committee of the whole House (as before ordered) to consider further upon his Majestye's Supply. It was soon propounded that the 600,000*l.* should be raised in eighteen moneths by a Land-Tax; but others thought it necessary and more according with their order, first to know whether any further Supply

were expected, before they should, or could well pitch upon the manner of raising this. The debate was long, so that the Committee, to extricate themselves, desired the Speaker to resume the chair; and then the two differing senses being at last formed into two questions by the House, the first was put, Whether the Committee should first proceed to settle the manner of levying the 600,000*l.* which being affirmed by 183 against 163, excluded the second question, whether they should first debate the continuance of the Excise next expiring; then they rose, ordering Friday next to resume this consideration. The Lords have given instructions for a Bill also against Popery, with several provisions for Education of the Royal Children, for nominating of vacant Bishops, &c. in case of a Popish King. A Committee of theirs has frequently examined Dr. Cary, and are near the discovery of the Author of a Book touching the Parliament,

I am,

Your most humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Feb. 27, 1676-7.

·Dr. Cary' is re-examined on 'the Book' against the Parliament; he does not satisfy, and is sent 'close prisoner to the Tower.' 'Facility' is curiously used for its synonym, 'easiness' which has that idiomatic meaning

Letter CCLXXXIII. TO THE SAME.

·March 1, 1676-7.'

SIR.

THE House of Commons not sitting yesterday, there is but little to day to write of; for one of the two bills was read but for the first time, being for the Repaire of Churches, inabling the Church-

Wardens and Overseers of the Poore to lay a sesse to that purpose, and the Justices of the Peace to ratify it. The other was for the Planting of halfe an acre for every hundred acres of meadow or pasture, of hemp or flax, with penaltyes upon omission. The House, was then, by former order, to have considered upon grievances; but the Clerke having omitted to enter that order in the Journall, they diverted to a debate of an Adresse to his Majestye, to appoint them another Clerke. But this slid over out of their facility to an old servant; and they ordered Saturday next for grievances. The Lords to-day examined Dr. Cary at their Barre, from whom he had the Book concerning Parliament, which he carryed to print; but he not satisfying them therein, they therefore fined him 1000li., and committed him close prisoner to the Tower by a second warrant, till he shall pay the fine. I am, Worthy Sir, Your most affectionate servant.

Westm., Mar. 1, 1676-7.

The Trinity House 'business' still drags on.

Letter CCLXXXIV. To Trinity House [as before]
'March 3, 1676-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

TRULY I am sorry for this last accident, yet hope that it may not be materiall to the successe of your businesse. I went presently to Sir John and to Mr. Durand Hotham, and perceive indeed that Mr. Durand dos not intend to be for Yorkeshire till Aprill, and how soon then uncertaine, having occasions to detaine him here. But I have spoke with Mr. Bamfield and with Mr. Sawyer since (I was at Mr. Fisher's, but could not meet with him)

and they do not much apprehend the mischance. They tell me indeede that it is impossible now to supply you with another Commissioner before the next Terme, but that the care of your other Commissioner, assisted by your inspection, may well enough supply that defect. And that if the commissioners of Clipsham's part should act in any thing indirectly to your prejudice, you may upon complaint thereof be redressed. This is all which I could learne as yet, but I tooke order that Mr. Fisher and our Counsell should meet to day, and if there be any thing better, that he should write you this post. Mr. Clipsham is gone out of town so that we could not try whether he would upon consent admit of another Commissioner if upon such his admittance it might have been obtained. I hope you will not be too cheaply forward in compromising the whole difference with him; if you find your selves so firmly founded as we imagine you. For your expense here ther on my hand has amounted to above 20li., as in my next I shall give you the particulars.

I am, Gentlemen, &c.,

Your most affectionate friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Mar. 3, 1676-7.

'Lord Hollis' comes into 'the Lords' and wishes to answer concerning 'the booke' for which Dr. Carey is imprisoned, and about which *his* name had been 'tossed.' There was 'a long silence.' 'Wages due to members' considered. Sir John Shaw who 'sues' for his, was a merchant of London, who advanced large sums of money to Charles II. when in exile, and was by him made one of the Farmers of the Customs, and created a baronet 15th April, 1665. He died 1st March,

1679-80. The day very cold, and one of 'the House' windows being broken added to the discomfort.

Letter CCLXXXV. To the Mayor [as before.]

'March 3, 1676-7.'

YESTERDAY there was offerd to the House by a Member thereof, an Order of the Lords House, whereby Dr. Cary stands fined 1000*l.* and committed close prisoner till payment, for not having declared who was the author of the booke "intituled The Grand Question stated and discussed concerning the Prorogation," nor from what person he received it. This was complained of as an invasion by the Lords, upon the libertyes of the Commons of England; but the House not being forward to intertein any thing that might occasion a mis-intelligence with the Lords, nor conceiving the matter ripe enough for their consideration, after some debate, passed over without reading that order of the Lords, or coming to any resolution thereupon at present, leaving it to the discretion of any that shall hereafter reassume it. They then sate in Committee upon the 600,000*l.* whereupon and how to be levyed. There were proposed Impositions on French Linen, and that of Flanders, Holland and Germany; upon Brandyes, on Callicoes, and on the New Buildings; but about six a'clock the question was put, whether the whole 600,000*l.* should be raised by a Land-Tax; but those who were but for the halfe, were upon division no more than 165 to 210; and it is so to be raised in seventeen months, after the way of the Royall Ayd. On Munday they sit again in Committee upon this 600,000*l.* to perfect the clause of appropriation, to building, gunning, and furnishing of thirty ships, and how many of each rate. The L. Hollis came the

same day into the House of Lords, and took notice that his name had been tossed there concerning a booke; therefore he came thither, offering that if any had ought to object against him, he was there, and ready to answer it in any Court of Judicature. Hereupon was a long silence, and none replying, they called for the reading of a Bill. To-day the Bill of Habeas Corpus, and that for repairing of Churches were read the second time in the House of Commons and committed; also Sir Harbottle Grimston, Master of the Rolls, moved for a Bill to be brought in, to indemnify all Countyes, Cityes and Burrows for the Wages due to their Members for the time past; which was introduced by him upon very good reason. Both because of the poverty of many people not able to supply so long an arreare, especially new taxes now coming upon them, and also because Sir John Shaw, the Recorder of Colchester, had sued the Town for his wages; severall other Members also having, it seems, threatned their Burrows to do the same, unlesse they should chuse them upon another Election to Parliament. This debate took up the forenoon, and it was agreed that such a Bill should be brought in, and the care of it committed to severall members of the Long Robe. This day had been appointed for grievances; but it being grown near two a'clock, and the day being indeed extraordinary cold, to which the breaking of one of the House windows contributed, it was put off till next Tuesday. This is for the present. I remain, Gentlemen, &c., your most affectionate friend and humble servant.

Westminster, March 3, 1676-7.

The 'Navy' and the 'growing power' of France considered, and an address to 'His Majesty' agreed on. Even Marvell's stout heart is moved over the state of the 'poore nation.'

Letter CCLXXXVI. To THE SAME.

‘March 6, 1676-7.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY we read the Bill for enabling persons to take affidavits in the Country; and another to explain the Acts of Chimny-mony, and redresse the Exactions and Abuses committed by the Officers in collecting it. Then the House turnd itself (after some debate whether the Committee had power to consider of appropriating the Customes) into a Committee of the whole House. It was there agreed, that the 600,000*l.* for building, gunning and furnishing of one ship of the first rate, not under 1400, nine of the second, not under 1100, aad twenty of the third, not under 900 tun each, should begin at Lady-Day next; the first payment to the Receiver General to be made at Midsummer next, and so on quarterly till the seventeen months expire. That these ships shall be so perfected in two years, to begin from Midsummer next. That the money be appropriate under severe penalties on the Officers of the Navy, Ordinance, Exchequer, &c. solely to this use. That the accounts be kept apart from all other accounts; and the accounts of every ship kept by itself, and all to be transmitted to the Commons in Parliament. The Speaker took the chaire, and the House agreed; but then was moved an addition to appropriate the Tunnage and Poundage also to the Navy; that as now upon necessity they built ships, so that constant revenue might maintaine them. But 175 carried it in the negative against 124; it not seeming fit to annex that obligation to an Aid, but that it might be offerd and better considerd of in a Bill apart with more decency. To-day Mr. Speaker communicated

to the House Sir Thomas Strickland's Answer to his Letter, writ by the House's direction, wherein Sir Thomas saith, That he cannot averre against the Record of his conviction. Hereupon they ordered, That he, as being a Popish Recusant Convict, should be discharged the House, and a writ issue for a new Member. They then turnd into a Committee of the whole House to consider of grievances. The first thing stirred, and which lasted the whole day, was concerning France, and the apprehensions of the Nation by reason of its growing power, both for our safety, our religion, our trade; mentioning also that innovation of the English taking passes for their ships, and some reflections there were upon such Counsellors here as favoured or promoted the French interest. About six at night this debate of the whole formed itselfe into a question which passed the Committee, and afterwards agreed in the House without a division; that a Committee be appointed to draw up an Adresse to His Majesty, representing the danger of the power of France, and desiring his Majesty, by such alliances as he shall think fit, to secure his kingdome, and quiet the fears of his people, and to preserve the Spanish Netherlands; wherein the House avoyded as much as possible the engaging the Kingdome in warre, or promoting the peace of Nieumegen, as appears by the words of the order. Also they ordered to go again to-morrow into a Committee of the whole House concerning grievances; where it is probable those other things to-day mentioned may be revived. The Lords Bill of Popery is already under commitment, and in a short time likely to come down to the Commons, in which many things are contained of more than ordinary consequence. God direct all counsellis to the true remedy

of the urgent condition of this poore Nation, which I hope there is no reason to despaire of. I am, &c.

Westminster, March 6, 1676-7.

P.S. The House hath ordered the Bill of 6,000,000*l.* upon the heads I have sent you, to be drawn up, and brought in upon the first occasion.

Legislation proceeds; 'new Members' enter 'the House.' The words 'every post,' suggest notice here. The letters are dated Feb. 15, 17, 20, 22, 24, 27: Mar. 1, 3, 6, 8, 10, 13, 15. &c. The post therefore went out every 3d day, counting Sunday as '*dies non.*' Examination of these Letters results (by comparing the orders of the House with the dates) in showing that Feby. 20, was Tuesday, &c. &c. Thus then we have the letters written;—

Feby.	15,	Thursday.
—	17,	Saturday.
—	20,	Tuesday.
—	22,	Thursday.
—	24,	Saturday.
—	27,	Tuesday.
Mar.	1,	Thursday.
—	3,	Saturday.
—	6,	Tuesday.
—	8,	Thursday.
—	10,	Saturday.
—	13,	Tuesday.
—	15,	Thursday.

And as this one was written after coming from the House at past nine at night, the post for the North went out at this time thrice a week and was made up late at night, on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and perhaps started the same nights. This incidental information is worth noting. See in proof the words "Last Tuesday's post was the first I have omitted." (Letter 22nd March: 1676-7.)

Letter CCLXXXVII. To THE SAME.

'March 8, 1676.'

WORTHY SIR.

'TIS now past nine at night that I come from the Committee of Privileges. Yet because I have taken

an habit of writing every post, I must write you a word lest you should imagine any thing extraordinary may have happend. The House sat till six yesterday in Committee concerning grievances; the whole debate being concerning the passes which merchants have been obliged to take for their ships, the Oaths, the Bonds, and the Fees. It closed in naming a particular Committee to inspect the whole matter complained of, and report the abuses and inconveniences therein. The particular Committee was also named to forme the Adresse to his Majestye concerning France. To-day the Bill against Papists sitting in the Lords or Commons House was read the first time, and the other for speedier conviction of them by a new Test, &c. was read the second time and committed; also a Bill orderd, to take away the Writ *de hæritico comburendo*. The L. Dunblane, the L. Treasurer's second son, came into the House this day, chosen for Barwick. On Saturday, I believe the York Election will be tryed at the Committee of Priveleges. To-morrow the House turns into Committee upon a motion of a further supply to his Majestye. I am in much wearinesse and hast, Sir, your most affectionate servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

March 8, 1676-7.

The mad Duke of Norfolk's 'case' is againe up. Certain 'books' are to be burned. The 'Adresse' of this Letter is appended to it by Capt. Thompson, though the 'copy' is not now at Hull. He misplaced it after letter of 26th May.

Letter CCLXXXVIII.

'March 10, 1676-7.'

WORTHY SIR,

I HOPE you have mine of last post; I was forced to write it late, or not at all. The House of

Commons was yesterday taken up wholly with the report from the Committee about the Duke of Norfolk, whose opinion was, that he ought to be sent for over; but it was not agreed to, Mr. Onslow, a Member of the House, and one of his Guardians, demanding first to be heard by his counsell at the barre, which is so appointed for Wednesday next. The consideration of the motion for further supply was put off from this Saturday till Munday, and of grievances till Tuesday next. To-day the Addresse inclosed was all the businesse, except the report from the Committee of Privileges for Bewdley, Mr. Foley being voted out, and Mr. Herbert: and now we are all intent upon the Yorke Election, to be tryed this afternoon at the Committee, which I believe will sit so late, that I shall not be able to send you the successe. The Lords have voted one book, called "Observations, &c.," treasonable, seditious, &c. to be burnt by the hangman: another, "The Long Parliament, &c.," seditious, and to be burnt: a third, "The Grand Question, &c.," for which Cary stands committed, to be seditious, &c. and to be burnt by the hangman, having first read them over in their House. I pray present my service to the Bench, whose I am, and Sir, your most affectionate servant.

Westm., March 19, 1676-7.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

"WE your Majestye's most loyall subjects the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses assembled in Parliament, find ourselves obliged in duty and faithfulnessse to your Majesty, and in discharge of the trust reposed in us by those whom we represent, most humbly to offer to your most serious consideration, that the minds of your Majesty's people are much disquieted with the manifest danger arising to your Majesty by the growth and power of the French King, especially by the acquisitions already made, and the further progress likely to be

made by him in the Spanish Netherlands. in the preservation and security whereof we humbly conceive the interest of your Majesty and the safety of your people are highly concerned, And therefore we most humbly beseech your Majesty to take the same into your Royal care, and to strengthen yourself with such stricter alliances as may secure your Majesty's kingdome and preserve and secure the said Netherlands, and thereby quiet the minds of your Majesty's people."

Agreed in the House *nemine contradicente*. Voted to be carried up to the Lords to desire their concurrence; carried up by Mr. Powell. The Lords answered that they have considered of the message, and will return answer by messenger of their own.

The York 'election' is settled, and the 'frivolous pretences' on it condemned.

Letter CCLXXXIX. TO THE SAME.

'March 13, 1676-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

ON Saturday night at past nine a'clock, Sir Henry Thompson's Election was put to the question at a most numerous Committee of Privileges, where he was, notwithstanding the three years claime against him, voted to be duely elected; and that (which never happened before in any man's memory) *nemine contradicente*, and with that remarke, ordered to be reported to the House. It was also propounded to move the House, that some severe example might be made of such, who without any right foundation do trouble the House with so frivolous pretences. Yesterday was read the Bill against Pedlers and Hawkers, and ordered to have a second reading; after that the House turned into a Committee upon the motion for a further supply. The debate upon the Nine-pences, or additional Excise (which was the way proposed) indured the whole day. The Committee divided upon the question, and 189 against

156 carryed it in the affirmative, that it should be given to his Majestye for three years, after the expiring at Midsummer. The Speaker then resuming the chaire, the question was put, and agreed. To-day was read the Bill against transporting Wool out of England or Ireland into forain Parts, and ordered a second reading. Then the Bill for indemnifying Countyes, Cityes and Burrows from the Parliament Wages now due untill the first day of this Session, was read the first time, and it indured a long argument, insomuch that when the question was put for a second reading, a Gentleman who had disapproved of the Bill, deceiving himself by the noise of the negative vote, required the division of the House; but so considerable a number of the affirmatives went out for it, that all the rest in a manner followed after them, notwithstanding their own votes, and there were scarce either tellers, or men to be told left behind, so that it will have a second reading: the Lords in the middle of that debate sent down for a conference, at which they deliver'd the paper I inclose relating to the Adresse about the French, sent up to them for their concurrence. The House hath orderd to take it into consideration to-morrow, it being of great weight, and that goes deeper then it went from the Commons. Thursday, counsell is to be heard at the Bar concerning the Duke of Norfolk; and to-day having been appointed for grievances, 'tis orderd for Friday. I remaine,

Your most humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Mar. 13. 1676-7.

COPY of the PAPER mentioned in the above LETTER.

March 13, 1676-7.

THAT the Lords do fully concurre with the

House of Commons in the matter of the Adresse sent up to their Lordships, Saturday last, and do only apprehend that it may not altogether answer the ends designed, their Lordships very much doubting this Adresse may not sufficiently incourage his Majesty to pursue the necessary methods for compassing so great a work, unlesse the humble advice of his two Houses be backed with such assurances as may let the world see, that if our security cannot be attained by such alliances as his Majestye shall think fit to make, nothing will be left unattempted to procure it by our utmost assistances. The Lords do further offer to your consideration, that the words, 'and Sicily,' may be added after the word Netherlands, it being of great importance to our trade that Sicily be not in the hands of the French King.

Former matters continued, from the 'Adresse' down to 'hawkers and pedlars.'

Letter CCXC. To THE SAME.

'March 15, 1676-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons yesterday was busied in consideration of what they received from the Lords at the conference. They disagreed from adding the word Sicily to the Adresse; and as to their Lordships apprehensions that the Adresse was not sufficient unlesse backed with further assurances, &c. they conceived it unnecessary where the safety of the Nation was concerned, or from an House of Commons that had never deserted his Majesty when there was occasion; so they ordered their managers of the former conference to draw up that sense; which they reported to the House this morning; then they sent

to desire a conference of the Lords, which was granted. The Lords then agreed *in terminis* with the Adresse of the Commons, and the King being desired to admitt the two Houses, appointed it to be to-morrow at three of the clock afternoon. To-day also the Bill against Hawkers and Pedlars was read the second time and committed. SIR HENRY THOMPSON'S Election was reported from the Committee of Privileges, and agreed by the House without any debate. Then Mr. Onslow's counsell was heard at the barre concerning the Duke of Norfolke. As for the fines levyed upon his estate, Mr. Onslow was approved not to have been culpable; but as to the bringing of him over from Italy, after much had been said concerning the danger in removing him, the House nevertheless agreed with their Committee, that an Adresse should be presented to his Majesty for bringing him over. The Lords likewise to-day sent down a Bill to the Commons, containing certain provision in case of a Popish King, for the education of the Royall Children, and for the election of Bishops. I had almost forgot to tell you, that yesterday they sent down a Bill for naturalizing all that betweene the years 1640 and 1660 were borne either af English father or mother, if within seven years they come and take the Oaths and the Sacrament, as in such case usuall. To-morrow is for grievances. I am, &c.

Westm., March 15, 1676-7.

'Complaints from many parts' have so utterly occupied the time of 'the House,' that Marvell by 'ill chance' has not 'eat or drank' from the previous noon up to 'six a clock to-night, that the House rose.' Such zeal and consecration (so-to-say) of attendance is very remarkable. Then in another aspect it is biographically valuable, as it unconsciously witnesses to Marvell's felt need of his presence and felt power. He was a sentinel to

watch and warn and influence to the right and patriotic. The 'debate' was 'intricate' and 'the House' was 'weary.'

Letter CCXCI. To THE SAME.

'March 17, 1676-7.'

SIR,

I MUST beg your excuse for paper, pen, writing and every thing; for really I have by ill chance neither eat nor drank from yesterday at noon till six a clock to night that the House rose, and by good chance I have now met with Mr. Skyner, so that betwixt both you may easily guesse I have but little time, and write at adventure. The whole business of these two days (except the hour of waiting on the King, who returned a gracious Answer conformable to the House's Address) hath been upon complaints from many parts, to vote first, that all persons who have compelled, advised, assisted or encouraged the raising, levying, carrying or sending of any of his Majestye's subjects into the French King's service since his Majestye's proclamation of the 19th May, 1675, grounded on the Adresse of this House for recalling his Majesty's subjects out of the said service, are, and shall be enemyes of the peace and safety of his Majestye and this Kindgom: and to this succeeded a petition from one Mr. Harington, newly committed close prisoner while he negotiated the proofs of things of that nature lately done in Scotland. The debate was intricate; so that the House, weary, adjourned without any question or resolution. Thursday next appointed for reading a Bill prejudicial to Newcastle, for erecting a Ballast-Warfe at Yarrow-slike: a Bill on the table not yet read, for Imposition on Vessels that unload within Yarmouth Peere, toward maintaining it. I am, your servant.

Westminster, March 17, 1676-7.

‘Popery’ and ‘France’ and election-illegalities are the ‘news;’ also a foreign ambassador and a consul bearing a great Spanish name, ‘commanded to depart the Realme in twenty days.’

Letter CCXCII. TO THE SAME.

‘March 22, 1676-7.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

LAST Tuesday’s post was the first I have omitted, therefore doe now give you account, that the businesse on Munday was to read the Bill of 600,000li. the second time; which being done, it was ordered to be in a Committee of the whole House the Friday following. On the Tuesday the Bill for exportation of Leather was reported from the Committee. The Bill from the Lords, for preserving a Protestant clergy, and education of the children of the Royall family in case of a Popish Prince, was read the first time, and ordered to be read again on next Tuesday. There was likewise a motion made concerning the Adresse lately presented to his Majestye about the growth of France, his Majestye’s answer having been, that he was of the same opinion with his two Houses, that the preservation of Flanders was of great consequence to this Kingdome, and that he would to that purpose use all means possible that might consist with the peace and safety of the Nation. This matter is ordered to be considered of the next Munday. In the Lords House severall moved in behalfe of the imprisoned Lords, but it had no issue. Yesterday counsell was heard at the barre concerning the Patent for Newark to send Burgesses to Parliament. The Patent was judged legal as to the power of electing, but the returne of Mr. Savile and Sir Paul Neale illegall, and therefore a writ to issue for a new election. To-day the Bill was read

the second time and committed, for an imposition on all merchandizes unloaden within Yarmouth Haven, toward the maintenance of their Peere. The Bill for reforming abuses in collecting Hearth-mony, read the second time and committed. The Bill for erecting a Ballast Wharfe at Yarrowslike upon the Tyne, read the second time, and thrown out. Ordered to bring in a Bill for exporting Coals free, or at a very easy custome. Ordered to renew a Bill for Exportation of Beer, Ale and Mumme. His Majestye has confined Don Bernardo De Lulinas, Envoye from the Governor of Flanders, and one Fonseca, the Spanish Consul, to their houses, and commanded them to depart the Realme in twenty days, for having intermeddled further then belonged them. The Garter vacant by the death of the E. of Bristol is given to the Treasurer [Danby]. I am, your most humble servant.

Mar. 22, '76-7.

'Money-bills' passed; 'naturalizing' of those 'born' of English parents 'beyond sea' between 1640 and 1660; a Bill 'against the multiplicity of attorneyes and vexatious suits;' 'debt' of the Hamburg company; 'Habeas Corpus Act,' so necessary for the subject, 'read the third time.' Such are some of the things reported on in this Letter.

Letter CCXCIII. TO THE SAME.

'March 24, 1676-7.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the House of Commons sat in Committee of the whole House upon the Bill of 600,000*l.* and they passed it thorow at the Committee: onely some things that were not so proper for so great a Committee, they desired the House to name another Committee for, which was granted; as

the drawing of a clause to exempt the Commissioners from the unnecessary trouble of taking the Test; the casting up the several sums upon every County, particularly for the seventene moneths, according to the measures of the Royall Aide, &c. and the House ordered to sit againe in a Committee of the whole House upon the Bill next Thursday. To-day the Bill from the Lords for naturalizing such as were betwixt 1640 and 1660 born or begot of English father or mother beyond sea, was read the second time and committed. The Bill against the Multiplicity of Atturneyes, and for preventing vexatious Suits, was read the first time. Then was read a Petition from the Hamburg Company, who ly under an ancient debt of 70,000*l.* desiring to propound some expedient proposalls for the payment thereof: it was referred to a Committee to receive such proposalls, providing there was nothing tending to lay a burden upon the English manufacture. After this, report was made from the Committee, to whom the matter of Passes, and the Bonds entered into, and the Fees taken for such Passes was referred, the debate of which terminated in this resolution: To desire the Lords of the Admiralty, and others concerned, to take care that there may be a more easy way of obtaining Passes; and that the obstruction that hath been therein to the Trade may be removed, so that I believe those who shall have occasion, will henceforward find their way much expedited, and charge lessened for the future. Then the Bill for exporting Leather was read the third time and passed, and ordered to be sent up to the Lords. After that, the Bill for Habeas Corpus, so necessary for the Subject, was likewise read the third time, passed, and ordered to be sent up. This day had been appointed to

consider of grievances, but the time having been thus farre imployed, the House adjourned. The Duke of Newcastle is likewise made Knight of the Garter. I have not further than to continue, Gentlemen, &c.,

Your very affectionate servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westminster, March 24, 1676-7.

A fragment with the 'accounts' to Trinity House.

Letter CCXCIV. For Mr. Edward Popple, at Hull.

' March 24, 1676-7.

DEARE BROTHER,

PRAY do as much as present my service to the Trinity House, and deliver them these accounts, wherein I hope we have been as good husbands for them as the thing admitted. You will find hereby how much remains in my hand, which as they please they may either cause me to returne to them or leave in banke towards their future charges. I hope Clipsham shall at last reimburse them. It is five or six dayes since I was with Mr. Fisher, who truly hath dealt too hard with himselfe, considering the honest, judicious, and successful paines he hath taken. He did then hope to heare by that post what Clipsham would do as to Commissioners. The man it seems is very seldome at home and difficult to be spoken with. If he be perverse in this particular, he will indeed perhaps make a little more trouble but it will come to the same effect, and argue more his disingenuity.

as litle time to lose
his answer and where
necessary pray let
word how all.

[torn away.]

the same. I

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Nov. 24, 1676-7.

The Writ *de Hæretico comburendo* is repealed; prohibition of Irish Cattell re-opened; yet another 'Adresse' to the King; the 'succeeding King' in relation to Popery and the oath of transubstantiation—occupy 'the House.'

Letter CCXCV. To THE MAYOR [as before].
' March 27, 1677.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the House of Commons read the second time the Bill which repeales the Writ *de hæretico comburendo*, and referrd it to a Committee. After that, the Bill being read the second time to obviate certain frauds and collusions commonly practised to evade the seisures by the Act against Irish Catell, there arose a great debate concerning the originall Act, and whither it be found expedient to continue the said prohibition. Wherein Gentlemens opinions much varying, according to the different interest of their countyes, it was thought that it should be referred, instead of a private Committee, to the Committee of the whole House; where it is to be solemnly argued to-morrow, to discusse and determine for once, the true interest of the Nation in this matter. To this succeeded the debate appointed concerning a second Adresse to his Majesty, in order to a further incouragement to enter into the confederacyes which by their first Adresse they had proposed; and after a weighty and serious dispute concerning it, they agreed, that in case his Majesty in further prosecution of their former Adresse, should happen to be involved in a warre, that then the House would from time to time give him such assistance as should be necessary. This, as the sense of the House, was given to the Committee to draw up in words fit and suitable to be presented to his Majesty. To-day the Lords Bill sent down for education

of the Royal Children, for creating of Bishops for the disposall of all Ecclesiastical Dignities and Promotions, in case that the succeeding King shall refuse the Oath of Transubstantiation, was read the second time, and upon the debate committed. Next the Bill against the Sitting of Papists in either House of Parliament, was also read the second time and committed. This has been for these two days the businesse of the House of Commons. As things proceed, I shall not faile to give you my account of them. Being Gentlemen, &c.

Westminster, March 27, 1677.

‘Silk-weaving’ and ‘Irish Cattell,’ and ‘the Adresse,’ and a ‘recesse at Easter.—are the report of this letter.

Letter CCXCVI. To THE SAME.

‘March 29, 1677.’

WORTHY SIR,

YESTERDAY a Committee was appointed to consider how to encourage the Silk-weaving in England; but their grand businesse was the debate in the Committee of the whole House concerning the continuance of the Prohibition of Irish Cattell, which passed in the Committee by a division of 145 against 128, and in the House of 129 against 91 in the affirmative for perpetuity. To-day was reported to the House the Adresse drawn up by the Committee for that purpose. A question arose upon the *not deferre*, and to recommit the Adresse thereof; but 131 dividing against 122. it was retained, and the House agreed with the Committee in the forme of the Adresse which I herewith send you; and the members of the Privy Councill are desired to know his Majesty’s pleasure when the house shall attend him. Mr. Secretary yesterday intimatod to the

House, that if they could bring their businesse within compass by that time, his Majestye would be content to grant them a recess at Easter. I beg pardon for my hast, remaining, worthy Sir, Your's and the Benchi's most humble servant.

Westminster, March 29, 1677.

ADDRESS TO THE KING.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“WE your Majestye's most dutifull and loyall subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, doe with great satisfaction of mind observe the regard your Majestye is pleased to expresse to our former Addresses by intimating to us the late alteration in affairs abroad, and to return our most humble thanks for your Majestye's most gracious offer made to us thereupon in your last message; and having taken a serious deliberation of the same, and of the preparations your Majesty hath therein intimated to us were fitting to be made in order to those public ends, we have for the present provided a security in a Bill for an additional Duty of Excise, upon which your Majestye may raise the sum of 200,000*l.* and if your Majestye should thinke fit to call us together again for this purpose in some short time after Easter by any public signification of your pleasure, commanding our attendance, we shall at our next meeting not only be ready to reimburse your Majestye what sums of mony shall be expended upon such extraordinary preparations as shall be made in pursuance of our former Addresses, but shall likewise with most chearfull hearts proceed, both then and at all other times, to furnish your Majestye with so large proportion of assistances and supplies upon this occasion, as may give your Majestye and the whole world an ample testimony of our loyalties and affections to your Majestye's service, and may inable your Majestye, by the help of Almighty God, to maintain such stricter alliances as you shall have entred into against all opposition whatsoever.

WE your Majestye's most loyall subjects do with unspeakable joy and comfort present our most humble thanks to your Majestye, for your Majestye's most gracious acceptance of our late Adresse, and that your Majesty was pleased in your princely wisdom to expresse your concurrence in

opinion with your two Houses in reference to the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands; and we do with all earnest and repeated desires implore your Majesty, that you will be pleased to take timely care to prevent those dangers that may arise to these Kingdomes by the great power of the French King, and the progresse he daily makes in the Netherlands and other places; and therefore that your Majesty will not deferre the entering into such alliances as may attain those ends. And in case it shall happen, that in pursuance of such alliances, your Majesty shall be ingaged in a warre with the French King, we hold our selves obliged, and do with all humilitie and chearfullness assure your Majesty, that we your Majesty's most loyall subjects shall always be ready upon signification in Parliament, fully from time to time, to assist your Majesty with such aids and supplies as by the Divine assistance may inable your Majesty to prosecute the same with successe. All of which we humbly offer to your Majesty as the unanimous sense of the whole nation.

Former matters are continued. Poor 'pedlars' are denounced. Shades of Alexander Wilson 'the Ornithologist' of Paisley and America, and of the 'pedlar' of the Excursion, do ye not protest?

Letter CCXCVII. TO THE SAME.

'March 31, 1677.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the House of Commons read the third time their Bill for taking away the Writ *de Hæretico Comburendo*, and sent it up to the Lords. They received also from the Committee the report of their Bill to prevent the Growth of Popery, and ordered it to be ingrossed. Then they resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole House upon the Bill of 600,000*l.* where severall provisos were added, as that whosoever should willingly and wittingly misapply and pervert any of the said mony from the end to which it is ordained, to lose their office, and be made incapable of any other office for the future. That no *non prosequi* should be enterd

or be valid to stay proceedings as to any penaltie or incapacity by this Act. That all former Commissioners should be indemnified from any processe against them for arrears of former assessments. In the afternoon they waited upon the King in the Banqueting-House to present him the Addresse, of which I last sent you a copy; the nature of it requiring no present answer, it was only graciously received. The Bill against Hawkers and Pedlers having been twice read, is now almost ready for a report; so that I hope the country will not be long infested with those people; the penalty is five pound *toties quoties*, and to be raised by detaining and distraining upon their wares. There is a twelve moneths time allowed, wherein those that have formerly furnished them may retire their estates out of their hands. To-day the Lords sent down a Bill for the speedier conviction of Popish Recusants. That is the Title. The Committee of the whole House sate again to-day and made some progresse. The greatest debate ended in a resolution that London should be abated in the assessment. But it is left to the next sitting, which is upon Tuesday, where to lay that which is to them abated, and may probably light upon the Bills of Mortality that are without the city. Munday is set apart for severall reports from the Committee of Privileges in the forenoon, and have orderd to sit in the afternoon to dispatch severall private Bills, the House striving to compose their businesse to be fit for a recess. I am, &c.

Mar. 31. 1677.

‘Ten pounds’ to be the limit of expenditure on an election for ‘M.P.’ How modern Members must grudge these ‘old times!’ ‘Popish recusants’ legislated for by the House of Lords—jesuitically.

Letter CCXCVIII. To THE SAME.

‘April 3, 1677.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SOME reports were made yesterday morning from the Committee of Privileges: one was of great importance, which was of a clause to which the House agreed that it should be a standing order to the Committee of Privileges for the judging of all Elections to Parliament for the future, that if any one should spend before the day of election above ten pounds, except in his own dwelling house, in order to such election, or shall make or give any reward or promise, that it shall be accounted bribery, and vacate his choice. After this the Committee having reported their opinion that Sir Robert Holt being outlawd after judgment, and moreover being taken in execution in another case before the time of privilege, ought not to be freed from his restraint; the House after a long debate, and upon a division, resolved that he should be freed from prison to attend the service of the House, and accordingly he came to-day into the House. They spent the afternoon wholly in reading private Bills. The Lords threw out the Bill for exporting Leather, which was sent them by the Commons. To-day the House of Commons was again in Committee of the whole House upon the 600,000*l.* Bill; the most material thing was, that they abated London 400*l.* a moneth, and placed it upon Westminster, and the parishes of Middlesex within the Bills of Mortality. Upon Thursday they sit again, and will I conceive have perfected all the amendments. But to-morow is set apart for the first reading of the Lords Bill for the speedyer conviction of Popish Recusants; a Bill of

extraordinary nature. Among other things it provides, that all Papists who shall register themselves in places thereto appointed, shall, upon taking the oath of Allegiance, be exempt from all former penall laws, paying twelve pence in the pound for their estates. But I will not antedate that matter. I am, &c.

Apr. 3. [1677.]

Again 'fasting' through long-sitting in 'the House.' The House of Lords Bill of 'Popish Recusants'—'opened' and found out to be an imposture and a fraud, and so 'the House threw it out *nemine contradicente*.' Then 'the House' read their 'own Bill.' Ireland obtains friends and the 'Irish Catell' Act is repealed. Suppose it un-repealed to-day?

Letter CCXCIX. To THE SAME.

'April 5, 1677.'

WORTHY SIR,

THE House having sate to-day without intermission 'till almost nine at night, though I therefore write fasting, I will acquaint you that yesterday the Lords Bill for more effectuall conviction and prosecution of Popish Recusants, was read the first time in the House of Commons, but after a very short debate they threw it out, and caused the entry upon the journall to be thus: "Whereas a Bill coming down from the House of Lords, intituled—but upon the reading and opening thereof, the substance of it appeared much different from the Title, the House rejected it *nemine contradicente*. Next they read the third time their own Bill for better putting the Laws in execution against Popery, and passd it, and orderd it to be sent to the Lords. But to-day hath been indeed a busy day; 'twas apointed for the 600,000*l*. but reading our Bill to correct abuses in the Irish Catell Act, it hath so fortund, that the Act

is thrown out by 155 against 144, and since, after many more divisions, a Committee is orderd to bring in a Bill for repealing the two Acts that prohibited forain Catell, and to admit a limited importation of the Irish Catell, and without any imposition. This is all I can at present, but remain, Sir, &c.

April 5, 1677.

Minor things advanced a stage; 'Parliament is like to rise by next Saturday.'

Letter CCC. To THE SAME.

'April 10, 1677.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I OMITTED to write to you the last post; but those two days afforded litle matter of writing, being in a manner wholly imployd upon finishing the 600,000*li.* Bill, as yesterday also; and now it is carryed up to the Lords. To-day the Bill of continuing the nine-peny and three-pence Excise upon Beere and Ale, with the severall rates upon other liquors, from the 24th of June next for three years, was read the second time; and there was a large debate for annexing the corn clause to it. But upon division by an 116 against 97, it was carried in the negative. Yet there seemed a generall inclination in the House for that matter (as of good reason) so that a particular Bill were brought in for it with a compensation to his Majesty, which was proposd by an high imposition upon French Brandy; but those things will keep 'till another meeting. They then sate upon the Bill in a Committee of the whole House, where was added a good clause, that the Gager shall always leave with the brewer a note of his gage, so that he may not be further imposd upon; and the exportation of Beere, Ale, and

Mum, from England, shall continue for three years, and thence to the end of the next Session of Parliament. The House agreed to the Bill, and orderd it to be ingrossd. They also received the report, and past it, of an addresse to his Majesty for bringing over the Duke of Northumberland. There are no Bills of very public nature, except these two mony Bills like to passe this meeting, many gentlemen being gone, and most impatient of staying, so that the Parliament is like to rise by next Saturday. I am, &c.

April 10, 1677.

‘The House’ is ‘cast into a deep consideration’ by a ‘message in writing’ from ‘his Majesty,’ on ‘the posture of affairs abroad.’ War is casting a great shadow beforehand of its coming—as is supposed. There is lavish willinghood but indefinable distrust of ‘the King.’

Letter CCCI. TO THE SAME.

‘April 12, 1677.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY while the House of Commons was making hast toward the end of their sitting, Mr. Secretary Williamson brought them the following message in writing from his Majesty: “His Majesty having considerd your late Addresse, and finding some late alteration in the affairs abroad, thinks it necessary to put you in mind that the only way to prevent the danger which may arise to these kingdoms, must be by putting his Majesty timely in condition to make such fitting preparations, as may inable him to doe what shall be most for the security of them; and if for this reason you shall desire to sit any longer time, the King is content you adjourne now before Easter, and meet again suddenly after to

ripen this matter, and to perfect some of the most necessary Bills now depending." After this weighty and significative message, the Secretary added as by intimation from his Majesty, that he intended the recess should be 'till October by adjournment, and that in the mean time his Majesty would, because it might be still in his power to call the Parliament if his affairs more suddenly requir'd it, continue them by short adjournments from six weeks to six weeks. This did cast the House into a deep consideration, so that the debate growing difficult was adjourn'd till to-day at ten a'clock. And the Lords having yesterday made an amendment to the Bill of 600,000*l.* that the officers through whom it passed should be accountable to the Lords as well as Commons; the House orderd to assume the debate of that next after the King's message. Which being most deliberately poysed to-day in all its words and matter, the House first orderd that in their Bill of Excise, not yet sent to the Lords, there should be a clause of credit added, inabling his Majesty to borrow 200,000*l.* at seven *per cent.* And then they made another generall vote directive to a Committee to draw up an answer to his Majesty, giving him humble thanks for laying before them his sense of the posture of affairs abroad, and to let him know that in order to his preparation, in pursuance of their Adresse for the safety of the kingdomes, they have provided a security of 200,000*l.* for his Majesty, and that whatsoever part thereof shall be expended accordingly they will reimburse, and whensoever his Majesty's affairs shall require their attendance in Parliament, they will be ready to aid and assist him as the nature of his affairs shall require. After this they disagreed with the Lords amendment, who I suppose may yielde the point.

We sit again to-morrow, being Good Friday, at two a'clock, and I hope may rise by Saturday night. I am, your servant.

April 12, 1677.

Once more the foolish 'Lords' will 'intermeddle' in that with which they have got nothing whatever to do—money-Bills; for to all intents and purposes they were such, however inferentially they might plausibly urge right to legislate in reference to 'persons.' The names of this Letter do not call for annotation save one—Louis de Duras de Blanquefort, brother of the Duc de Duras in France, was captain of the Guard to the Duke of York, and was naturalized in England. He married the daughter of Sir George Sondes, who was created Earl of Feversham in 1676 and died in 1677, when Lord Duras by limitation of the patent, succeeded to that title. He died 8th April, 1709, in his 69th year, and was buried in the French church in the Savoy; but in 1740 his remains were removed to Westminster Abbey.

Letter CCCII. TO THE SAME.

'April 14, 1677.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Lords having unhappily in the Bill of 600,000*l.* inserted in the clause that makes officers through whom it passes accountable to the Lords also, the two Houses have yesterday and all to-day been plunged in Conferences, and free Conferences; the Commons taking it to be an invasion of their sole right in mony matters. One House or other I hope and doubt not will yield. We expected to rise to-day for good and all; but if we do, it can not now be before midnight; so that for surenesse I write this to you at eight a'clock. The Excise Bill, and the clause of borrowing at seven *per cent.* added to it, are agreed by both Houses. The Commons yesternight at eight a'clock went from the House to wait upon the King, at the Banquetting House, with their third Addresse,

which I send you here inclosed. St. Omar is taken. The King of France at Calais. The Duke of Crequy coming over from him hither; the Earle of Sunderland and Lord Duras going thither from the King and Duke. God send us an happy conclusion. I am, your servant.

Apr. 14. [1677.]

The Conference with 'the Lords' postponed. Marvell is evidently astounded at their unreason.

Letter CCCIII. TO THE SAME.

'April 14, 1677.'

SIR,

SINCE I writ the inclosed (which was when the Commons had sent to the Lords for another free Conference) the houre growing unseasonable, the Lords returned answer that they agreed that the Conference should be on Munday morning at ten a'clock: so though we could not finish to night, yet I hope we may then, this Bill being of so great weight, and the pretense of the Lords in the opinion of the Commons so ill founded, that upon division to-night whether to agree or disagree with them, there were 156 to disagree against 27; and the King being on Monday to goe his journey to Newmarket, unless something extraordinary intervene. The Lords sent down yesternight a Bill for better Observation of the Lord's Day, which they have read the first time. I am, &c.

Westminster, April 14, 1677.

'The Lords'——'recede' and so again dishonour themselves in sheer fatuity, but see their Address with next Letter. Another 'royal' message; a Bill, 'a very good Bill' from the Lords 'for the better observation of the Lord's Day.' Documents that follow this Letter are dated '16th April, 1677.' They are

all in Marvell's own handwriting, except the one headed 'Charles Rex.'

Letter CCCIV. To THE SAME.

'April 17, 1677.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

MY last I suppose left you in some alarme, which I am glad I can by this my next quiet again. For the Commons having yesterday held a long free Conference with the Lords concerning their adding themselves to that clause of account in the Mony Bill; their Lordships after a great debate thereupon in their own House, found cause to recede, and so sent a message to the Commons, that they agreed to the Bill without their own amendment. There was yesterday another thing of no lesse weight; his Majesty sending by Mr. Secretary Williamson the written message here inclosed. The Secretary after it was read, added these words, 'That if the House were for this end inclined to continue its sitting, his Majesty would be willing to grant it.' The House hereupon consummating the severall reflections naturally arising from so important a message, and at such a season, ordered a Committee, which brought in the answer inclosed, It was approved by the House, and the houre growing late, they thought not fit to deire to wait importunely on his Majesty, but transmitted it by Mr. Secretary to him in the lodgings by the Lords House. By this time 'twas neare eight a'clock, so the Black Rod came. There were past the two Mony Bills. A Bill for better observing the Lord's day. It came from the Lords, and the Commons read it yesterday the second time in the morn without committing it, so that it was read the third in the afternoon without any alteration. 'Tis a very good Bill for so much. A

Bill to take away the Writ *de hæretico comburendo*. A Bill to prevent frauds and perjuries. A Bill for Commissioners to take affidavits in the country. A Bill to confirm augmentations made to small Vicarages, &c. Other Bills of greater weight must expect maturity from the next meeting. The Parliament is adjourn'd till 21 May next. The King went early this morning for Newmarket, to continue toward a fortnight. I am, &c.

April 7, 1677.

THE LORDS ADDRESSE ABOUT THE BILL FOR
SHIPPS.

‘April 16, 1677.’

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your Majestyes most loyall and obedient subjects, the Lords spirituall and temporall in Parliament assembled, do humbly beg leave to lay before your Majestye, that having upon severall conferences and free conferences with the Commons, debated concerning the differences in the Bill, intituled, an Act for raising the summe of 584,978li. 2s. 2d. for the speedy building of thirty ships of warre, in which the Commons disallow the amendment offered by this House: and having given such reasons to support our amendments as we conceived ought to have convinced them, neverthesse the Commons remaining immoveable, have thereby put us upon the extreme difficulty either of shaking our privileges, or withdrawing our said amendmente, or of hazarding the safety of the Nation by letting a Bill fall that is so necessary at this time; we have out of our unfeigned duty to your Majesty, and regard to the publick, complied with the Commons, though against our judgements, And that we may be rightly understood why we did so, we humbly take leave to assure your Majesty, that we were moved to it by no other argument then to expresse our great duty to your Majesty, and to comply with the present necessity in point of time, and out of our tendernesse that the whole may not suffer by our present insisting upon that which is our undoubted right. All which we beseech your Majestye graciously to accept from us as a lasting testimony of our zeale to your Majesty and the Kingdom's service.

J. B. CL. PARL.

HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER.

HIS Majesty receives the same very kindly, and assures your Lordships, that in all things that concerne your privileges, he will be as carefull of them, and as assistant to you in them, as yourselves can desire,

CHARLES REX.

HIS Majesty having considered ye answer of this House to his late message about inabling him to make fitting preparations for the securitie of these Kingdoms, finds by it that they have only inabled him to borrow 200,000*l.* upon a fund given him for other uses. His Majesty desires you, for the House should know, and he hopes they will always believe of him, that not only that fund, but any other within his power, shall be ingadged to the outmost for preservation of his Kingdoms. But as his Majestie's condition is (which he doubts not but is as well known to them as himselfe) he must tell them plainly, that without the sum of 600,000*l.* or credit for such sum upon a new fond; it will not be possible for him to speake or act those things which will answer the ends of their severall Addresses, without exposing the Kingdoms to much greater danger. His Majesty does further acquaint them, that having done his part, and laid the true state of things before them, he will not be wanting to use the best means for the safetie of his people, that his present condition is capable of.

Aprill ye 16th, 1677.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTIE,

WE your Majestie's most loyall and dutifull subjects, the Commons in present Parliament assembled, have considered your Majestie's last message, and the gracious expressions therein contained for employing your whole revenue at any time to raise monie for the preservation of your Majesty's Kingdoms, doe find great cause to return our most humble thanks to your Majesty for the same; and to desire your Majesty to rest assured that your Majestie shall find as much dutie and affection in us as can be expressed by a most loyall people to a most gracious Soveraine. And wheras your Majestie is pleased to signifie to us that the sum of 200,000*l.* is not sufficient without further supply, to enable your Majesty to speak and act those things which are desired by your people; we humbly take leave to acquaint your Majesty, that many of our members being in expectation of an adjournment before Easter, are gone into their severall

countries. We cannot thinke it parliamentary in their absence to take upon us the granting of monie, but doe therefor desire your Majestie to be graciously pleased that this House may adjourn itselfe to such short time before the sum of 200,000l. can be expended as your Majestie shall think fit, and by your royall proclamation to comand the attendance of all our members at the day of meeting, by which time we hope your Majestie may have soe formd your affaires and fixed your alliances in pursuance of our former Adresse, that your Majestie may be graciously pleased to impart them to us in Parliament; and doe noe ways doubt, but at our next assembling your Majestie will not only meet with a compliance in the supply your Majestie desireth, but with all such further assistance as the posture of your affairs shall require. In confidence whereof we hope your Majestie will be encouraged to speak and act such things as your Majestie shall judge necessarie for attaining those great ends we have formerly represented to your Majestie.

April the 16th, 1677.

A short Note, with 'Acts.' Marvell seems to have been very mindful of his constituents in forwarding such papers, but very few are preserved at Hull.

Letter CCCV. TO THE SAME.

'April 21, 1677.'

WORTHY SIR, -

THE inclosed being since our rising come to my hand, I thought it also might deserve your notice. Within a weeke, I suppose, we shall perceive whether his Majesty thinke fit to recall us by proclamation for 21st of May, or then to inlarge the adjournment. I spoke yesterday to the Printer, who tells me the Acts will scarce be out before next Saturday, when I will take the first convenience of sending them; and if you in the mean time know of any, pray direct me. Excuse my defects, I beseech you, and present my service to the Bench. I am particularly, worthy Sir your most affectionate servant.

Maiden-Lane, April 21, 1677.

Another short Note—expectation of Parliament's again assembling.

Letter CCCVI. To THE SAME.

‘May 1, 1677.’

WORTHY SIR,

THIS is onely to present you my service, and tell you, that the mony Act came out yesterday, which is all yet printed. It is so bulky that there is publick care taken to send and disperse them; but when they are all out, I shall the first conveyance dispatch them to you. It goes, since the King came home yesterday, for current, that the Parliament shall sit on at the day, though it is not yet ascertainment. I am, Sir, your most affectionate servant.

Westm., May 1, 1677.

Probably it was during some interval of Parliament, Marvell composed this anonymous ‘Epitaph.’ It is pity we don’t know for whom it was prepared. It may well be interposed as a breathing-space between the turmoils of ‘the House.’ ‘Recumbence’=resting in confidence.

AN EPITAPH.

HERE under rests the body of ——— who in his life-time reflected all the lustre he derived from his family, and recompensed the honour of his descent by his virtue; for being of an excellent nature, he cultivated it by all the best means of improvement: nor left any spot empty for the growth of pride or vanity. So that, although he was polished to the utmost perfection, he appeared only as a mirrour for others, not himself, to look in. Chearfull without gall, sober without formality, prudent without stratagem, and religious without affectation. He neither neglected, nor yet pretended to busyness; but as he loved not to make work, so not to leave it

imperfect. He understood, but was not enamoured of pleasure. He never came before in injury, nor behind in courtesy: nor found sweetness in any revenge but that of gratitude. He so studiously discharged the obligations of a subject, a son, a friend, and an husband, as if those relations could have consisted only on his part. Having thus walked upright, and easily through this world, nor contributed by any excess to his mortality; yet death took him: wherein therefore, as his last duty, he signalized the more his former life with all the decency and recumbence of a departing Christian.

Of the names in this Letter these only require (brief) notice: (a) Lionel Cranfield, 3rd Earl of Middlesex, Gentleman of his Majesty's Bed-chamber, died 26th Oct., 1674, and on the 4th April, 1675, his sister's eldest son, Charles Sackville, by Richard, 5th earl of Dorset, was created Baron Cranfield and Earl of Middlesex. He succeeded on his father's death, 27th Aug., 1677, as 6th earl of Dorset, and died in 1706. (b) Aubrey de Vere, 20th and last Earl of Oxford, was born in 1626. He suffered greatly for his attachment to the royal cause, and was duly honoured after the Restoration, but eventually turned against it. He died 12th March, 1702-3, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Letter CCCVII. To THE SAME.

‘May 3, 1677.’

WORTHY SIR,

THIS is chiefly to inclose to you his Majestye's Proclamation for re-assembling the Parliament on the 21st of May. Yesterday motions were severally made in the King's Bench, for *Habeas Corpus* to the Constable of the Tower for Harrington, Murray, and Browne, which were granted for this day; but they not being brought to-day, a delay usuall in such cases, to-morrow, I understand, they will move for an alias. Also yesterday, his Majesty having not

approved of the three Lords joint petition, forasmuch as he looked upon them under distinct characters, each of them sent his petition apart; the Duke of Buckingham, by the Earle of Middlesex; the Earle of Salisbury, by the Earle of Oxford; and the Earle of Shaftsbury, by Secretary Coventry; but what answer his Majesty pleaseth to returne, as yet appears not. The French Cavaliers most of them are, I heare, within two or three days upon their returne homeward. This is what I heare at present. I remaine, worthy Sir, your most affectionate friend.

London, May 3, 1677.

One sentence reveals the sentiment of Marvell and now (let us be thankful to remember) the patriotic majority—"As farre as a man may guesse, there will be no mony given this sitting but upon very visible and effectuall termes." It was simply loathsome to find 'mony' obtained for defence if not offence diverted to the harlotry of the palace. (Cf. next two Letters.) Secretary Coventry who is so frequently named has his place along with his brother in the Satires. (Vol. I. p. 298).

Letter CCCVIII. TO THE SAME.

'May 22, 1677.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Parliament sate down yesterday. The King did not command the House of Commons up to the Lords to speake to them; but they proceeded as they do upon continued sitting by adjournment, without any solemnity. When sate, Secretary Coventry delivered by word of mouth, that the King having called them, according to their desire in their last Adresse at the day of adjournment, by proclamation, did, now they were a full House, desire them to consider his last message. Some of the House seemed to move toward the 600,000*l.* without any account of what [was] done toward alliances. But others

(and it seemed the generall inclination) appear'd of the contrary opinion : They did not contend on either part for a question, but after no long sitting adjourn'd till Wednesday, expecting whether then there may be any thing riper to communicate. As farre as a man may guesse, there will be no mony given this sitting, but upon very visible and effectuall termes. They reviv'd no Committee but that for recalling the forces out of France. This was all. I am with all respect, your most affectionate servant.

May 22, 1677.

The King again trying to get 'mony' without evidence of alliance. 'The House' stands particularly firm : ready to give 'speedy and cheerful supplies' on evidence of a reality but not a penny for promises. This and other memorials of the House of Commons assures us Andrew Marvell had potential influence and a following.

Letter CCCIX. TO THE SAME.

· May 24, 1677.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY, as soon as the Speaker tooke the chaire, Mr. Secretary Coventry acquainted the House that the King commanded them immediately to attend him in the Banketting-house at Whitehall: They presently rose and went thither, where his Majesty spoke thus : "Gentlemen I have sent for you hither to prevent mistakes and mistrusts, which I find some so ready to make, as if I had called you together onely to get mony from you for other uses than you would have it employed. I do assure you on the word of a King, that you shall not repent any truth you repose in me for the safety of my Kingdomes : and I desire you to believe I would not break my credit with you. But as I have already

told you that it would be impossible for me to speake or act those things which should answer the ends of your several Addresses, without exposing my Kingdomes to much greater dangers ; so I declare to you againe, that I will neither hazard mine own safety nor yours, untill I be in a better condition than I am able to put mysele, both to defend my subjects, and offend my enemyes. I do further assure you, that I have not lost one day since your last meeting, in doing all I can for our defense ; and I tell you plainly, it shall be your fault and not mine, if our security be not sufficiently provided for." Then he delivered them the paper, saying he had red it to prevent mistakes. The House entred into a debate upon this subject ; some moving for a question, whether a supply or no ; but others to consider rather what alliances were proper for the safety of the Nation agamst the French, and that the House might turne itselfe into a Committee hereupon. The question to take in both these senses was put in generall termes, to turne into a Committee of the whole House to consider of his Majestye's speech, and so passed. So they argued both these wayes, till five a'clock, when they came to this result, that the House be desired to appoint a Committee to draw up an Adresse to his Majesty, desiring him to enter into a league offensive and defensive with the States of the United Provinces, and to make such further alliances with such other of the confederates as his Majesty shall think fit, against the power and growth of the French King. and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands ; and to draw up reasons for the speedy entering into such alliances. As also reasons why the House can not comply with his Majesteye's Speech untill such alliances be entred

into ; but giving assurance, that being done, of speedy and chearfull supplies from time to time, for the support and maintenance of the same. This was from the Committee reported to the House, who approved the same, and named a particular Committee to that purpose : then adjourned till nine a'clock on Friday, for the House seeme to neglect any other businesse. This particular Committee, though so late, sate yesternight and this day, though holy day, and have perfected the Adresse fit for a report to the House to-morrow morning. It appears that this meeting may separate before Whit-Sunday.

I am, &c.

West., May 24, 1677.

The House meets with the King. The King——delays. There will be a tempest soon.

Letter CCCX. To THE SAME.

‘ May 26, 1677.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THIS Adresse being of so great weight, I thought I could not do better than to give you it at full length by this first opportunity. The House received the report with much approbation ; onely they differed about retaining or leaving out those particular words of entering into a league offensive and defensive with the States ; some rather desiring that there might only be generall words, and not nominating ; so that it grew into a considerable debate, which was decided by a division of 182 against 142, that the words should stand. And then the question being put to agree with the whole Adresse, it passed unanimously. The members of

the Privy Councill were then desired to inquire when his Majesty would be pleased to admit the House to attend him. After this they received the report from the Committee, of the Bill recalling all his Majesty's subjects within such convenient times from the French King's service whether by land or sea, under severall great penalties, and that of Felony. The House agreed to the amendments, and ordered the Bill to be ingrossed, At their meeting to-day, Mr. Secretary Coventry informed them that his Majesty appointed three a'clock at the Banqueting-house. The ingrossed Bill for recalling from the French King's service was then read and passed, and sent up to the Lords for their concurrence, and he who carried it, ordered to put the Lords in mind of our Bill to prevent the growth of Popery, which they have not once read. In the afternoon they waited on the King, who having heard it, replied that it was long, and the business very weighty, and he would return answer as soon as he could. It is generally expected that may be upon Munday, and this meeting may then separate. The House hath not meddled with any other business, nor inclines further. I am, Gentlemen, my very worthy Friends, Your most affectionate servant.

Westm., May 26, 1677.

By a legal fiction a constitutional Monarch can 'do no wrong.' But Charles II. was not a 'constitutional' monarch in practice; and so is personally answerable to some extent for the amazing Speech which he addressed to 'the House' as reported in this Letter. The miserable unfortunate knew the hollowness of all his professions and whither the money had gone squanderingly—and would, if 'they' could only gripe it. The Speaker exercises his 'little brief authority' as a (small) despot. There will be a reckoning.

Letter CCCXI. To THE SAME.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY as soon the Speaker tooke the chaire, Mr, Secretary Coventry told the House, that the King commanded their attendance in the Banketing House, where his Majesty spoke in this manner: 'Could I have been silent I would rather have chosen to be so, then to call to mind things so unfit for you to meddle with as are containd in some parts of your Adresse; wherein you have intrenched upon so undoubted a right of the Crowne, that I am confident it will appeare in no age when the sword was not drawn, that the prerogative of making Peace and Warre has been so dangerously invaded. You doe not content yourselves with desiring me to enter into such leagues as may be for the safety of the kingdome but you tell me what sort of leagues they must be, and with whom. And as your Adresse is worded, it is more liable to be understood by your leave then request that I should make such other alliances as I please with such other of the Confederates. Should I suffer this fundamentall power of making Peace and Warre to be so farre invaded, though but once, as to have the manner and circumstances of Leagues prescribed to me by Parliament, it is plaine that no Prince or State would any longer believe the Sovereignty of England to rest in the Crowne, nor could I thinke my selfe to signify any more to forain Princes then the empty sound of a King. Wherefore you may rest assured, that no condition shall make me depart from or lessen so essentiall a part of the Monarchy. And I am willing to believe so well of this House of Commons, that I am confident these ill consequences are not intended by them. These are in short the

reasons why I can by no means approve of your Adresse ; and though you have declined to grant me that supply which is so necessary to the ends of it, yet I doe again declare to you, that as I have done all that lies in my power since your last meeting, so I will apply myselfe by all the meanes I can to let the world see my care both for the security and satisfaction of my people, although it may not be with those advantages to them which by your assistances I might have procured.' The King deliverd the paper then to the Speaker, adding it was to prevent misstakes ; then said 'I would have you returne to the House, and I require you immediately to adjourne till the 16th of July ; but I do not intend you shall sit till winter unless there should happen any urgent occasion, in which case you shall have notice by Proclamation.' The Speaker having reported all this to the House, severall gentlemen stood up desiring to be heard, which he denied, alledging still the King's command to adjourne immediately, but they persisting, he without putting it to the question left the chaire, pronouncing onely these words: "By the King's command this House is adjourned till July 16." So ended this meeting. I am, Your most humble servant.

Westminster, May 29, 1677.

'The House' met and yet didn't meet. That 'adjournment' is to be reckoned for. Private business and—horrors of sinful acts. 'Punctually'=in every point.

Letter CCCXII. To the Mayor.

'July 17, 1677.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE sixteenth of this moneth being the day appointed by his Majesty for declaring his further

pleasure concerning the Parliament, I came to Towne that I might be present at the meeting. As soon as the House was sate, Mr. Secretary Coventry delivered a message from his Majesty, that it was his Majestye's command the House should immediately adjourne till the third of December next. Whereupon the House was accordingly immediately adjourned; onely there was a motion made, and seconded to have read, the order by which the House was adjourned at the former meeting, there being some errour supposed in the entring of it, contrary to the truth of the fact as it then passed. But this motion was not interteined, the House being generally disposed to be most punctually obedient to his Majestye's message without putting any question, not so much as that which formerly used to be put of course, whether they would adjourne, that being an act of the House. The Speaker onely pronounced "the House is adjourned." You were pleased to recommend to me the businesse of Mr. Watson, wherein Mr. Guy hath been so extremely civill to you and me that he hath obliged me to inspect the accounts between his agent and Mr. Watson, and would not himselfe be present because he would leave us the more at liberty; for he also said that he was so desirous of standing faire in your esteeme, that seeing you had thought fit to take notice of the matter, he would subject it to me that I might satisfy you and myselfe of the nature and reason of his proceedings; and this he would not be denied. So that, although it exceeded what you had desired of me, I could not but accept of it. I have been almost one whole afternoon upon it, and when they are againe ready, shall attend, hoping and wishing that Mr. Watson may appeare worthy of the recommendation you have given him. The news

from abroad, of which you will see part in yesterday's Gazette, is, I suppose, better than that relation gives it in many respects. Even that of the Duke of Loraine, and that in Catalaunia is said to be much otherwise. Nor is it improbable but that the Confederates may now every day give a better account of this campayne. There was this last weeke here a sad Sessione: one (I thinke a Frenchman) indicted for a rape on a girle of ten years old; another man for buggery of a mare: but both these acquitted, the evidence not coming up to the difficult prooffe that the law requires. The third, a woman for beastlinesse with a dog, for which she is condemnd and will be executed. I wish I had something better left to take off the ill relish of such horrid wickednesse at the end of my letter. That which I can say most acceptable to my selfe, and I hope not unpleasing to you, is, that I continue, Gentlemen, &c., your most affectionate servant,

ANDREW MARVELL.

London, July 17, 1677.

The Light-house 'businessse' in the last stage—it is hoped. These Letters are admirable examples of business capacity and fidelity to trust.

Letter CCCXIII. TO THE SAME.

For my much respected friends Mr. Edward Hodgson and Mr. Thomas Coats, Wardens of the worthy Society of ye Trinity-house in Kingstone-upon-Hull.

' Sep. 45, 1676.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I CAN not have neglected the thought of your businessse while it hath been in this vacation removed from our hands here to yours. I have perceived that the Commisseeon is executed, what kind of witnesses Mr.

Clipsham hath produced, and the vaunts which he makes and further threatenings of attacking your very right of Primage, all which are not as I conceive to be much valued. Mr. Coats, Mr. Fisher, and myself were yesterday together (and intend once more before he saile with some of your Counsell) discoursing conjecturally of the event of the whole matter. Now first of all, we are not in any apprehension that Clipsham should be able to remove the cause out of the Court of Exchequer, which is already possessed of it; nor that he should shake the duty of Primage, which is strongly founded. Next, we do not doubt but that the Court will adjudge him to pay particularly what is due to you for the deales that were distrained. What seems to us onely subject to some casualty is the matter of costs. Whether he shall recover costs of you, which appears improbable, or you of him, which is not impossible; or whether both parties shall be left to set downe with their severall expenses. And if this last should happen yet you carrying the cause, you will however have the usual solace of those who goe to law, that your adversary hath been at no lesse charges. There shall not I assure you be any care wanting on this side to procure your best advantage. I could heartily have wished that you had met with a more reasonable and honest man then Mr. Clipsham. For neither do you love suits I know, nor do so affect to promote them; but he proving what he is, the thing is unavoidable. And I do not doubt but we shall give you a good account of the businesse. You in the meantime will be carefull to send up the commission and whatsoever is pertinent to the cause so timely that we may not be at a losse for any thing materiall, when it comes to a tryall. Though I wish

there had not been this occasion yet I am very glad that by the concerne and interest I take therein, I have the opportunity to manifest how much I am in all things

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Sept. 15, 1677.

Letter CCCIV. To THE SAME.

‘Nov. 3, 1677.’

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE received yours of the 30th October, wherein you are pleased to treat me with more ceremony then becomes me; but I attribute all to your kindnesse. As to your businesse, for which I am more concerned then if it were mine own, I am frequent with Mr. Fisher and our Counsell, having put all things into the best method for an hearing. And who more to make use of or in our serioussest consideration to apply to, or whatsoever else may be done in order to your advantage of your cause is not nor shall be neglected. For the rest I referre you to my last letter and to what I shall write you more amply before we come to tryall. I am glad to perceive that we are like to have Mr. Coats his assistance here, and Mr. Trewman's. I have likewise your inclosed Bill of Exchange for 30li., which was not yet necessary. I being well in cash for you as by the account I sent you a good while agoe appeared, and if I had not been so, such a cause and being your's, should not have starved in my hand. When I find there is occasion, I shall make use of it. I

wish us very good succeſſe and all proſperity to your
House in this or whatſoever other matters, being

Gentlemen, my worthy friends,

Your moſt affectionate friend to ſerve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Nov. 3, 1677.

Letter CCCV. To THE SAME.

‘Nov. 15, 1677.’

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THIS is in ſhort to give you notice that this day
your Cauſe was heard. And the Court hath finally
ordered and decreed that the duty of twelve pence
per cwt. for deales, and your whole right of Primage
be confirmed. And that the mony deposited in Court
by Mr. Clipſham for the duty be payd to you. That
he thereupon have his deales reſtored not at his houſe
but there where they ly at the Haven. In concluſion
you have all that you could poſſibly deſire but your
charges, and that as the matter lay could not be
hoped. It is enough that Clipſham hath his own
damages to beare without any coſts from you. Our
Counſell and Mr. Trewman and Mr. Fiſher, have
ſeverally done their parts excellently well. Onely
Sir Robert Sawyer, I will not ſay like a recreant
knight but a Lawyer, though he had his three
guinyes fee yeſternight and we calld him I know not
how often from the Chancerye, to-day came not. Mr.
Trewman will give you all particulars. I wiſh you
heartily all better proſperity, and ſhall be always
ready according to my low capacity to do you all
further ſervice, being Gentlemen, &c.,

Your very affectionate friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Nov. 15, 1677.

Pray ſend up the foot of my account with you.

The Duke of Monmouth is a contributor to the 'charity' of Trinity House of £20, through 'Mr. Marvell.'

Letter CCCVI. To the Right Worshipful Henry Maister, Mayor, and the Aldermen his Brethren,
of Kingston-upon-Hull.

'Nov. 16, 1677.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I WENT yesterday according to your commands (for such are your requests to me) to wait upon the Duke of Monmouth with your letter: But first I acquainted Mr. Vernon, his secretary, with it; we afterwards went up to him, and I having presented him your letter, he read it with great leisure. Then using words of great civility to your selves and the town, he told me that he would be ready to gratify you in any expedient you should propose, except in a dead pay, which he thought a thing of ill example. I replied that you had been farre from suggesting that way of maintaining the children, and that you thought it more becoming your duty to acquiesce in whatsoever his Grace should order therein, then to dictate to him. He then said that he himself would thinke of something to propose to you. I then stood by among the company that attended him, and after a little space he called me to him againe, and told me he had a great respect for you, and that he would give you twenty pounds toward their keeping, which he hoped would be sufficient. I humbly thanked him as was fitting, and said you had great occasion to acknowledge his generosity in it. Afterwards I spoke with Mr. Vernon, who saith, that the twenty pound shall be payed me upon your first giving me order to receive it; therefore you may please, by a letter to Mr. Vernon, to signify your humble thanks and

acceptance of his Grace's favour; not ommitting civill expressions to Mr. Vernon himselfe, according to the nature of the thing; for truly he hath done his part in it, and what the Duke hath bin pleased thus to bestow, although just, yet is also a favour. I remaine, &c.

London, Nov. 15, 1677.

Again the Duke of Monmouth is seen; the House meets only for further adjournments.

Letter CCCVII.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE first opportunity that I had of delivering your letter to Mr. Vernon, was yesterday morning. We went then together to the Duke of Monmouth, to whom I tendered your thanks and service; to which he returned you very civill and obliging expressions, and that he was glad to have given you satisfaction in that matter, as he should be ready upon all other occasions. In the afternoon Mr. Vernon sent the mony to my loging, by a servant, to whom I gave a crowne for his paines, and an acquittance for Mr. Vernon. At night the post brought me another letter from you, with one inclosed for the Duke of Monmouth, which I went this morning also and delivered; so that there remaines now no more then that you be pleased to give order here to some person to receive the twenty pounds abovesaid of me for your use. Munday next is the day appointed for the members of Parliament that are about towne to meet, in order to their adjournment till the fourth of Aprill, according to his Majestye's Proclamation. There is no appearance of any further businesse for them. What is then done I shall give you account by the Tuesday-post. I am

much obliged to you for all your great civilityes expressed to my selfe upon all occasions, which though I cannot otherwise deserve than by my acknowledgement of them, yet shall always incourage my indeavours to approve myselfe, Gentlemen, my very worthy Friends, your most affectionate servant.

London, Dec. 1, 1677.

Once more an exercise of small despotism in 'adjourning' the House without suffering a 'Member' to speak or question. Further materials for reckoning.

Letter CCCVIII. TO THE SAME.

'Dec. 4, 1677.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY, according to his Majestye's Proclamation, the members that were in town met, in order to their adjournment till the fourth of Aprill, at Westminster. The Speaker of the House of Commons having, after prayers, taken the chaire, Mr. Secretary Coventry delivered him a written message from his Majesty, which he red to the House; the contents thereof were, that whereas his Majesty had by Proclamation signified that the Houses might adjourne themselves till the fourth of Aprill, he did now thinke fit that they should be adjourned but till the fifteenth of January, for weighty reasons him thereunto moving. The House then generally called to adjourne, but one gentleman standing up to speake, he was not admitted, Mr. Speaker pronouncing these words: It is his Majestye's pleasure that the House be adjourned untill the fifteenth of January, and accordingly this House is adjourned untill the fifteenth of January. This was the event of this daye's meeting, so that it will be fit that if you have any thing which may more particularly relate to

Parliament, that you please to be reflecting upon it in order to your commands to, Gentlemen, &c.

Covent Garden, Dec. 4, 1677.

‘Warre with France’—inevitable, ‘though I am slow to write of things future, &c.’

Letter CCCIX. TO THE SAME.

‘Decr. 8, 1677.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I THOUGHT it beseemed me, this Proclamation having to-day issued, to transmit it to you, for your better notice. Also, though I am slow to write of things future, and which may concerne the State, I cannot forbear to tell you that it is the generall report, and which will every day gaine more credit, that there is a probability of a warre with France. And it is not without some ground supposed that his Majestye’s altering the day of adjournment to a shorter, hath been in order to some deliberation of that nature. This is all at present, except the continuance of my due respects to you, from, Gentlemen, &c.

Cov. Garden, Dec. 8, 1677.

This Letter has a very fine impression of the ‘deer’ or ‘stag’ seal of Marvell.

Letter CCCX. TO THE SAME.

‘Dec. 27, 1677.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I RECEIVD yesterday a letter from you concerning the remainder of your businesse with Mr. Fisher. I did call on him above a weeke agoe, and saw all done; yet upon your letter I spoke with him again this day, and do thereupon fully assure

you that the decree is inrolled, exemplified, sealed, and all done that you writ about, according to your hearts desire. As soon as you tell us which way you will have it sent, or we can find the best convenience, it shall be forwarded to you. I acknowledge all your favors, and thanke you particularly for your ale, which came up in very good condition, and is excellent liquor.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Lond., Dec. 17, 1677.

The Duke of Monmouth is given 'six jacobus's' through Marvell. This presentation would appear to have been the remains of an old custom (there is a similar one still in the East); for it seems to have been *de rigueur* to give it in Jacobuses, which, like our guinea, and until lately our dragon sovereigns, were scarce, and out of circulation, and had to be bought at a price above their coinage-value (Cf. Letter CCCXX). A fine tribute is paid to Sancroft on his appointment to the See of Canterbury. I like to remember him as the preserver of the Poems of RICHARD CRASHAW, in the Bodleian (Works of Crashaw: our ed. Vol. II. 168 et alibi). The high praise of Sancroft in these letters renders somewhat inappropriate the ascription of a trenchant satire on the Archbishop, "Marvell's Ghost." See Notes and Queries 1st s.n. We are glad of the welcome to Stillingfleet.

Letter CCCXI. TO THE SAME.

'Jan. 1, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I DID according to your last letter to me change so much of your mony into six jacobus's and bought a purse, in which I this day presented it to the Duke of Monmouth, with the best terms of civility that I could add to it, which he kindly accepted, and returns you his thanks. I perceive by Mr. Vernon

that there is a gentleman gone down appointed to take a survey of your fortifications, and to make an estimate what the repairing of them will cost; which among other things ordered elsewhere of the same nature is to be ascribed to the probability of a warre with France, which I signified to you formerly. Upon Saturday last his Majesty declared his pleasure that Dr. Sancroft, the Dean of St. Pauls, should be the Archbishop of Canterbury; which is so excellent a choice that I know none but do congratulate it except such Bishops as were perhaps in expectancy. Also Dr. Stillingfleet is made Dean of St. Paul's in his place, to universall approbation. I perceive by your letter that you have sent Mr. Vernon and me of your ale: it is not yet arrived: I thanke you for the favour and remembrance, wishing that part however of a warre with France, that by prohibiting their wines we were obliged to drink so good liquor. I remain, &c.

New Year's day, 1677-8, which I wish happy to you and the Nation.

A 'little vessell of ale' is sought for 'Mr. Fisher' in recompence of his abundant pains in the long Light-house 'case.'

Letter CCCXII. To Trinity House [as before.]

'Jan. 8, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE according to your letter given orders to Mr. Fisher who will do all as you have desired and write to you, by which carrier he sends you writings in box for the purpose, and the exemplification. I inclose you here his accounts and made up your mony, so that he hath 5l. for his pains, which really he hath truly well deserved, and yet accepts it

thankfully, presenting you his service. Truly he is so honest a man and always usefull (though I hope things are so well settled that I hope you will never stand [in] need of him or any others) that I think if you incouraged him sometime or other with a little vessell of your ale it would be very well placed. I am, Gentlemen, &c., your affectionatø friend,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Cov. garden, Jan., 8, 1677-8.

Yet another enforced 'silence' at 'adjournment'——is like to be afterwards 'debated, concerning as it so largely did the House's 'privileges.' Peace is in 'cloudy uncertainty.' What a King! and what Ministers! Of course the 'silence' was by the Speaker's enforcement, who still so rules till it is otherwise ruled by the House. Nevertheless and notwithstanding the short period of adjournment the thing was a scandal whatever pleas of hope of a more settled state of affairs, &c., might be urged.

Letter CCCXIII. To the Mayor [as before.]

'Jan. 15, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

AT the House meeting to-day Mr. Secretary delivered this message in writing from the King: 'His Majesty has matters of very great importance to communicate to both Houses, in order to the satisfaction of their late Addresses for the preservation of Flanders; but it so happening that matters are not yet so ripe as they will be in a few days, therefore his Majesty's pleasure is that the House be immediately adjourned till the 28th of this present January.' This being read, severall members stood up to have spoke, but Mr. Speaker again adjourned the House without putting the question. Which matter it is probable will the next meeting be debated, it concerning so highly the House's ancient

privilege. Some speake as though by the 28th there would be a peace matured: but these things are at present in a clowdy uncertainty. I desire you would please to order to whom I shall pay your remaining money in my hands: the Jacobus's cost twenty-three and eight-pence a piece; the purse but three shillings. I beg your excuse for writing so short, this being a day of meeting many of our friends; I shall strive to make you amends hereafter, being always Gentlemen, &c.

Cov. Garden, Jan. 15, 1677-8.

'The House' is met; the irregular proceedings on the 'adjournment' are to come up. The 'one' who delivered a paper I take to have been Marvell himself, who could 'write' better than 'speak' apparently. The loss is such things do not get a place in Parliamentary History. The King's Speech 'entred' on with 'much modesty but great plainnesse,' &c. Cowley's Dr. Sprat is to preach at St. Margaret's. His 'late martyred Majesty' is to be interred, &c., &c. Dr. Sprat is remembered as Cowley's friend and biographer, and a man of intellect.

Letter CCCXIV. To THE SAME.

'Jan. 29, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Parliament met yesterday. His Majesty's Speech I send you inclosed. The House of Commons being returned with their Speaker, they soon agreed to take his Majesty's Speech this day into consideration. That having been so ordered, then severall of the Members complained of the Speaker's having four severall times adjourned the House irregularly; and one deliverd a charge against him in writing, having first opened the contents of it in his place. They then entred into debate of that matter, and at last ended in this order, That a paper having been delivered to the House complaining of its irregular

adjournment by the Speaker, that it be taken into consideration on Thursday morning. To-day the debate on his Majesty's Speech was entred into with much modesty, yet with great plainnesse, the effect of which ended in this, that a Committee be appointed to sit this afternoon to draw up an humble Adresse to his Majesty for expressing his great care of the Protestant Religion, in marrying his niece to the Prince of Orange, and humbly to beseech his Majesty that he will admit of no treaty of Peace but such an one as leaves the King of France in no better state and condition then he is left in by the Pyrenean Treaty, to offend his neighbours; for the maintaining of which he shall not want the ready assistance of this House. And that in such Treaty it may be contained that neither ourselves nor any of our allies shall hold any Commerce or Trade with the French King or his subjects during this warre. Hereby and the success of this Adresse it seemes that the good event of this Session may be calculated. This being so orderd, it was mov'd concerning the indecency, that there had been no solemnity of funerall rites payd to the body of his late Majesty. The occasion was taken from the Houses' meeting together to-morrow to St. Margaret's, where Dr. Sprat preaches before them. It was ordered that the House will to-morrow in the afternoone turn itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of interring his late martyred Majesty. The Duke of Buckingham at the Lords' Bar yesterday asked pardon for his mistake, and tooke his place. To-day the Lords divided 47 to 33 to address his Majesty for the liberty of the Earl of Pembroke. I am, your humble servant.

Jan. 29, 1677-8.

A grant of £70,000, equivalent to well-nigh a quarter of a million to-day "for the more decent interment of his late martyred Majesty of blessed memory." Capt. Thompson left out 'of blessed memory.' But Marvell had a tenderness towards Charles I. There is ineradicable because too sadly-grounded suspicion of 'his Majesty.' The bearing of the House of Commons is throughout full of dignity and patience.

Letter CCCXV. TO THE SAME.

'Jan. 31, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House met yesterday at two a'clock, after sermon, upon the occasion I mentioned in my last, and after having sate in Committee of the whole House, ordered that a Bill be brought in for 70,000*l.* for the more decent interment of his late martyred Majesty of blessed memory, and for raising a monument for him. One moneth at 35,000*l.* *per mensem*, to begin after the assessment for building of ships is expired, and the other a twelve-month after. To-day they agreed upon and passed the Adresse inclosed, and desired those of his Majestye's Privy Counsell to desire the time when he would give them leave to wait upon him with it. It may perhaps seeme to some as if the Adresse did not in all things correspond with his Majestye's Speech. But his Ministers in the House not having declared the contents of the treatyes therein mentioned with Holland, the House could not do otherwise then thus to explaine themselves. And from what his Majesty shall please to answer hereupon, you may then first be able to conjecture concerning a Warre or Peace with France. I must beg your pardon for having writ the Adresse so ill, but be pleased to consider that the House sate most part of the day, that it was

extreme difficult to get a copy so soone but by snatches. I am, &c.

Covt., Garden, Jan. 31, 1677-8.

The 'Recusant' of this Letter was Sir Solomon Swale, of Swale Hall and South Stanley in Yorkshire; created a baronet 21st June, 1650. He voted in the House for the Restoration. He was Sheriff of Yorkshire—1675; died 4th Dec. 1678, aged 70. The King again waited on, and again delays.

Letter CCCXVI. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 2, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE businesse of yesterday was the ordering the Clerke of the Crowne to be present next Munday with the conviction of Sir Solomon Swaile of Recusancy, wherein it is probable they will follow the same method as they did with Sir Thomas Strickland, advertising him of it by letter before they proceed further. The orderidg the Farmers of the Chimny-Money to appeare on Tuesday with their Patent, forasmuch as by the Act that duty ought not to be farmed, but seems to be so under an equivocall name of Collection: and severall affronts their instruments have offered to the Justices of Peace, for which some of their officers are sent up in custody, and many illegall exactions they have committed against the sense of the Act. The expelling of Colonel Wanklyn from being a Member of the House, and ordering a writ to elect another in his place; for that he had against the Justice and Honour of the House granted severall undue protections. An information that the Lucy of London, 120 tuns, George Martin, master, and Richard Myc, Esq, chiefe owner, was in the beginning of January last freighted by Messieurs Dulivier, with 1100 barells of powder, entered for

Guernsey or Jarsey, but the charter party and bills of landing for St. Malo's, the ship yet at Marget. Order to send to the Muster Master to give the House account what the charge of a regiment of foot, and the officers of the navy what the condition and complement of the severall ships, that they might in case of a war be so far able to make an estimate of the expenses. In the afternoon they presented their Adresse to the King in the Banketing House as appointed: who told them it consisted of severall points of great importance, which therefore he would consider of, and give them a speedy answer. To-day they sit not, being holiday. I am, &c.

West., Feb. 2, 1677-8.

The House 'considers' but wishes to know what the Alliances are—in fact has no faith in 'his Majesty.' Resolute 'to obtaine a sight of the alliances before,' &c.

Letter CCCXVII. TO THE SAME.

Feb. 5, 1677-8.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY at the sitting of the House the King sent the enclosed message by Secretary Coventry. The debate succeeding was, whether to take time till this morning to consider thereof, or whether immediately to resolve into a Committee of the whole House to consider of a Supply. At last upon division of the House 193 against 151, 'twas carried to turne immediately into a Committee. After some considerable time of debate thre, it was found their order was defective; so that they applyed to the Speaker againe to take the chaire; and then whereas the order ran before for a supply to his Majesty, 'twas also added 'for his present alliances;' and so they rose

for that day. To-day at ten a'clock they turnd againe into a Committee. At the first it was indevoured to have gaind a vote suddenly for a supply, but others held up a long argument that it was fit first to understand or addresse to his Majesty what those alliances were. This dispute lasted the whole day till candles were brought in, and almost eight a'clock. It ended thus: the one part of the House, I mean the Committee, insisted to have the short question put, that a supply shall be granted for the support of his Majesty's present Alliances; the rest for this addition—with the States Generall of the United Provinces, for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands, and lessening the power of the French King. The Committee after long variety reported to the House as their opinion, that this addition should be part of the question, and the House agreed to it. Then the Speaker left the chaire againe, and the Committee forthwith unanimously voted that a supply shall be given, &c. as before at length. All the House seems to aim at, is, to see their way before them, and to obtaine a sight of the alliances before they vote the English quota or proportion. Sir Salomon Swale petitioned the House to-day, and is orderd to attend the House this day fortnight. I am, your most humble servant.

Westminster, Feb. 5, 1677-8.

Still the condition of 'supply' is debated. Peremptory legislation against 'protections' (so called.) The imprisoned peers submit and 'recant.'

Letter CCCXVIII. To THE SAME.

'Feb. 7, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the House sate in a Committee of

the whole House 'till eight a'clock at night. The debate was most concerning whether a summe to be given without descending into particulars, towards his Majestye's present supply, 'till he should be pleased further to declare himselfe concerning his alliances, and a warre should appeare: to which purpose a summe of 350,000li. by a Poll-Bill was proposed; which those reckoned, with the 600,000li. already given for ships, to be sufficient for preparations; or whether they should proceed upon the number of ships; which question prevailing most, and that the number should be 90, the other party urged that 50 of that number should be at his Majestye's expense out of his customs, and that onely 40 should be raised at the publick charge. Twas put to the question, whether this addition should be part of the question, and by 178 against 146 it was carried in the negative; so the maine question afterward passed in the affirmative, that 90 ships are necessary for the support of his Majestye's present alliances with the States Generall of the United Provinces for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands, and lessning the power of France. To-day the Committee sate as before, and all they did was to order a Sub-committee to inspect the charge for one month of four of the first, five of second, six of third, 47 of fourth, 22 of fifth, six of the sixth rates, and the Committee of the whole House sit again to-morrow. The Speaker yesterday himself moved for a day to settle the debate of his adjournments, saying, till settled otherwise, he should do the same thing on like occasions. Saturday is appointed. To-day the House orderd it be published here, in the most publick places, and sent down to all Sheriffs and Burrows, that all written Protections are voyd,

and all members granting any such to be under the House's censure. The L. Wharton this day made his submission in his place; the Earl of Salisbury, the same, two days ago; but the D. of Buckingham, was at the Bar. Mr. Harinton was this day fined in the King's Bench 1000li, seven years good behavior, and to recant in Court, but brought his Writ of Errors to the Lords.

Your humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Feb. 7, 1677-8.

'The businesse of the day' is the former adjournments made by Mr. Speaker.' It is 'a great point' with Marvell. It is postponed:

Letter CCCXIX. To THE SAME.

'Feb. 9, 1677-8.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

BEING just now come from sitting 'till night in the House, I shall first give you this day's news. The Lords sent down a Bill against Atheisme and Blasfemy. The Commons first began with lesser businesse, but the House being grown full about eleven a'clock, they entred upon the businesse of the day, which was concerning the former adjournments made by Mr. Speaker, without suffering the members that desired to be heard, because his Majesty had signified by word, and other whiles by writing, that the House should adjourne immediately. Many insisted, as it hath been understood that his Majesty intended nothing by that command, but that it should be done after the usual method, and shoud the ill consequences, if the Speaker might so leave the chaire of his own determination, without putting

the question, adjournments being the act of the House. For any charge personall against the Speaker, they were willing generally to avoyd it, and onely to settle the right of the House after the ancient manner, and so urged onely the question, that the House could not be adjourned without its own consent, by the Speaker. It grew late; some other movd for adjourning the debate, others for adjourning the House; which last question, when 'tis late, must in order be first put. And upon that they divided 121 not to adjourne, 131 affirmative; so all ended without coming to any resolution upon that great point. Yesterday the Committee of the whole House divided concerning land forces, 85 negative against 107 affirmative, which the House afterwards confirmd by their vote; that twenty-six Regiments of Foot, each of 1000, four Regiments of Horse, each of 490, and two Regiments of Dragoons, each 900, are, during actuall war, necessary for the support &c. as in the vote of the ninety ships. The calculation of the charge was referd to the same Sub-committee as that of the ships, which last were given in at 103,000*l. per mensem*; at how much these land forces, I observed not; but the Sub-committee has not yet brought in their report or exceptions to either. On Munday the House will proceed on about the supply. They likewise orderd a Bill to be brought in for prohibiting all things of the growth or manufacture of France. I send you two cotypes of the orders concerning protections. I am, &c.

Feb. 9, 1677-8.

Debate on the Land-forces; bill of £70,000 for the 'Funeral and Monument of the late King' and other matters reported on.

Letter CCCXX. To THE SAME.

‘Feb —, 1677-8.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Sub-committee, to which it is referred to consider the calculations given in concerning the ships and the land forces, have not yet been ready with their report to present it to the Committee of the whole House ; so that the businesse of the supply hath not since my last to you made any further progresse in the House. But as farre as I can observe, the monthly charge of those ships and forces is likely to come to about one hundred and four score thousand pounds. The summe of mony, the way of levying it, the time for which it shall continue, have not yet come into deliberation, but will be consequent after the Sub-committee hath reported. Yesterday the House was taken up with the debate concerning a Bill of voluntary Register of Lands, which at length was ordered to be read a second time. This day the Bill for 70,000*l.* for the Funerall Solemnity and a Monument for his late Majesty was read the first time. A Bill for the Reliefe of poore Prisoners was read the third time, and passed. Also a particular Bill was read the second time and committed, against Mr. Thomson, Nelthorpe, &c. and company, representing the Statutes of Bank-route to be deficient ; and therefore, that unlesse by a blanke day they surrendered up their persons and estates, to make them subject unto blanke penalties. The House hath adjourned till Thursday, so that for the present I shall take leave, remaining, &c.

Westminster, Feb. 1677-8.

Still suspicion of the ‘Aliances’ alleged to have been made
‘neither did Mr. Secretary himselfe to-day it being severall

times put to him, affirme that any such alliances are as yet ratified.' Lords Halifax and Shaftesbury have occurred before and been annotated. 'Reduction'=the reducing or bringing into compass or form of the various amounts resulting from the figures given them. 'Aggravated': the sense is clear enough, but it is (as so often) a hasty letter-phrase not correct, nor so far as I am aware even colloquial.

Letter CCCXXI. To THE SAME.

-'Feb. 14, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House not sitting yesterday, I have but this day to give you account of. The Sub-committee gave in their reduction of the calculations committed to them; and the House agreed with their report, that is to say, that for so many ships as I formerly told you, the charge *per mensem* amounts to 108,840l. 10s. For so many land forces as before, 49,130l. 13s. 4d. Yet they divided upon both these questions, the first, 135 against 102; the second, 147 against 131; which difference seems to arise from some uncertainty imagined of the Alliances and of the Warre. Neither did Mr. Secretary himselfe to-day, it being severall times put to him, affirme that any such alliances are as yet ratified. In the Lords' House to-day, the Lord Hallifax presented my Lord Shaftesbury's petition to be re-admitted, upon making the submission first ordered, when the foure Lords were first committed. It was read, but rejected upon the question; his having appeared at the King's Bench barre, being, as I heare, aggravated as a new crime against him. This is all at present, but that I remaine, &c.

Westm., Feb. 14, 1677-8.

'The Warre' and 'Popery' and former matters, advance a stage or two, and a private local thing is being seen to.

With reference to the 'abuses of the aulnage' the 'Aulnageor' was the officer who looked to the assize of woollen cloths; and like other officials he seems to have abused his opportunities. Aulnage was the duty per ell or auln (Fr. aulne).

Letter CCCXXII. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 19, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I MUST aske your pardon for not having writ to you our news the last post, not having failed you any post else since our sitting, nor intending to misse for the future. But the transactions of those two days having beene of lesser moment, and my leisure by chance lesse then ordinary, I made bold with you. Yet there was one Bill of consequence then committed, that concerning Exportation of Wooll, with instructions given to the Committee to consider concerning the using onely and the wearing of our own Woollen Manufactures for some moneths in the yeare, of the better regulating of them, of the custome upon them, and of the abuses of the Aulnage [and] the Alume Patent, and to report their opinion. Also an Act was ordered for greater penalties upon those that do not bury in flannell. Likewise the House sent to remind the Lords of our Bill against the growth of Popery, which hath layd so long with them. They threw out too a Bill sent from the Lords for explaining the Act of Test upon Popish Recusants, it seeming to relax something of the former rigour in taking it. Yesterday the Committee divided between 800,000*l.* and 1,000,000*l.* but by 186 against 166 it was carryed for a million (and then agreed by the House) in these words, to enable his Majesty to enter into actual warre with the French King. For supposing a warre, the House expects that it may be commanded againe to supply his Majesty according to the calcu-

lations they formerly agreed to. This day the Committee debated of the ways of raising this mony ; and they voted for one which the House also agreed to : an imposition upon all Houses without London and within the Bills of Mortality, built upon new foundations since the yeare 1656, of halfe a year's full value, which they have impowred a Committee to inquire and report. Further as yet they have not resolved, but sit againe to-morrow. I suppose that the main stresse of the supply will end in a Land Tax. I am, &c.

Feb. 19, 1677-8.

I have spoke with Mr. Bartye, who is of our House, and my Lord Treasurer's Secretary, and informed him as far as you have me of that matter, and spoke further in your behalfe what you desired ; for my Lord Treasurer is scarce at leisure at present to be applyed to ; but Mr. Bartie has promised me within a day or two to bring the excise officers and me together, to understand what their proceedings are, and do you right. Pray be pleasd in your next to let me know whether those officers with you do continue as you heare, still to prosecute Baumbrow beyond your warrant, and any thing further that you may have to instruct me in that matter.

'Wool' business again and again. Shaftesbury's petition and *habeas corpus* come up. 'Both' i.e. both [days].

Letter CCCXXIII. To THE SAME.

'Feb. 21, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE businesse of these two days though of long debate comes into short compasse ; the House having proceeded both upon his Majesty's Supply. But

yesterday having deliberated concerning resumption of, or imposition upon Lands and Grants from the Crown, it went of: as likewise that of all Pensions upon the Excise, Customs, &c. was rejected by 103 against 97. The Committee against Exportation of Wooll sate yesternight, and have agreed that of wearing only Woollen of our manufacture from All Saints to Lady-day. The other things committed to them, being of various consideration, they will probably digest into severall Bills. To-day the Committee of the whole House have also voted a Poll Bill, but not the summs, having added severall articles to those in the last Poll Bill. Yesterday and to-day the Lords have been in great debates concerning the Earl of Shaftsbury's petitions, offering the submissions before required, but now his *Habeas Corpus* at the King's Bench is a new crime objected. I am, &c.

Westm., Feb. 21, 77-8.

Former matters again 'debated,' especially the Earl of Shaftsbury's application in *Habeas corpus*. An Ostend picaroon has rifled the Calais packet-boat, with murder, &c. 'Picaroon' = pirate. A Spanish Main or buccaneering phrase from Spanish picaron, a great rogue.

Letter CCCXXIV. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 23, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last to you, the House have perfected the heads of the Poll Bill, and have ordered a Bill to be drawn of them; the heads are the same for most part with those of the last Poll Bill, somewhat more added. The several summs will, when the Bill is drawn, be resolved upon by the House. The

Committee upon the Bill against the Exportation of Wooll have sate, and having reported to the House that they thought those two matters fit to be drawn into one Bill, the impowring Justices of the Peace in the Countyes, and chiefe Magistrates of Corporations, to regulate the Woollen Manufactures among them, and secondly the wearing of Woollen both by men and women from All Saints to Lady-day; the House hath now ordered that a Bill be brought in accordingly. The Lords' House had upon Thursday in the first place resolved and ordered, that it is a breach of Privilege of their House for any Lord committed by their House to bring an *Habeas Corpus* in any inferior Court to be freed during the Session of Parliament. Secondly, resolved, That the resolution above made shall not prejudice the Earle of Shaftsbury to have his liberty to make his full defense notwithstanding the Resolution and Declaration aforesaid. Yesterday they debated againe concerning his coming to make his defense, and next Munday is appointed for his appearance in the Lords' House. The Sub-Committee of the House of Commons are busy in gathering a true survey and calculation of the new buildings, after which an Act will be ordered. The Callais packet boat was rifled, some say by an Oastender picaroon, one person killd, and the master run thorow, their mony, cloaths and packets of letters all seised. The Wool Committee have ordered on Munday to consider of the abuses of the Aulnage, and of the Alume Patent. I am, &c.

Westminster, Feb. 23, 1677-8.

Trinity House sends a 'token' of certain 'broad pieces' which assuredly were well-earned by Marvell's assiduous diligence in the dreary Light-house and Clipsham 'businesses.' It is a true gentleman who here accepts the 'token.'

Letter CCCXXV. For my much respected friends
Mr. Edward Hodgson and Mr. Thomas Coates,
Wardens of the Wors'full Society of the
Trinity-house of Kingstone upon Hull.

‘Febr. 25, 1677-8.’

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I FOUND mysele very much surprised lately by a token which you were pleased to send me by Mr. Coates. And truly I was very unwilling to have accepted, having always desired rather to doe those offices of friendship where I could have no prospect of other gratification then the goodnesse of the action. But you especially ought not to have placed any such reward upon me, whom you have continually ingaged by all manner of civill obligations. Neverthelesse your Warden used so pressing an importunity with me (if curtesy may be so stated) that I could not decline it. Therefore I do by the same hand returne you my thanks, desireing that you will find out some further way that I may worke out what I have not diserved of you otherwise then by my good affection always toward you and your worthy Society. So wishing you all happinesse and other kind of benefactors then Mr. Clipsham for the future, I remaine,
Gentlemen, &c.,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., Febr. 25, 1677-8.

With reference to the ‘token’ of preceding Letter ‘Mr. Coates’ had given an account of its reception three weeks before; and we may as well read it, being honourable to all concerned.

GENTLEMEN,

London, Febr. 5th, 1677-8.

Accordinge to your order I waited on Mr. Marvell att Westminster yesterday, to whome I presented your reall respects,

with the testimony thereof, your kinde token, which att the first he very modestly refused, vntill I did assure him if he did not accept itt, the House would demonstrate their gratitude some way equiulent to itt. Then hee received itt, desireinge me returne you his hearty thankes, protestinge (and I doe beleive him) hee never expected such recompence, for any service or kindnes hee had donne or could doe the House, and would be ready to serve and assist them. I payed him the £1 2s. 6d. hee payd for us to Mr. Fisher, which is in all £11 17s. 6d., which you may please to pay to my wife. There are some other small chardges which I shall place to accompt. Ye barrel of ale I sent to Mr. Fisher, and will see him so soon as I can. This Gentlemen is all att present: soe with my reall respects to you and all our society, remaines

Your faithfull friende and Brother to serve you,

THOS. COATES.

To the Wppll the Wardens, Elder Brethren, and Assistants of
the Trinity House
in Kinst. sup Hull.

A singular thing is done in 'the House' because of the loss of a 'Bill' on 'clandestine marriages' sent from the Lords. Tidings of 'the French king' being in possession of Gant (Ghent) reach. Shaftesbury is released.

Letter CCCXXVI. TO THE SAME.

'Feb. 26, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY morning was spent in the House of Commons in subscribing our names in a roll of parchment upon occasion of imbeziling the Bill sent from the Lords against Clandestine Marriages; so that each member present underwrit to these words, 'I do protest before Almighty God and this honourable House, that neither myselfe, nor any other to my knowledge, have taken away or do at present conceale a Bill intituled an Act to prevent clandestine and irregular marriages; in witnesse whereof I have hereto subscribed my name.' The Wooll Committee sate in the afternoon, and read the Alume Patent,

which they voted prejudicial to our Woollen Manufacture; the Alume being sold in France at 15*l.* a tun, and in England at 26*l.* They entred also then upon the abuses of the Aulnage, and examined foure or five witnesses, but proceed to-morrow. To-day the Poll Bill was read the first time, and appointed the second to-morrow: The Bill for burying in Woollen the first time: That for wearing Woollen, and regulating those manufactures, the second time and committed. Mr. Secretary acquainted the House that the King had on Sunday the news that the French King was before Gant, and yesterday that he was possest of it. He prest therefore for speeding of mony, and preparing his Majesty's credit to take some up at interest; which may be considered of to-morrow The Earle of Shaftsbury having yesterday made his submissions to the Lords for his first offense, and the second in appealing to the King's Bench, was upon their unanimous adresse, by his Majesty's order, this day set at liberty. I am, &c.

Feb. 26, 1677-8.

'All things compared it looks like a warre' gives the gist of this Letter. Most of the names have been already noticed, but two are new. (a) Sir Edward Howard, K.B., 7th son of Thomas, 1st Earl of Suffolk, was created Baron Howard, of Escrick, 12th April, 1628. He died in 1675. His son—the Lord Howard of this Letter—succeeded as 2d Baron, and died in 1678. (b) Samuel Clarke, Esq., of West Haddon, co. Northampton, was appointed a Master in Chancery, 11th Feb., 1672-3, and knighted on the 22d of the same month. He died about June, 1688.

Letter CCCXXVII. To THE SAME.

'Feb. 28, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN. MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY and to-day have been spent in the House or in the Committee of the whole House upon

the Poll Bill. The House yesterday gave them order to bring in two clauses; one for appropriating it to the warre with the French King, and the other for a prohibition during three yeares of all French Wines, Brandy, Silke, Linen, Paper, and all other growth or manufacture of France, that none of them be imported (and it seems to be intended that an imposition be also upon what is already) and a time for selling or transporting what is already here, after which, if found, to be destroyed. This last clause of prohibition to be brought in, was orderd to be annexed to the Bill, *nemine contradicente*, so that one not likely to passe without the other; which tacking of things of different nature to a mony bill hath at other times been much contested, but went now so easily I suppose because of the ill news from Flanders, the French King having rid post to possesse himselfe of Gant, as he is also said to be of Bruges and other places. I will not say all to you, because I hope all may not be true, but there is a great apprehension even to consternation among prudent persons. Yesternight and this day marchd hence neare 3000 men to be shipd for Ostend; if they may come there time enough under the D. of Monmoth, with whom the Earle of Feversham, L. Howard of Escrick, Sir Samuel Clarke, &c. The D. of Albemarle is gone a volunteer, and severall others: so that all things compared it lookes like a warre. The Committee of Wooll sate yesternight, and had numerous petitions and witnesses concerning the abuses of the Aulnage; have appointed Munday to bring in that Patent, and for persons complaind of to appeare. The House sits again to-morrow on the Poll, and will go neare to perfect fit for a report; the two clauses then to be brought in; the generall poll is 12d. some few heads

more then in the last Poll; the same Commissioners. I am, &c.

Feb. 28, [1677-8.]

The Light-house 'busnesse' is renewed, Mr. Angel as ubiquitous and shifty as ever.

Letter CCCXXVIII. For my much respected friends

Mr. Edward Hodgson, and Mr. Thomas Coates,

Wardens of the Wors'full Society of the

Trinity House of Kingstone upon Hull.

'Feb. 28, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE yours, I have spoke with Mr. Angel, who denyes that he is about any such thing. But that is false; for I have also inquired at my Lord Chancellor's and there hath such a Patent layd severall moneths there; but it hath been stopped by opposition made at the Councill, and my Lord Chancelour saith he will not passe it, I have also entred a caveat there on your behalfe. And this Trinity House hath entred a caveat. But Angel had got a great many hands one way or other. There is no danger of passing it shortly and I have layd very good watch that it may not slip through their fingers without notice. There is no Act brought in either House, nor would such a Bill be likely to have any progresse. I received from Mr. Coates lately a civility of yours, which I assure you dos something perplex me. For I had hoped that you would have allowd of my indevours to serve you in discharge of those former obligations you have placed upon me. But of this I have writ more particularly by Mr. Coates. I am, Gentlemen, &c.

Your most affectionate friend to serve you,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Feb. 28, 1677-8.

‘Our news, God be praised, is much better from abroad than it was last post.’....

Letter CCCXXIX. To THE MAYOR (as before)

‘March 2, 1677-8.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THESE two dayes also have been spent by the House of Commons in the reliques of the Poll-Bill, which is now gone thorow except the two clauses of appropriation and prohibition, which being of such moment, require more maturing; but on Munday I doubt not that they will be perfected. The Bill of new-Buildings, advances but slowly; the survey of them and their full value being a worke of some time. Our news, God be praised, is much better from abroad then it was last post. For although Mr. Secretary Coventry imparted to the House the taking of Gant, yet it proves hitherto otherwise. An expresse upon Thursday brings word it was not then taken; but on the contrary made a brave defense; that no other of the townes are taken; no French fleet, before Oastend; no blocking of it up by land as was reported. And it is generally concluded that our forces gone hence are before this time in Oastend, the wind having been favourable. It seemes that now we are ingaged in an actuall warre, which if so, will necessarily ingage his Majesty in a much greater expense, and will I hope be chearfully supplied by all his good subjects. I am, &c.

Westminster, March 2, 1677-8.

No ‘trade’ to be with France; an ecclesiastical Bill from the Lords rejected.

Letter CCCXXX. To THE SAME.

‘March 5, 1677-8.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Poll-Bill hath yet taken the House up day by day, and it is not yet finished; but these last two days have now fitted it for the report to the House to-morrow, after which it will be orderd to be ingrossed; for yesterday the Committee of the whole House passed the clause of prohibition, which from all things of the growth or manufacture of the French King's dominions, was now (by leave of the House) reduced to wine, brandy, linnen, paper, salt, silke, and all manufactures single or mixed with haire, wool, thred, gold, or silver; that none of these shall be imported after the 20th of this moneth: if landed, to be staved and destroyed: liberty to export what is already here, or to vend it here till the first of May, '79: severe penalties to the infringers, great rewards to the informers; the prohibition to continue for three years: the importation declared a nuisance. To-day also they passed the clause of appropriation of this mony to the use of the French war, in the strictest termes and penally obligatory upon all officers that the matter admits. The Bill of the new Buildings in the meane time makes no progresse, the surveys not being yet finished. The foraine news is not much. We do not heare of any thing the French King hath enterprised further, since the surrender of Gant, which is taken for granted. I heare that there are neare 4000 men in all gone or going for Flanders, beside what more are intended. There was a Bill from the Lords read to-day the first time in the House of Commons, intituled, For the repaire of Churches; but seeming to graspe at an

extraordinary ecclesiastical power, and to make the Justices of Peace too subservient, it was rejected. The Lords have not yet determined in what manner the Earle of Pembroke is to be tryed *sedente Parlamento*, the matter requiring much search in ancient records. I am, &c.

March 5, 1677-8.

‘Mony’ for ‘an actuall warre with the French King is granted.’ Legislation goes on. ‘The Lords’ to be reminded of the Commons’ Bill ‘against the growth of Popery,’ &c., &c.

Letter CCCXXXI. To the Same.

‘March 9, 1675.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the Poll Bill was read and ingrossed. The House added the word Vinegar, among the French Commodities prohibited. It was indeavourd to change the 20th of this moneth to the 29th in respect to merchants, but could not be compassed. The title of an Act is, To raise mony by a Poll Bill, to enable his Majesty to enter into an actuall warre with the French King, and prohibiting severall French commodities. It was then carryed up to the Lords by Sir Edward Deering, and he orderd at the same time to put their Lordships in mind of the Commons’ Bill against the Growth of Popery. The Lords streight red it once then, and to-day the second time, and on Munday are to be in a Committee of their whole House upon it. The Bill against Hawkers and Pedlars was this day reported in the Commons’ House, and ordered to be ingrossed. The Committee against exportation of Wooll, &c. sat this afternoon upon the abuses of the Aulnage, and voted first, that the subsidy of Aulnage and the Aulnager’s Fee ought to be payd onely by the maker;

then that the seising of Packs by them upon the road was an abuse; then that their forcing Drapers, Retailers, Shop-keepers, Factors to a yearly Composition for not searching, was an abuse, &c. and that it is the opinion of the Committee that an Act ought to be prepared for remedy. The explanatory Act of Chimny-Mony is ready ingrossed. The French King, since Gant, hath, it is said, besieged Ypres. There are not so many English gone over yet for Flanders as I told you: severall Commissions are now issued to those that are to command in the Land Army. The House hath ordered to be on Munday in Committee of the whole House upon the new Buildings.—I am, &c.

Westmister, March 9, 1677-8.

The 'building' of the city of London is advancing; rules are laid down for regulation of the taxation, i.e. on all houses without London and within the bills of mortality built on new foundations since the year 1656; rumours of 'the Warre' are circulating; a 'Popish Lord' was allowed to go to his command in Flanders. This was James Touchet, eldest son of Mervyn 2d Earl of Castlehaven (who was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1631). He had a new patent 3d June, 1634, as Lord Audsley and Earl of Castlehaven. In 1678 he obtained a special Act of Parliament restoring all the honours and dignities enjoyed by his father. He died 11th Oct., 1684.

Letter CCCXXXII. To THE SAME.

'March 12, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the Committee of the whole House debated Heads for the Bill upon new Foundations; resolved, that buildings upon the places of Noblemens Houses, &c. as Yorke, Essex, Exeter House Buildings, &c. should be reckoned as upon new Foundations; that the severall interests of first pro-

prietors and meane conveyances should be valued and accordingly considerd and deducted; that Buildings begun, but not finished, should be rated by the Commissioners; that Contracts since such a day for building should be vacated or valued; that there be a clause to prohibite all further buildings, which is esteemed some reparation to those who must pay, making their Houses more estimable, and a Bill orderd to be brought in to this purpose. To-day they passed the Bill for Chimny Mony, and sent it up to the Lords. And after, the report of that for burying in flannel, orderd it to be ingrossed. The Lords were to-day againe in Committee of their whole House upon the Poll Bill, and agreed to all the materiall points, which it was imagin'd might have bred some difficulty, as, the giuing account to the Commons (the Lords not named) in Parliament; the clause of appropriation to the French warre; the clause of the prohibition of the French commoditys annexed; nor do I perceiue that the day is altered. On Munday a Popish Lord, the Earle of Castlehaven, an old soldier under the King of Spaine, in Flanders, askd leave of the Lords' House (being a member of it) to repaire to his command in Flanders; and that having been granted him, he thence tooke occasion to represent with great freedome the sad condition of Flanders, and consequently of England, which wrought so farre that to-morrow was appointed by them to take the state of the kingdome into consideration. The D. of Monmouth, and many other persons of quality, returned on Sunday from Oastend. I heare that things not onely there, but in Holland too, haue a very ill aspect. Ypres and Dexmuide are said to have been taken. I am, &c.

Westm, Mar. 12, 1677-8.

'The King' is once more to be addressed to 'proclaim' an 'actuell warre with the French King.' All due support is promised. There are retrospective glances on 'his Majesty's' advisers and their advices.

Letter CCCXXXIII. TO THE SAME.

'March 16, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Lords, notwithstanding their order to writ you of, did yesterday let that businesse wholly slip away, and onely busied themselves about the Poll Bill, to which they made some little amendments (but altered nothing materiall) which the Commons have agreed to, so that now that Act is ready to be passed when his Majesty pleases. The Commons were yesterday taken up almost the whole day in hearing the cause of Lindsey Levell, which notwithstanding nevertheles heard whole out, they orderd for to-morrow. To-day the progresse of the French King in Flanders still threatning us, and the vigour necessary to oppose it not seeming sufficient, there was a motion made and pursued, to turne the House into a Committee to consider the state of the nation, and to propose remedies to prevent the dangers impending over it. And accordingly it was ordered: and they came to this result, that an addresse should be prepared humbly to advise his Majesty that to quiet the minds of his loyall subjects, and to incourage the Princes and States confederates against the French King, he would be graciously pleased to declare, proclaime, and immediately to enter into an actuell warre with the French King, and to give his Majesty assurance that this House will constantly stand by and aide his Majesty in the prosecution thereof, with plentifull supplies and assistances. As also to desire his Majesty to recall his Embassadors from France

and from Nieumegen, and to send the French Ambassador here away home. The Committee further came to a question to desire his Majesty to remove from his Counsells such as had advised his answer upon the 25 of May last to the House's Adresse, and that had advised the following adjournments. But they divided whether that question should be put, and by 130 against 125 it was carried in the negative. Some gentlemen were, after the report made and agreed to by the House, ordered to draw up this Adresse, and to meet this night immediately about it, though the House had continued sitting till six a'clock. This either is all, or all which I have at present leisure to tell you. I am, &c.
Westm., Mar. 14, 1677-8.

The 'documents' of this letter have been preserved, and consequently are appended to it—for the first time. They are of historical importance.

Letter CCCXXXIV. 'TO THE SAME.

' March 16, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the House of Commons agreed upon the Adresse inclosed, and to send it up to the Lords to desire their concurrence, who have been in debate of it to-day till foure a'clock, and then adjourned it till Munday. After having done this, the House of Commons read the first time, the Bill for an Imposition on the new Foundations, and after some opposition ordered its second reading. To-day they read the two Bills ingrossd of burying in Woollen, and of wearing Woollen from the first of November till Lady-day, and have sent them up to the Lords. Then a motion was made upon occasion of a paper presented by the Quakers, of the same

nature with this which I send you printed. And after a considerable debate it terminated in the vote inclosed. After this another motion was made concerning the dangers from the growth of Popery, and that ended in the last vote. For ought I perceive the taking of Ypres is yet uncertaine. I am, &c.

Westminster, March 16, 1677-8.

Mar. 15.

WE, your M'tys most loyall and humble subjects the Commons in this present Parlt. assembled, do in all duty and faithfulness to your M'tys service, humbly present your M'ty with this our advice. That for the satisfying the minds of your good subjects who are much disquieted with the apprehension of the danger arising to this Kingdome from the growth and power of the French King, and for the encouragement of the Princes and States confederated against him; your M'ty would be graciously pleased immediately to declare, proclaime, and enter into an actuall warre against the said King. For the prosecution whereof, as we have already passed a Bill of supply which onely wants your Royal assent, so we desire your M'ty to rest constantly assured that we will from time to time proceed, stand by, and aide your M'ty with such plentiful supplies and assistances as your M'ty's occasions for so royall an undertaking shall require, And because your M'ty's indevors by mediation have not produced those good effects your M'ty intended, we do most humbly beseech your M'ty that you will graciously be pleased to recall your Embassadors from Nieumegen and France, and to cause the French Embassador to depart from hence, that your M'ty being publicly disengaged from acting as a mediator upon such termes and conditions as were then proposed, your M'ty may enter into the warre, to no other end then that the said French King may be reduced unto such a condition as he may no longer be terrible to your M'ty's subjects, and that Christendome be restored to such a Peace as may not be in the power of the said King to disturbe.

Mar 16. That it be referrd to a Committee to consider whether the persons called Quakers, or any Dissenting Protestants have been convicted as Popish Recusants, and two-thirds of their estates levyed, and whether that on the persons that are Popish Recusants and have been

convicted the penaltyes have not been levyed. And that the said Committee do consider to make a distinction of Popish Recusants from other Dissenters from the Church of England.

Resolved that the House will on Tuesday next, take into consideration the danger the Religion of the Church of England is in by the growth of Popery.

The 'Lords' and 'Commons' are again at 'difference' on the 'addresse' concerning 'the warre.' It appears 'the alliances' have *not* been made. 'Popery' and 'Dissent' are 'debated.' Examination is to be made of public cases.

Letter CCCXXXV. To THE SAME.

'March 19, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the Commons past and sent up the Bill against Hawkers and Pedlars, &c. They read also the second time the Bill for 70,000li. for a Funerall and Monument to his late Majesty; and they ordered the members of the Privy C^{ounsell} to acquaint his Majesty, that the Poll Bill was past both Houses ready for the Royall Assent. In the afternoone sate the Committee, to whom the 'Quakers,' complaint was refer'd, and of other Dissenters prosecuted, convicted and seised by the laws against Papists. Severall of them appeard, and exhibited the names of diverse persons in the respective countyes so proceeded against; whereupon the Committee orderd the Records necessary to be searched, and that there may be time for inspection, adjourned till Friday next. To-day the businesse appointed of the danger from the growth of Popery, was diverted by other businesse of great moment. His Majesty, sent word that to-morrow he would passe the Poll Bill, and pressed the House by the same message to hasten the remaining supply. After that, the two Lords Chief Justices brought

the Addresse from the Lords with severall alterations. For the word 'immediately,' they said 'with all expedition which can possibly consist with the safety of your Majesty's affaires.' Then they leave out all the whole clause of recalling the Embassadors, and ceasing the mediation. And lastly, instead of 'for no other end,' they say, 'to the end.' The House debated the first, and disagreed with the Lords upon a division of 155 against 112; so likewise in the rest, and have orderd a Committee to draw up reasons for a conference with the Lords upon all that matter. It seems by the debates that his Majesty hath not yet the alliances requisite for a warre, and is unwilling to declare warre till the whole supply be perfected; but the commissions are most of them issued, and the officers raise men with all possible expedition. I am, &c.

March 19, 1677-8.

'Mr. Angell' at it and at it still; but is over-mastered by 'Mr. Marvell.'

Letter CCCXXXVI. To Trinity House. [As before.]

'March 21, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I GAVE you formerly account that I had upon your desire entred a caveat against Mr. Angel's second Patent at my Lord Chancellor's. But I perceive since that he hath made his late application to his Majesty in Councill and that his Mty. in an order of Councill saith that he is satisfied concerning the usefulness of those Lights, and therefore as to any further Imposition referrs his papers to the Trinity-house of London upon the points specified in part of that order. One of those Papers containes his own affidavit concerning some particulars which you

see in the inclosed. You will pardon the confusedness of this Paper; but will be able thence to take notes of what herein may concerne you. You see what Hull-Masters names he has got to a certificate for this second farthing on natives and a peny per tun on forainers. And he spares not to speake of others as you see that have treated with him for that purpose. He is a dangerous kind of man and cares not whom he bespatters. In the meantime I am under some constraint, not haveing liberty, being a member of this Trinity House, to impart resolutions to you upon this affaire and yet being desirous to doe you all reasonable service. I am afraid as things seeme to have been carryed, that you can not make any vigorous opposition at the Councill or the Seale; but must leave it to your prudence. If any Act of Parliament should be indevord, however, Col. Gilby and I will be ready to pursue your directions. But you will do well to come to a resolve concerning your caveat at the Chancelor's. I am your assured friend and servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm , Mar, 21, 1677-8.

The 'interment and monument for his late Majesty' is again considered and delayed. 'Poules' is St. Paul's. The 'Quakers' and 'Protestant Dissenters' once more 'considered.' The slowness in the money-bills proceeds from "the uncertainty the House is still in of his Majesty's alliances and the delay there is in declaring war."

Letter CCCXXVII. To the Mayor (as before)
' March 23, 1677-8.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons yesterday were of publick businesse onely upon the Bill for the seventy thousand pounds for his late Majesty's interment and

monument, in a Committee of the whole House. They passed part of it, but still vary whether to propose the monument to be erected at Westminster, Windsor, or Poules, or to leave the disposall wholly to his Majesty. In the afternoon sate their Committee concerning the punishing Quakers and other Dissenters by the laws against Popish Recusants, levying two-thirds of their estates, and to enquire whether Papists' estates were in like manner seised and levied; and to find out a distinction between Papists and Protestant Dissenters. Proofes were made in severall countyes as to this matter, and the Quakers delivered this inclosed as a thing which their whole party are ready to subscribe. To-day the House were in a long debate, whether to commit the Bill of New-buildings. (I doubt in my last to you I errd for hast, telling you it had been in a Committee, whereas then also it was onely a debate about committing it.) At last it is resolved to be committed, and sit on it next Tuesday; Wednesday upon the Growth of Popery. This slowness in the remaining mony-bills seems to be from the uncertainty the House is still in of his Majesty's alliances, and the delay there is in declaring war. The Lords, I heare, have disagreed with the Commons', reason for the Adresse, and named a Committee to draw up their reasons in order to a conference. The Houses have adjourned till Tuesday. I am, &c.,

Your humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

West., Mar. 23, [1677-8.]

The 'growth of Popery' as exemplified by Monmouth and Herefordshire, fires 'the House' under addresses by "Mr. Arnold and Mr. Scudamore." 'The Lords' messengers wait at the door of the Commons' House; not being called in—returned.

Letter CCCXXXVIII. To THE SAME.

‘ March 28, 1677-8.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the House of Commons received the Report I formerly writ you of concerning the abuses of the Aulnage, and ordered that a Bill should be brought in for rectifying the same. After that his Majesty sent them a message, signifying to them, that they might adjourne till the eleventh of the next month ; so that having no command to adjourne immediately, they entred upon the businesse appointed for the day, concerning the growth of Popery. Many things were discoursed of that matter ; and among the rest, two Gentlemen, Mr. Arnold and Mr. Scudamore, were called in to informe the House of severall particulars in Monmouth and Herefordshire, about Masses, Priests, &c, and other things too open and visible in those countyes. The Gentlemen gave so good an account to the House. having been also active on their parts in suppressing to their power those irregularities, that the House ordered the thanks of the House to be given them, which was accordingly done very eloquently by Mr. Speaker. And then they proceeded on their debate, some by reason of the instant adjournment moving that the debate might be adjourned until the next meeting. But it being resolved to the contrary upon division of 113 against 60, they afterwards named a Committee to consider of the dangers by the Growth of Popery, and the remedies for the same ; which is in order to a conference to be desired of the Lords at the next meeting, touching that subject, and probably as one great remedy for the same, to presse them againe for the passing of the Commons’ Bill

which hath layd there so long, to prevent the Growth of Popery. During this debate there was a message from the Lords waited long at the doore, supposed to be concerning an answer to the reasons of the Commons about the Adresse, but not being called in, they returned. These things being so farre settled, they then ordered the call of the House to be the 16th of the next moneth, and then they adjourned themselves until the 11th. I haue sent you the Poll Bill. I haue nothing further at present, then to remaine, &c.

Westminster, March 28, 1677.

The Shrieues haue order to summon up all absent Parliament-men in the countryes.

And so onward in successive Letters which have all characteristic touches—the Lighthouse business goes on, partly in association with Colonel Gilby. Like all the preceding Trinity House Letters these are here printed for the first time. ‘Good effect for you,’ i.e. in any conference with him.

Letter CCCXXXIX. For Mr. Edward Popple,
at Hull.

‘Mar. 28, [1678.]’

DEAR BROTHER,

I HAVE writ againe this post to your Honse. If you will doe anything you must write to Col. Gilby to put in a caveat for you at the Secretarye’s, and send him a Petition to the Counsell against it, and retaine some lawyer to plead before them against it. Angel hath suggested so against your House there, that I doubt of any good effect for you and am glad that if any applications were made to him from your House or on their part, I have been preserv’d ignorant of them. [Rest clipped away.]

Letter CCCXL. For my much respected friends
Mr. Edward Hodgson and Mr. Thomas Coates,
Wardens of the Wors'pfull Society of the Trinity
House of Kingstone upon Hull.

‘ March 28, 1678.’

GENTLEMEN, MY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I AM as obliged as very hearty to serve you on all occasions and particularly on that you write about the 23 and 25 of March. Mr. Angel brought not his reference from his Majesty though of a much elder date, untill the 10th of this moneth to the Trinity House. I had not therefore the opportunity sooner to give you account of it and being as I am a Brother of this House I am as I told you something hampered that I can not communicate with the freedome I could wish, those things to you in this businesse which may seeme secrets of our House, nor act with that vigour I desire in opposition to this increase, lest I should happen to incounter with our proceedings. For in generall his M'ty having declared in the Reference his satisfaction of the usefulness of those lights and given some interteinments moreover to Angel's allegations, I much doubt whether our House will appeare so vigorous as they have done formerly. And the Reference having been onely to themselves, I do not perceive them concerned to impart anything to you or other Trinity Houses in order to obstruct this augmentation of burthen. Beside Angel hath so soiled you by representing some very late treating of some of your members for a part of this Imposition to your House's use, that it will be difficult to wash off those suggestions and for you to appeare against it. Nor can you well take notice as for me, to our House, of particulars. In summe what I conceive

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you can doe if you have a mind to enter into some expense, is onely to petition his M'ty in Councill against this further Imposition, giving what reasons you thinke most proper. And herein I should desire for the reasons aforementioned that you would rather make use of Col. Gilbye's hand, he being of your Fraternity. Unlesse your yonger Brothers subscribed blind fold, or Angel having got their names, writ above them what he pleased, they did I assure you certify to increase the Imposition. I beseech you do me the right to descerne me your true affectionate friend to serve you.

ANDR. MARVELL.

Mar. 28, 1678.

'The Speaker' is sick: Sir Robert Sawyer (of whom before) chosen in his place. 'The city' agrees to lend £100,000.

Letter CCCXLI. To the Mayor (as before.)

'April 11, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons being to-day met, Mr. Secretary Coventry acquainted them from his Majesty, that their Speaker being sick in the country, and that very dangerously, his Majesty gave them leave to chuse a new one, and that they should present him next Munday. This being all from his Majesty, he sate down, then rose, and moved for Sir Robert Sawyer as a fit person. It indured some debate: but at last it was agreed that the clerke should put the question upon him, which went in the affirmative; so he was placed in the chaire, and then the House adjourn'd it selfe without doing more businesse, untill Munday. In the Lords' House likewise, the Chancelor not being present, but

a patent read, whereby he was inabled to substitute a speaker in his place, but *pro tempore*, and signifying at the same time that he was not in health fit to attend their service, and had therefore named Lord Chief Justice North to supply that place, it was so done. The City have agreed to indevor to lend his Majesty 100,000l. on the second 100,000l. in the Poll Bill; 20,000l. is subscribed already. As businesse opens I shall write you more at large, remaining, Gentlemen, &c., your most affectionate servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

April 11, '78.

From the Trinity House MSS., as before.

Letter CCCXLII. [No address.]

'April 13, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, OUR WORTHY FRIENDS,

WE send you here inclosed a copy of the Order of the Councill. The originall we have taken out and have by us to serve Mr. Angel with at the most convenient opportunity. So that now we shall be sure to have leisure yet to receive your fullest instructions; and it will henceforward ly upon him to give us, that is you, notice and to seeke on his part for a progresse at the Councill. Which we, as thus advised, doe neither intend to hasten, nor yet to retard further then till we find ourselves by your assistance to be fully prepared. That one thing we must still particularly recommend to you, that you tell us what is to be answered if he then object, as he hath hitherto carryed it on much on that pretense, any subscriptions of your members, or other applications made to him on your behalfe, for this addition. And although we expect that all the same Papers

will be orderd to be communicated to us which he hath elsewhere produced to justify his request, yet neither will it be amisse that upon what knowledge of them you have already, you be casting up what yearly profits and issues he dos probably make and what reasonable estimate his charge in erecting and procuring those Lights may have amounted to. This Order could not have been more seasonably obtained, he having not brought in his Returne from the Trinity-house of Deptford to his Reference till yesterday; nor that yet broke open to be read in Councill. Philip Edwards not having yet deliverd to us your further conceptions intimated in yours of the 8th, we have not more at present then to remaine,

Gentlemen, &c.,

Your very affectionate friends to serve you,

ANTH. GYLBY,

ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Apr. 13, '78.

'The King' is at the Lords' House and 'adjourns' with abruptness. Growls for redress of matters 'about the growth of Popery.'

Letter CCCXLIII. To THE SAME.

'April 6, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY his Majesty being come into the Lords' House, sent for the Commons, who presented him their Speaker, who first, as usuall, excused himselfe upon his disabilityes, desiring his Majesty to admit it; but his Majesty, by the mouth of the Lord Chief Justice North, approved of him, and then the Speaker made the foure usuall petitions in the name of the Commons, which the King granted. Then Judge North told them, that the Dutch

Embassador wanted power to a principall part of the war, prohibition of commerce; his Majesty therefore would have them adjourn till the 29th, by which time hoped to impart things to their satisfaction. But they returning, debated to send to the Lords to addresse jointly to his Majesty, that they might sit on to do other businesse; which debate fell, news being brought the Lords were risen. Then they orderd the Committee for drawing reasons to confer with the Lords about the Bill of Popery, and for examinations about the growth of Popery and the remedies, to sit in the intervall, and so adjourn'd till the 29th. I remaine, &c.

April 6, 1678.

This and its enclosure are in Marvell's handwriting, but addressed by Gilby.

Letter CCCXLIV. To our worthy good friends the
Maisters and Wardens of the Trinity House
in Hull these.

‘April 6, 1678.’

GENTLEMEN, OUR WORTHY FRIENDS,

WE are not-at all negligent of your businesse. What we have been able to doe therein hitherto hath been to inquire at the Councill, whether the Returne from this Trinity-house to the Reference from his Majesty were yet lodged with them. But we understand that Angel hath not yet brought it in. Therefore in the meantime we intend to wait upon the Duke of Monmouth to intreat him, as being High-Steward of your towne, to interpose in your favour, and especially that if that businesse should be brought on in Councill before we receive your answer, that it may be respited till you may have an opportunity to be heard. We should have made

further progresse in this matter and already have preferd a Petition in your names, but that it is not according to forme that petitions there should be presented without subscription of the names of the parties; nor could your certificate be of further use, as it is drawn and without a petition, then for particular information. But we have therefore sent you down a rough draught which you may rectify, of what we conceive will be your request and which therefore we desire you to expedite with your best despatch; it being no more then probable that we may yet receive it time enough for the occasion. And remarking further that the certificate is subscribed not onely by you but by the Bench also and the most considerable members of the Corporation, we advise you so to intitle and word the Petition, communicating it with the rest, that it may be proper and conjoint to all your common desires and so carry more force with it. We remaine,

Gentlemen, &c.,

Your true friends,

ANTHO GYLBY,
ANDR. MARVELL.

London, Apr. 6, 1678.

HUMBLY SHOWS,

THAT your Petitioners having but lately understood that Mr. Justinian Angel hath petitioned your Majesty for an additional imposition of one farthing more per tun upon natives towards the Lights of the Spurne-head, and that some progresse hath been made thereupon: we therefore as being more particularly concerned in that navigation and the burthens upon it, humbly beseech your Majesty that before any such grant be confirmed, we may have the favour to see whatsoever allegations he makes for such pretenses and a day allotted us whereon we may have the opportunity to be heard, and to represent the reasons to your Majesty which we have to the contrary. And your Petitioners, &c.

Letter CCCXLV. For the Wardens and Masters of the Trinity House of Kingston upon Hull.

‘April 18, 1678.’

GENTLEMEN, OUR WORTHY FRIENDS,

WE have yours of the 13th and the Papers relating to your businesse. Yesterday upon Mr. Angel's petition for a short day of hearing, there was a moderate time given, and it is appointed to be on the 8th of May. So that as we shall not neglect anything here on our part, so it will concerne you with all reasonable speed to be preparing such materialls for us as may be of use to your businesse. You have been advised before to get from whatsoever other places of your neighbourhood or correspondence, certificates and addresses against this addition, as we see you have already done from Bridlington. We have also spoke to the members for Boston, Yarmouth and Ipswich to joyne in with you as they seeme to be disposed. But the Trinity House of Newcastle do expressly desire the addition, as we saw to-day in the Papers before the Counsell. And the Trinity house of Deptford do in their answer to the Reference so farre give way as to say that they think half a farthing on natives and a peny on foreiners would be a large compensation for all his pretences. We cannot but repeat to your consideration the charge he is at in having erected and maintaining yearly these lights, his receipts and his issues, and that what you know of extravagant and corrupt pensions or expenses, may be communicated to us in discount of that 3000li. which he alledges they have stood him in. As also to furnish us with answers to what subscriptions he hath, and what applications he may pretend to have been made to

him for seamen or any other particular person of your Society. Besides what you may have seen of Hull-masters' subscriptions before for this addition. We have noted in another paper of his to-day (whom we thinke you had not former notice of) George Huntington, William Taylor, Joseph Newcome, Peter Thomson, Robert Atkinson, John Waite, William Pickering, Thomas Richardson, for an increase of duty. We do unwillingly mention men's names, being all neighbours; but we must in sincerity to your affaire and that you may have the clearer judgment in managing of it conceale nothing from you of the Society. And it is fit to let you know that by some hand or other Mr. Angel gets a very punctuall intelligence of all that passes at Hull about his businesse. Which we say not expecting that among so many persons there should be any great secret nor that this needs to be made one. Onely we wonder to perceive that he can as easy as ourselves know and descend into particularities. He is a very unsafe man to deale with, nothing but thrift and trick, as for one, he had appointed us to have met to-day (and Philip Edwards, to whom without all reason he said he would refer himself) to agree on a fit day betwixt both for the hearing. Having thus done, in order to surprize us, he prefers yesterday to insert a short day in the order, of which we sent you a copy. But Col Gilby was by good luck in the way at Counsell, though indeed it might have been reprieved. He is we heare furnished with many affidavits. We are,

Your affectionate friends,

ANTHO. GILBY.

ANDR. MARVELL.

April 18, [1678.]

One small cash-receipt has been preserved at Trinity House.

Letter CCCXLVI.

‘April 19. 1678.’

I have this day received ten pounds upon account for the Trinity-house of Kingstone upon Hull in order to their businesse against Mr. Angel, of Mr. Philip Edwards. By me.

ANDR. MARVELL.

Covent-garden, Apr. 19, 1678.

The Duke of Monmouth is once more waited on, and is as usual most courteous and obliging.

Letter CCCXLVII. To the Mayor (as before.)

‘April 25, 1678.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THIS is onely to give you account, that upon Tuesday morning last I deliverd your Letter to the Duke of Monmouth. I went with it on the Munday, but he was gone something earlyer then usuall to muster some of the forces at Barnet. I both told him the summe of your Letter, and he was pleasd to read it over leisurely in your own better words, desiring me then to returne you this his answer, ‘that he was glad you tooke it so well, and you might be assured of his continuing his care in this businesse of yours, or on whatsoever other occasion.’ I have after this to beg your pardon for not having advertised you of this the same post; but truly I was unexpectedly diverted, and so that without giving you the particulars of my excuse, I am confident you will allow it, according to your accustomed candor toward, Gentlemen, &c.

Covent-Garden, April 25, 1678.

'Popery' and 'the Warre' are still breeding mutual suspicions and recriminations. There have been strange Popish-favouring ongoings in Monmouth and Herefordshire. The 'Leagues and Treatyes' of 'his Majesty's' speech are seen—the despatch of Lord Feversham, &c., &c.

Letter CCCXLVIII. To THE SAME.

'April 30, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE two inclosed papers will supply the shortness of this letter. The first is my L. Chancellor's Speech (his Majesty being present but not speaking) to both Houses; the second, the reasons prepared for a Conference with the Lords. The first was spoke yesterday; the latter read at the Conference with the Lords to-day. There was yesterday also read in the Commons, a long narrative of fact from the Committee concerning Popery, it consisting partly of great and publick Meetings, Masses, many Priests, &c. in Monmouth and Herefordshire principally; then of Justices of the Peace turnd out of Commission having prosecuted Papists according to law; and of others Popishly affected put in and continued. After that of proceedings in the Exchequer, many hundred Papists in Middlesex discharged, so that but one man remained for ten groats, &c. Much of the like nature. I write these things unwillingly, as being of ill report, and which therefore although fit to be communicated to persons of your prudence, yet it may be prudent to keep within a narrow compasse. The House ordered some gentlemen to goe to the L. Chancellor to inquire by what means, and at whose instance particularly, Mr. Probert and Mr. Arnold were put out of Commission; as also Mr. Fenwick, in Northumberland, put in, and Mr. Milburn, in

Monmouthshire, continued, &c. The House hath further desired his Majesty (and they are accordingly brought in) to have the Leagues and Treaties mentioned in the Speech, and the agreement (or proposall) of the number of men and ships with Holland, and my Lord Feversham's dispatch with the French King's answer, imparted to them, and a Committee is appointed to view, and bring in the abstracts. To conclude, the House is very busy. I am, &c.

April 30, 1678.

A mere excuse-note from 'continuall sitting.' Rumours of the Dutch having concluded an independent peace, &c.

Letter CCCXLIX. TO THE SAME.

'May 4, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THIS hath been the third day that the House of Commons hath been upon the consideration of the Leagues with Holland, and what depends thereon. This day hath lasted continuall sitting 'till nine at night, and hath produced three votes inclosed. There is a generall apprehension lest the Hollanders have already made their conditions with France. I must beg your pardon if I be not punctuall, for you see in the third vote, that upon hast one may be excused even from using the formalities due to the Prince, much more will you dispense with, Gentlemen, &c.

Westmin., May 4, 1678.

The House 'somewhat abashed' by a 'message' from the King. Yet resolve to return an Address very plain-spoken and unmistakeable. The answer was given on 1st Feby.; either Marwell wrote a wrong date or the figure was meant for 1 not 4.

Letter CCCL. To THE SAME.

‘ May 4, 1678.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY Mr. Secretary Williamson delivered to the House this message from the King in writing :

‘ CHARLES REX,

His Majesty having been acquainted with the votes of the 4th instant, was much surprised both with the matter and forme of them. But if his Majesty had had exception to neither, yet his Majesty having asked the advice of both Houses, does not think fit to give answer to any thing of that nature till he have a concurrent advice from both Houses. Given at the Court of Whitehall the 6th of May, 1678.’

The Commons being somewhat abashed at the message, proceeded onely that day upon ordinary reports from the Committee of Priveleges. But they haue continued sitting all this day untill almost nine at night, and haue made three severall votes, and appointed a Committee to draw them up in an Adresse : First to desire a speedy answer from his Majesty to their Saturday votes or adresse. Next to desire him to remove from his Counsellis all such as advised the answer to their Adresse of the 26th of May ’67, given the 28th ; and of January last 31st, given 4th February, or either of them. This was upon diuision of 154 against 139. Then they debated of the D. of Lauderdale, and upon the question of adjourning the debate till the morrow, ’twas continued by 144 against 103. At last by 137 against 93 it was voted to desire his Majesty to remoue him from his Presence and Counsellis. Their hast for his Majesty’s answer is if possible to prevent

the Dutch closing up the peace with France. The Lords haue adjourn'd their consideration of aduice till Saturday. You see how ill tooles I am forced for hast to make use of. Pray excuse, Gentlemen, Your most affectionate servant,

May 7, '78.

Another Speaker still must be chosen. Continued rumours of the Hollanders' peace. The date of this Letter was probably 9th May, as the 'news' go to shew; and thus fills up the gap in the post-days between 7th and 11th letters.

Letter CCCLI. To THE SAME: undated.

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I FORGOT by reason of my hast to give you account (what doubtlesse you have known from other hands) that Sir Robert Sawyer having writ a letter to Mr. Golsbrough, clerke of the Commons, to be read, signifying that he was by sicknesse disabled from performing his place, and Mr. Secretary Williamson informing the House that his Majesty gave them leave to chuse a new Speaker, Mr. Seymor was upon Munday [6th] last, chosen Speaker, and approved at the Lords' bar by his Majesty in the usuall manner. To-day the House hath not sate. Yesterday in the morning they adjourned early to give their Committee time till three in the afternoon to forme their three addresses. It was five before they had finished, and first they reported that concerning Duke Lauderdale: the debate indured till toward nine at night. The House was twice divided 152 against 151, and then afterwards 161 against 157, whereby all the words of the whole addresse were thrown out; so that there remains nothing but their first naked vote; and how they will dispose now of that is uncertaine, for it being late, the House

adjourned without coming to any further resolution. The apprehensions of the Hollanders closing up their peace with France do still continue, and rather increase then otherwise. I am, &c.

There was no Counsell yesterday, so the businesse of Angel's Lights is for to-morrow.

In the 'most numerous House that I remember of many years' Marvell reports a resolution to 'proceed' in the Address to 'his Majesty.' Thus again and again the Reader of these Letters is compelled to recognize a fearless patriotism in the House of Commons—the utterances and actions of men who could and would dare to beard even 'his Majesty' and drag high-seated Lauderdale from his shelter behind the throne. 'God grant better!' Capt. Thompson interpolates 'things and deeds.' The 'Adresse' enclosed is appended to this letter.

Letter CCCLII. To THE SAME. .

' May 11, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the Committee appointed for that purpose made their report of this Adresse inclosed. But as soon as it was made, severall gentlemen moved not to proceed in it further, but to expect some information more of the resolutions to come from Holland; this was long and frequently opposed by others; so that the debate terminated in a division of the House, the most numerous that I remember of many years, wherein by 176 against 174 it was carried to proceed; then the severall paragraphs of the Adresse were in order put to the question, and upon two of the most materiall there were two divisions of the House; the first of 170 against 167; the second of 169 against 166: both carried in the affirmative: and the whole Adresse as I send it you was agreed, and the members of the Privy Counsell

ordered to desire of his Majesty the time when the House might wait upon him with it. It was then moved that the House's vote against Duke Lauderdale, that his Majesty may further humbly be desired to remove him from his Counsell and Presence, might be added to this Adresse, the House having rejected the other day the particular forme in which it was drawn up; this admitting a debate, and the House having already sate the whole day till five a'clock, some moved to adjourne, which came at last to be the question, and the House being divided upon it, it was carried by 158 against 150 not to adjourne. So, they proceeded on, and it was, without any division more, voted to add him to the Adresse. It happend in one of the former divisions that on some occasion in the lobby there were blows given between Sir Thomas Chichley, Master of the Ordinance, and the Lord O'brian, though both of the same party. The House orderd Sir Thomas, who was present, and the L. O'brian, who absented, to be taken into custody of their Sergeant at Arms. To-day a verball message as from the King was deliverd by Secretary Williamson, that he would receive their Adresse in the afternoon, and to enter immediately into consideration of a supply. This last was long debated, none being willing to give a negative, but neither forward to an affirmative in the uncertainty of War or Peace. Both were avoyded by the question whether the debate should be adjourned, which past by 168 against 167 in the negative, and so fell. They with their Adresse waited since on the King, who seemd dissatisfied. God grant better.

I am, your servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

May 11, '78.

THE ADDRESSE.

Wee your Mats most humble and loyall subjects the Commons in the present Parlm^t assembled, doe in all Duty and thankfullness acknowledg yr Mats Great Grace and Favour in demanding our advice upon the state of your affairs in this present juncture, wherein yr Mats honour and the safety of the kingdom is so nearly concerned. According to which command of your Mats we did immediately enter upon consideration of what was imparted to us by your Mats order, and after serious examination and weighing of the matter we did resolve upon an advice which because of the vrgency of affairs and the expedition they require, we did present in that manner as was not vsuall in a matter of so great importance and which we then directed our committee to excuse to your Maty upon that consideration; and because we apprehended the dangers were so imminent that the delay of ye least time might be of great prejudice to your M^as service and the safety of our kingdom, after so much time already lost, we thought it necessary to apply immediately to your Maty by ourselves, which in Matters of this nature is wholly in ye choyce of this House and hath binne frequently practised by us. And because those occasions are so pressing upon your Maty and the whole kingdom so deeply sensible, we most earnestly beseech your Maty to communicate to us the resolution your Maty hath taken upon our said advice, that thereby these imminent dangers may be timely prevented. And because the Commons conceive that ye present inconuencies and danger under wch the Kingdom now lyes might either totally or in a great measure have been preuented, if your Maty had accepted of that advice which in all humility and faithfullness we presented to your Maty upon ye 26 of May last and which [we] reiterated to yr Maty upon the 31 of Jany insuing, the refusing [of] such advice and dismissing of ye Parliament in May last was the occasion of those ill consequences which have since succeeded both at home and abroad; all which hath arisen from those misrepresentations of our proceedings which have binne suggested to your Maty by some particular person in a clandestine way without the participan and advice (as we conceive) of your Councill Board, as though we had invaded your Matys Prerogative of making peace and warr, wheras we did only offer our humble advice in matters wherein the safety of ye kingdom was concernd; which is a rite was never yet questioned in the time of your royall predecessors and without which your Matys Kingdoms can

never be safe. Upon which grounds your Maty was induced to give us such answers to those two addresses, rejecting our advice as thereby your Matys good subjects have binne discouraged and the state of your Matys affairs reduced to a most deplorable condition. We doe therefore most humbly desire that for ye good and safety of the kingdom and the satisfaction of your subjects, your Maty would graciously be pleased to remove those Councillors who advised the answers to our addresses of the 26 of May or ye 31 of Jany or either of them, and we doe most humbly desire your Maty favourably to accept our petition and address, as proceeding from harts intirely devoted to your Matys service; and as that we have never yet failed of giving testimonies of our affection and loyalty to your Matys person and government so your Maty may rest confidently assured that we shall never be wanting to support your Matys greatness and interest whilst your Maty relies on our counsell, which can have no other end then what sincerely tends thereunto, notwithstanding any sinister or self-interested indeauors to make impressions in your Maty to ye contrary.

The whole 'Warre' is at last discovered to have been a hypocrisy, a delusion and a snare, in so far as 'his Majesty' was concerned. The one object all along has been to 'grab' more and more money for himself and his hungry myrmidons. And so this England was dragged through the mire! Marvell has his own sorrowful musings, yet he would forgivingly have men 'think the best of it.' I am not saying whether war or armed peace were the right thing; but the King's helping himself constantly out of 'supplies' granted and intended for other objects comes out shamelessly all along.

Letter CCCLIII. To THE SAME.

'May 14th, 1678,'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

I HAVE very litle subject of writing, the present businesse of Parliament having been all concluded yesterday morning; for his Majesty sent up for the Commons to the House of Lords, and prorogued the Parliament till the twenty-third of this moneth. You know that always upon Prorogation whatsoever

businessse was imperfect and depending, is quite cut of, and if the Parliament intend to proceed againe upon it they must resume all from the very beginning. One thing you may please to take notice of, that the Corne clause is by the period of this Session expired. Also this Prorogation having thus happened, and if there should be a Peace, it is now in the King and Parliament's power to revoke the French prohibition next meeting. It is probable the continuance of the additional duty on French and other Wines may then too be considered. I doubt not but many will reflect upon this Prorogation for other reasons. But they that discourse the least, and think the best of it, will be the wisest men and the best subjects. God in his mercy direct his Majesty always to that which may most conduce to his own and the Kingdom's happinesse. I remaine, &c.

Westminster. May 14, 1678.

'The House' is again 'met.' The King delivers his Speech. The attendance is "much fuller then ordinary, and more are still upon the road, and there seems a more then usuall concernment among all men, as if some great and I hope good thing were to be expected." What an infinite indulgency of hope! The Speech has been preserved, and follows this Letter.

Letter CCCLIV. TO THE SAME.

'May 23, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

HIS Majesty open'd this Session with the Speech which I send you inclosed ; and after that the Lord Chancellour spoke at large, but the copy of it not having been commnicated to the House of Commons, they appointed a Committee to peruse the Lords'

Journall for it, where such things were of course to be entred. The Lords have also ordered the Speech to be printed : so that I suppose one way or other I may by the next post compasse it for you. The House of Commons opened their session, as is usual, with reading a Bill, and that which was pitched upon was, the former Bill for regulating the Collection of Hearth-mony, and then they appointed a day for its second reading. The rest of their time was spent in settling the ordinary affaires of their House, appointing days for their Grand Committees, naming and impowring their Committee of Privileges, and renewing the clause against Bribery and interteinments in order to Elections, and lastly in receiving severall petitions concerning undue Elections. What I remarke in the House is that it is much fuller then ordinary, and more are still upon the road, and there seems a more then usuall concernment among all men, as if some great, and I hope good thing were to be expected. God in his mercy direct all to the best ; what I understand thereof I shall from time to time communicate to you, remaining, &c.

Westminster, May 23, 1678.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

WHEN I met you last I ask'd your advice upon the great conjunctures abroad. What returne you gentlemen of the House of Commons made me, and whether it was suitable to the end I intended, which was the saving of Flanders, I leave it to your selves in cold blood to consider. Since I ask'd your advice the conjunctures abroad and our distempers (which influenced them so much) have driven things violently toward a Peace; and where they will end I can not tell, but will say this only to you, that I am resolved as far as I am able to save Flanders by a War or Peace, which way soever I can find most conducing towards it, and that must be judgd by the circumstances as they play from abroad. For my own part I should

think being armd were as necessary to make Peace as Warre. And therefore if I were able would keep up my Army and Navy at sea for some time till a Peace were concluded, if that must be. But because that will depend upon your supply I leave it you to consider whether to provide for their subsistence so long or for their disbanding sooner. And to take care in either case not to discourage or use ill so many worthy gentlemen and brave men who come to offer their lives and service to their country upon this occasion, and in pursuit of your own advices and resolutions. I must put you likewise in mind of a branch of my Revenue which is now expiring, and of another greater which is cut off by a clause in the Poll bill; as also the 200,000li. taken upon the credit of the Excise upon your request. And I desire your resolutions may be speedy because the present necessity requires it. And I shall consent to any reasonable Bills you shall offer me for the good and safety of the nation. My Lords and Gentlemen, I shall say no more but only to assure you (whatsoever some ill men would have believed) I never had any intention but of good to you and my people, nor ever shall, but will do all I can for your safety and ease as far as your selves will suffer me, and since these are my resolutions, I desire you will not drive me into extremitys which must end ill both for you and me; and which is worst of all for the nation, which we ought to have equall care of. Therefore I desire we may prevent any disorders or mischief that may befall them by our disagreement. And in case they do, I shall leave it to God Almighty to judge between us who is the occasion of it. One thing more I have to add, that is to let you know that I will never more suffer the course and method of passing Laws to be changed. and that if severall matters shall ever again be tackd together in one Bill that Bill shall certainly be lost, let the importance of it be never so great.

The farce-Tragedy goes on. 'His Majesty' is dumb on 'the Warre.' Rumours are rife of 'peace' with 'the French King' i.e. Holland and Spain with France. 'The House' must get at the truth. A venal and pandering 'mechanical-accidental majority' will lick the dust, nay the ordure, cravenly affirming "that it were best to lay by all apprehensions and jealousyes, and to furnish the King with mony, *leaving the rest to his Majestye's discretion.*" O Shame, where was thy blush?

Letter CCCLV. To THE SAME.

‘25th May, 1678.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons, not having the Chancellor's Speech that day printed or written, sate (I mean yesterday) not long, nor did much worke. The Bill for incouragement of the Woolen Manufacture, which was in progresse last session, was read the first time. They also appointed a Committee to bring in a Bill or Bills to hinder the growth of Popery. Also a Committee for the Laws concerning the Poore, in order to rectify them. Severall things of the like publick and good intention were set on foot againe, which I shall be glad to see come to perfection. To-day (which was intended though not ordered for consideration of his Majestye's and the Chancellor's Speech) but the morning being most part spent before the Speeches were published, there was a motion made for an humble Addresse to his Majesty, to know of him the state of affairs as they now stand in relation to war or peace; and that if his Majesty shall thinke fit to enter into a warre with the French King, with the assistance of the Emperour, and such other Princes and States as shall come into the confederacy, this House will support and assist his Majesty in the carrying on the warre. This debate tooke up the whole day, forasmuch as some counted this Addresse to be unseasonable, when it appeard that all things abroad were so disposed toward a peace. Some thought it more requisite to proceed first of all to the disbanding of the army; others, that it were best to lay by all apprehensions and jealousyes, and to furnish the King with mony, leaving the rest to his Majestye's discretion. In this

variety of opinions the House came about foure a'clock to a question of adjourning the debate, which was carryed in the affirmative by 195 against 176. In generall what I learne by information both within and without doors is, that both Holland and Spaine appeare to be agreed upon termes with France. I have inclosed the Speeches. I remaine, &c.

[No date, but the post mark is

25 May, 1678.]

'The House yesterday resumed the debate.' 'His Majesty's message' it is voted 'to take into consideration.' The 'Scotch Lords' return homeward without 'kissing hands.'

Letter CCCLVI. TO THE SAME.

'May 28th, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House yesterday resumed the debate, which was adjournd on Saturday, and it ended in the vote inclosed, which past without division. That occasioned the inclosed message from the King; though getting them in hast as well as we can I have displaced them. The House hereupon after a long debate (some moving so early for a Supply) concluded, without dividing, in a vote to take on Thursday His Majesty's Message in consideration. They also voted to take the Chancelor's Speech into consideration; and then adjourned till Thursday. The Bills already in motion againe are—Wearing of Woolen—Burying in Woolen—For exporting of Leather—Securing the Protestant Religion—For the Poore—For poore Prisoners—For Highways—Against Maintenance—Against Hawkers and Pedlars—For measuring Keels and Boats for Coals, &c. The Scotch Lords had an hearing before his Majesty

on Saturday night, but were not admitted to kisse his hand, nor obtained any of their other desires; so are departing homeward. I remaine, &c.

“The House rose without any effect or result of the whole debate.” There is a ground-swell nevertheless that betokens coming tempest on sea and shore. ‘*That Peace*’ had no warrant “from the proceedings of the House.”

Letter CCCLVII. TO THE SAME.

‘June 1, 1678.’

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House sate yesterday in a Committee of the whole House upon the motion formerly made for a supply; and from the Muster-master they received an account of the severall regiments, and the numbers that were raised, and in pay since September 28th, amounting horse and foot to thirty thousand men. But the Pay-master of the army not having had time sufficient to make up his accounts of what mony was in arreare to them respectively, the Committee proceeded no further then to vote, That a supply should be given to his Majesty toward the paying and disbanding of all the forces raised since the 29th of September. This day the House, according to order, read the Chancellor’s Speech, and debated it thorowly. The question that arose was, That the proceeding of this House had not given any occasion for the Peace mentioned in the Chancellor’s Speech, The first thing put to the question was, whether those words ‘mentioned in the Chancellor’s Speech,’ should be part of the question, which was carryed in the negative by 181 against 156. The next was, whether that question, ‘Whether the proceedings of this House had given any occasion to the Peace,’ should be now put; which was likewise carryed in the

negative by 181 against 157; so that the House rose about foure a'clock, without any effect or result of the whole debate. This is all at present, with the addition of all due respects from, Gentlemen, &c.

Westminster, June 1, 1678.

The Army is to be 'disbanded:' the 'growing charge of the Fleet' is to be 'retrenched.' Legislation is cared for, but discontent is everywhere.

Letter CCCLVIII. TO THE SAME.

'June 4th, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House, in a Committee of the whole House, have for these two dayes been intent upon receiving the accounts of the land forces raised since September 29th, and having to-day received the report from the Committee, they agreed that the summe of 200,000l. be raised for the speedy and compleat paying and disbanding all the said land forces; which summe to be levyed by six moneths Land-tax, at 34,410l. 9s. 6d. to begin at the determination of the present monthly sessment. Then they ordered, that a Bill should be brought in to that purpose: that there should be a borrowing clause inserted in that Bill, and an appropriating clause; and that they should be payd of and disbanded by the last of this present June. This summe, together with what hath been already payd these forces, dos largely pay and recompense both these soldiers and their commanders. To-morrow the House is by order to be in a Committee for retrenching the growing charge of this Fleet. To-day, before they went upon this more publick businesse, there was read the first time a Generall Bill that came in by order, for inspecting the Laws against

Bankrouets, and to consider the defects and supply them: to find a more effectuall way for discovering of the Estates of Bankroutes, and to take care that it may not be in the power of any single creditor, or small number of them, to obstruct the composition with the generality of the creditors. Also the Bill of the former Session, for regulating the collection of Hearth-mony was read the second time and committed. We heare that severall of these forces are commanded northward. And from Holland, there are severall rumours, as if, now they are in probability of a peace, they were grown very factious among themselves, to the diminution of the Prince's authority. Judge Scroggs his place, who is now L. Chief Justice, is not yet supplied, as was reported. I remaine, &c.

June 4th, 1678.

The 'debate adjourned, which will probably be of great weight and consideration.' Matters are deepening.

Letter CCCLIX. To THE SAME.

'June 6, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY was the Petition of the Creditors of the Hambrough Company debated, whose case I send here inclosed, and which is referred to a Committee to receive their proposals and consider of them. Afterwards they resolved that there should be a supply to dismisse the extraordinary charge of the Navy, and they have appointed a committee, which is taking and examining the accounts of the Fleet. To-day there was read the second time the Bill for burying in Woolen; and after severall things of lesser moment, the Bill for disbanding the Army

was read the first time, and ordered to be read the second time to-morrow. After this there was a motion made for the 200,000*l.* taken up on the credit of the Excise, that the accounts thereof be brought in, in order to the payment thereof, demanded in his Majesty's Speech. But there was a debate rose hereupon, as if the House lay not under any obligation for it. In conclusion, that debate was adjourned till Saturday, which will probably be of great weight and consideration. The Committee of Privileges sitting to-night upon Grantham Election, in which most of us are more than ordinary concerned, I cannot write more then I remaine, &c.

Westminster, June 6, 1678.

The 'Grantham election' Marvell had already in last Letter expressed his profound interest in. It is now brought to a settlement. On which side *he* was, does not appear. The 'Message' that is 'inclosed' has been preserved, and follows this Letter.

Letter CCCLX. TO THE SAME.

'June 8, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Committee of Privileges which I mentioned to you in my last sate upon the case of Grantham: Sir Robert Markham being the sitting Member, and Sir William Ellis the Petitioner. Their first Division was for Candles, which were brought in by 152 against 139. So they sate on till past one o'clock that night, hearing the Cause and Dividing severall times, till at last those that were for Sir Robert left the Committee, and then he was voted to have been unduly Returned and Sir William Ellis rightly Elected. The House have orderd they will receive the Report next Munday. Yesterday Secr. Coventry

delivered the inclosed message from his Majesty, which having been read, the House read the Bill for Disbanding the Army the second time: and then voted to consider of his Majesty's message on Tuesday next, and on the same day to turne into a Committee of the whole House upon the Bill of Disbanding. To-day the Debate Adjourned concerning the 200,000*li.* Borrowed upon the Excise, was resumed, and about 5 a'clock it came to a Question whether there remained any Obligation upon the House to repay it, which was carried in the Affirmative by 177 against 162. After which they appointed a Committee to receive the Accounts of that 200,000*li.* and so rose. The Committee for retrenching the extraordinary Charge of the Navye are not yet ready for a Report. Some of the Publick Bills step forward but slowly by reason of these matters of Supply. I heare the Convention of Estates in Scotland is from the 28 instant put of till the 8 Aug. I remain,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

June 8, '78.

CHARLES REX.

His Mty in his speech to both Houses of Parlt 23 May last told you that if he were able he would keep up his army and navy at sea for some time till a Peace were concluded if that must be: but because that will depend upon your supplies, he left it to you to consider whether to provide for their subsistence or to disband them sooner. His Mty hath often since had his thoughts imployed upon the same subject and is every day more and more confirmed in his opinion, viz., that the saving of a few days expence cannot countervaille the prejudice that would arise from his departing with the Fleet and Army if after that a Peace should not follow; and although it should, yet the hazarding so much upon a bare presumption of the issue of a thing in itselfe altogether uncertain and quite out of his own powers, is hardly to be countenanced by any

precedents. His Mty therefore recommends againe to the consideration of this House his advice of the 23 May last, That they would see the effect of the cessation in Flanders, before his Mty be necessitated to disarme himselfe. But more especially that you would consider of that part of the army which is in Flanders which if he should recall before the Peace it would be liable to a very bad construction, viz., That having taken severall of the King of Spaine's towns into his protection he had without any reasonable warning in order to their regarrisoning withdrawn his Forces and abandoned those towns to the discretion of the enemy.

June 7th.

Another private Letter, and in it a great passionate, compassionate cry for Scotland in her 'Covenanters' sufferings. His own book on the 'Growth of Popery' is slyly referred to. How the lip was curled there—in sad scorn!

Letter CCCLXI. To William Ramsden, Esq.

'June 10, 1678.'

DEAR WILL,

I HAVE time to tell you thus much of publick matters. The patience of the Scots, under their oppressions, is not to be paralleled in any history. They still continue their extraordinary and numerous, but peaceable, field conventicles. One Mr. Welch is their arch-minister, and the last letter I saw tells, people were going forty miles to hear him. There came out, about Christmas last, here, a large book concerning the growth of popery and arbitrary government. There have been great rewards offered in private, and considerable in the Gazette, to any one who could inform of the author or printer, but not yet discovered. Three or four printed books since have described, as near as it was proper to go, the man being a Member of Parliament, Mr. Marvell, to have been the author; but if he had, surely he should not have escaped being questioned in Parlia-

ment, or some other place. My good wishes attend you.

Yours, &c.

June 10, 1678.

Sir Salomon Swale, 'Popish recusant,' is again brought up (see Letter CCCXVI.) So too the Grantham election, and the Committee's decision—reversed. The 'disbanding bill' is postponed.

Letter CCCLXII. To the Mayor (as before.)

'June 11th, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Bill (that formerly past the Commons) for poore Prisoners was yesterday read the Second time and Committed. After that the Record of the Conviction of Sir Salomon Swale as a Popish Recusant was produced, according to Order, by the officers of the Exchequer, and account given by them of a Plea that he had put in of *Ægrotus tempore Convictionis*, which was depending. A Letter of his to the Speaker was also read, writ upon occasion of a late Summons sent him to appeare at the House, in which he alledged a late sicknesse, but that he hoped in a few days to be able to attend his duty. But the House being informed that he was in health sufficient, and knowing that it had been all the while in his Power to quash the Conviction at any time by Conforming and bringing them a Certificate, give till Wednesday se'night, when if he failes therein it is intended to proceed against him. They then read the Bill against the Growth of Popery the first time, and ordered it a Second for to morrow. After that received the Report of the Committee of Privileges concerning Grantham, which, having debated, they disagreed with the Committee, and by a Division of 179 against 167 confirmd Sir Robert Markham's

Election. To day was read the first time for wearing of Woolen: and the Lords' Bill for burying in Woolen was read the Second time and Committed. The appointed businesse for the day was the King's late Message, the Debate of which ended in a Question concerning giving further time then the last of June for disbanding. The House Divided whethere 'not exceeding the 27th of July,' should be part of that question, which was carryed by 167 against 164 in the Affirmative. Then, whether 'such as are now beyond the Seas,' should be part of that Question, which was carryed in the Affirmative by 172 against 166. So the resolution was, there should be further time given for disbanding the Forces raisd since the 29th Sept., and now beyond Sea not exceeding the 27th July. Then they went into Committee of the whole House upon the Disbanding Bill, where having read it, it being then late, they arose and askd leave to sit again to morrow at ten a'clock. This is the most materiall at present. I remaine, &c.

June 11th, '78.

"Many country gentlemen having resolved to goe home next week for their own occasions, having attended now five moneths"—certain supply-votes are to be taken, "as also the maine question."

Letter CCCLXIII. TO THE SAME.

'June 15th, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the Bill of Disbanding was read the third time, passed, and ordered to be sent up to the Lords. But the Lords being up it was not delivered till this day. To day the Report was ready to be made concerning the Extraordinary Charge of the

Fleet and concerning the 200,000*li.* which they have obliged themselves to repay. But many Country Gentlemen having resolved to goe home next weeke for their own occasions, having attended now five moneths; Some moved That no new Motion might be made for a new Supply before this Recess after Tuesday next. They Divided whether that Question should be now put and 'twas carryed in the Affirmative by 160 against 154: as also the maine Question by 163 against 154. So that by Tuesday night it will be resolved what the Charge upon the People is like to be this Session: Then they resolved that no new Private businesse should be received before these things of supply be finished. The Bill against Exporting Wool was read yesterday. The Bill for Exporting Leather to day, and committed. There appears nothing from abroad but a greater certainty daily of Peace. The Hamburgh Company's Committee have made no Progresse. I inclose herewith a Paper presented against their Proposals.

I remaine, Gentlemen, &c.,

Your most affectionate Servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

Westm., June 15, 1678.

'His Majesty' spoke long. More 'money' demanded. 'The House' is deeply agitated.

Letter CCCLXIV. To THE SAME.

'June 18, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the House of Common past the Bill for exportation of leather and sent it up to the Lords. They then received the Report of the Accounts of the 200,000*li.* taken upon the clause for

credit upon the excise and voted first upon a division of 139 to 131, That it doth appeare to this House that an 160,000li. hath been borrowed on the Excise and hath been expended on the extraordinary charge of the ordinance in the yeare 1677. To-day being the last on which any new motion could be made for supply, his Mty commanded the House to wait on him in the House of Lords, when he spoke long to them; but it hath been impossible for me to send you a copy of the Speech, the House having sate all day till seven in the evening. But the most remarkable point was that his Mty desired beside these supplyes already in prospect, to be further furnished with an additional revenue for his life of 300,000li. a yeare; on which condition he would appropriate 500,000li. a yeare to the Navy. Also 40,000li. to the Princesse of Orange's portion. And signifyd there might be a recesse toward the middle of the next moneth. They then voted thanks to be presented by the Privy Counsell for the gracious expressions in his speech. Then after long debate they voted without trying the division, that they would not go into Committee of the House for raising a revenue of 300,000li. for his Mty's life. Then that they would not consider of any compensation for the French prohibition; the revenue not having as yet suffered by it. This carryed by 202 agrinst 145. But next to go to-morrow into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the motion for continuing the imposition on wines; as also of the way of raising the 200,000li, to which they are obliged, and the other 2 or 300,000li. for the charge of the Fleet, and to consider the motion for 40,000li. portion. From hence these things being thus settled they entered into a great debate of looking into the Privy Seals

for secret service since 10 May. '77, and of taking account what pensions on the revenue. And then of a Test for the members that they had not been bribed and a great many heads more. 'Twas late but carryed not to adjourn by 173 against 103. Then at last the question was put for a committee to draw up such a Test. It fell by a division of 100 to 86. I remain, Gentlemen, &c.

June 18, '78.

'Many members go daily away, and all here are weary.' No Papist to 'sit in the House.'

Letter CCCLXV. To the Same.

'June 22, 1675.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the Bill for burying in woolen was reported from the Committee and ordered to be ingrossd. The House sate the most part of the day in Committee of the whole House, upon the matters of supply which I mentioned formerly. And in conclusion they agreed (not reckoning in the 200,000li. already past for the disbanding of the army) that in discharge of the 200,000li. borrowed on the Excise and of the extraordinary charge of the Fleet and for the payment of 40,000li. for the Princesse of Orange's portion, there should be in all 414,000li. more raised. But of the way of levying it there is yet nothing resolved though severall things are propounded. To-day the Bill for wearing of woolen and that against Papists sitting in either House of Parliament were both reported and ordered to be ingrossd. They should have went again into committee about the way of raising the money; but the Lords having sent down the disbanding Bill with some amendments, diverted

it. The Lords have altered the last of June which the Commons had fixed for disbanding all the forces except those in Flanders to the 27th of July and given those in Flanders a further term, as I remember, to the 24th of August. The Debate did principally run upon the 27th of July and the Commons have voted that they disagree and have ordered a Committee to prepare reasons of this disagreement to be presented to the Lords at a conference. They have resolved also to sit on Munday, although it be an holiday, being very intent to dispatch all businesse as soon as possible. For many members go daily away and all here are weary. In the copy of the late conference where it speaks that the States should have taken so much pains in vaine &c., the word *businesse* ought to have been barrier (that is a ledge of towns dividing the French and Spaniard.) I remain, Gentlemen. &c.

June 22, '78.

The Lords and Commons are on 'difference' as to the 'disbanding;' conference and re-conferences to be held.

Letter CCCLXVI. To the Same.

'June 25, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

SINCE my last, the Bill for wearing of woollen hath been read the third time, past and sent up to the Lords. Also the Bill for continuing the new impost upon wines and vinegars hath been read the first time. There was moreover a Bill brought in to-day and once read, for supplying certain defects in the French prohibition, explaining the ships to be subject to seizure, which fraudently put in to ports and ly there without any apparent necessity, and making the informers' part more certain and easy to

come by, &c. They sent also by some of their members to a conference with the Lords about the disbanding Bill, a proviso which they desired might in lieu of the Lords' amendments be added to the Bill; whereby in case any part of the army can not be disbanded by the last of this moneth, there may be more time allowed so that the whole do not exceed the terms in the Bill above 30 days. I heare that the Lords are likely, although it comes so neare to their own sense, yet to disagree on it. The House of Commons have both to-day and yesterday been in committee about the way of raising the other monyes. After severall debates concerning 200,000li. to be raised on the new foundations since 1656 within ten miles of London; of making a second Act for review of the Poll Bill; of laying a further tax upon land; the House hath at last resolved (agreeing with the Committee) that the 414,000li. and no more shall be raised by the old way of subsidy. And they have appointed to goe againe to-morrow into Committee in order to the further consideration of that method and toward preparing the Bill for that purpose.

I remaine, Gentlemen, &c.,

Your most affectionate servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

June 25, '78.

The 'debates' are continued. "Quakers are not to be punished by the laws against Papists." 'The House' holds to its resolution as to the date of 'disbanding.' Rumours are circulating of peace.

Letter CCCLXVII. To the Same.

'June 27, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

YESTERDAY the House of Commons entered into debate whether the Commissioners in the subsidies

(which had been voted the way of levying the money) should be named by the King or by the House. And it being carried by division that they be named by the King, the House rather chose to lay aside that way of subsidy and for that and other reasons resolved to proceed by the ordinary method of land-tax: ordering the Bill to be brought in to raise the 414,000*li.* upon land by an assessment of twelve months, to begin the 24th of Feb. next. There was a motion made for leave to bring in a bill against punishing Quakers by the laws against Papists; but that having been for a considerable time controverted was carried in the negative. The Lords sent to them for a conference about the disbanding Bill, giving their reasons why they adhered to their own former alterations and admitted not their proviso. The Commons upon the report made continued their former resolution, and sent to-day to the Lords for a free conference, which they have appointed for to-morrow at eleven a'clock. The Commons have also to-day read the second time the Bill for continuing the impost upon wine, and committed it. The Bill for the twelve month's tax was brought in and read the first time: ordered againe to-morrow. The letters say that the Spaniard has consented that the French continue in possession of the barrier towns in Flanders till Sweden be satisfied. That hereupon the D. of Luxenbourg is marched out of the Spanish terrtoryes and the chiefe Spanish commanders went to compliment him on his departure. That the Emperor too will receive the Peace so that all the late alarum vanishes.

I am your humble servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

June 27, '78.

The "contest of (alleged) privilege" in the debate and disagreement about the dates of 'disbanding bill' is sought to be removed by a device. Peace is not so very secure. A previous letter mentioned in the beginning of this has not been preserved.

Letter CCCLXVIII. To the Same.

'July 4, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE Bill for disbanding having (as I gave Mr. Mayor notice in my last) faln betweene the two Houses; the Commons neverthelesse out of an earnest desire to have that worke effected, yesterday resolved to add the same Bill and the 200,000li. therein into that of the 400,000li. that is already in progresse. And accordingly that Bill being to-day read the second time and the disbanding Bill (or now rather clause) presented to the House to be added to it, they then resolved themselves into a committee of the whole House upon them. I hope the contest of privilege being by this means removed, that they may now in some reasonable time come to a conclusion of this Session. They have sent their Bill for reliefe of poore prisoners up to the Lords. There are severall regiments embarking for Flanders, the affaires of warre being againe in some destemper, though it seems to me most probable that some kind of peace will rather take place. I remaine, &c.

Westm., July 4, 1678.

And now we reach the 'Last Letter' written with all the Writer's usual fidelity in reporting and animation of expression. 'The end' of his busy and noble Life was all unknowingly and unsuspectedly near. He went down to Hull in the interval and an entry in the books records that 'Mr. Marvell' and the Corporation debated the Town's affairs. And so—he went back to town and within a very short while he was—dead: August 16th, 1678. I cannot conceive any one reading this 'last

Letter' otherwise than with a 'lump in the throat' as of a personal sorrow—so abrupt comes the termination of the vigilant, eager yet restrained Correspondence. See our Essay in the present volume for new details on Marvell's last illness and death.

The 'resolutions' were passed now, to protect the disbanding, clause in the money-bill—a clause which perhaps the House ought scarcely to have tacked on to that bill.

Letter CCCLXIX. To the right Wor'pfull Henry Maister, Mayor, and the Aldermen the Brethren of Kingstone upon Hull.

'July 6th, 1678.'

GENTLEMEN, MY VERY WORTHY FRIENDS,

THE House of Commons hath for these two days been intent in a Committee of the whole House upon the 600,000*li.* Bill, and the other of the Additional Impost upon Wines; and the Committee have reported them to the House in order to Ingrosment. It was to day Debated that merchants Shipping their Imported Wines within nine months at the same Port should have this Impost repayd them. But upon a Division of 78 against 61 (so thin is the House) it was carryed in the Negative. Things tend toward an end of the Session, but yet I am jealous that it will scarce be compassed by Saturday next. I omitted to send you the Resolution which the Commons entred in their Journall on Wednesday upon occasion of what then had passed between the Lords and them. Resolved that all Aids and Supplyes granted to his Majesty in Parliament are the sole gift of the Commons. And all Bills for the Granting of any such Aids and Supplyes ought to begin with the Commons. And that it is the Undouted and Sole Right of the Commons to Direct, Limit and Appoint motions, Limitations and Qualifications of such

Grants, which ought not to be Changed or Altered by the House of Lords. This is what I have at present materiall, remaining,

Gentlemen, &c.,

Your most affectionate Servant,

ANDR. MARVELL.

West., July 6, 1678.

Inserted immediately after this Letter is one from the Duke of Monmouth on the 'vacancy.' *He* had always been a 'true friend' to Marvell and Hull. But his candidate did not succeed, at least no 'Mr. Shales' ever represented Hull. On 24th February following, Lemuel Kingdon and William Ramsden, Esquires, were elected Members of Parliament for Hull. The explanation is that his letter of 23rd August was 'inspired' by the Duke of York not himself, for (a) There is a short letter at Trinity House from the Duke of York recommending 'Mr. Shales.' Here it is:

To the Master, Assistants and Members of the Trinity House
at Hull.

GENTLEMEN,

THIS serves only to recomēd to your particular Favour and Assistance one Mr. Shales, who offers himselfe to serve the Towne of Hull as theire Burgesse in Parliament in the Roome of Mr. Andrew Marvell lately deceased. I know the said Mr. Shales to be a man fitly Qualifyed for your Choyse, and will owne the kindnesse you shew him in this Matter as a farther Testimony of your Respects to Me. Who am,

Your loving friend,

JAMES.

Windsor, 29th August, '78.

Then (b) At Trinity House is a later letter from Monmouth recommending 'Mr. Kingdon.' I give both Monmouth's earlier and later Letters, and thereafter the recorded answer to the second from Trinity-House and 'Mr. Kingdon's' acknowledgment—all these hitherto unprinted.

(1) Duke of Monmouth [No address] : 23rd August, 1678.

Whitehall, 23 Aug.

GENTLEMEN,

VPON my arrivall att London I mett with the report of Mr. Marvell's death, one of the Burgesses for yor Towne, which

gives me occasion to become a Suitor to you in behalfe of Mr. Shales, and that you would elect him to supply that vacaney in parliament, whom I look upon as a person very well qualified to serve the King, his Cuntry, and yor Corporation in particular, to whose interests I shall allwayes have a peculiar regard, And shall owne yor kindness herein as an obligation to
Gentlemen, your very humble Servant,

MONMOUTH.

Memorandum: Received the 29th August, '78.

(2) Duke of Monmouth: 4th Feb., 1678-9.

To ye Wardens of the Trinity house or their Deputyes at Hull.
GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE recommended Mr. Kingdon to the Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Towne of Hull to serve for one of yor Burges in the ensuing Parliamt, wch I recommend to you likewise very earnestly, and yor assistance and kindness in this affaire wilbe very kindly received by mee, and soe acknowledge att all times to you: relying therefore on you to assist Mr. Kingdon in all you can in this affaire, in the good successe of which I take myselfe to be highly concern'd. Remaine,

Yor very loveing friend and servt.

MONMOUTH.

Whitehall, 4th Febr., 1678.

Copies of (1) Letter to Monmouth, (2) Mr. Kingdon.

ANSWERS.

To Duke of Monmouth.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

YOURS of the 4th febr. instant received, commending to our House for a Burgess Mr. Kingdon. And though your Grace's recommendation had beene enough to perswade vs that he was a fitt person for that purpose, yet his owne presence and deportment here amongst vs proved soe good a second to your Grace's recommendation that we first had the happines to have him a brother of this Society, and then by a generall consent our first Burgesse in Parliament, in which we doubt not but he will act with prudence and honesty both for king and people, that may give content to both and give us just occasion to returne as we doe and to continue our humble and hearty thanks to your Grace for such your recommendation, and ever remaine in the name of the whole Society,

Your Grace's most humble and obliged servant.

Trinity House, 28 Febr., 1678-9.

2. To 'Mr. Kingdon.'

HONBLE SIR,

WE have sent the enclosed wch we intreate you present to the Duke. We left it open and intreate you seale itt. We assure you it is not to flatter you but because we cannot but declare the trueth. We say the lesse because it is to yourselfe. And therefore with the hearty love, respects and service of the whole Society, we subscribe ourselves,

Yor assured friends and servts.

For Mr. Richard Kendall and Mr. Robert Wright Wardens,
and the rest of the Society of Trinity House, at Hull.
These

WORTHY GENTLEMEN AND BY YOUR KINDNESS DEARE BROTHERS,

YOUR kind Letter in answer to the Duke of Monmouth and another to me, I received, and give you a thousand thanks for them, and all your kindnes. The Duke of Monmouth bidd me to tell you that hee is certainly sensible and satisfied with your respects and service to him on my behalfe, and believe me you shall see that I am with all my heart ready to serve you. Therefore pray command him that is

Your most affectionate younger Brother and
obliged humb. Servant,

HEN. KINGDON.

Whitehall 8th of March 1678-9.

I would have given you an account of what news there is but I thought that you would have it by many and better hands.

3. 'Mr. Kingdon' to Trinity House.

It must be noted that the 18 year Parliament was dissolved 30th December, 1678, and a new House summoned 25th January, 1679, so that with reference to previous remarks, Monmouth's letters referred probably to different elections.



NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Page 14, 'John Ramsden,' : son of John Ramsden, Merchant, Mayor of Hull, 1622, 1637) ; admitted Freeman of Hull, 1639 ; elected Chamberlain, 1640 ; Sheriff, 1644 ; Alderman, 1647 ; Mayor, 1648 : and by order of Parliament continued Deputy for Mr. Peregrine Pelham, the member for the Borough, who was chosen Mayor the following year, but in 1649, refusing to subscribe to the "Engagement" to be true and faithful to the Government established without King or House of Peers, he was by order of Parliament, (6th Sep., 1650,) ejected from his office of alderman. He was elected with Marvell to represent Hull in Parliament, 10th January, 1658, and 2d April, 1660. The Corporation Records show that on the 25th June, 1661, he was sent for by the Bench, to be re-admitted to his office as alderman, when he answered "that in regard of his residence in the country, he desires to be excused, and therefore could not accept thereof." See p.p. 14—15.

Page 17, 'Christopher Richardson' : was on 20th June, 1633, admitted a Freeman of Hull, by apprenticeship with James Best, senior, 'Chirurgion.' He was fined in 1651, £30 for not serving the office of Chamberlain ; elected Sheriff, 1655 ; alderman, 1658, in which he served 40 years, and Mayor, 1660 and 1678. At the expiry of his second mayoralty, he desired to be discharged from his duties of alderman, and was permitted to resign on payment of a fine of £75. He died 1701.

Page 31, 'Swinton' : This was Alexander Swinton, of Merlington, 2d son of Alexander Swinton, of Swinton, a zealous Presbyterian ; passed Advocate, but relinquished his profession as a Lawyer rather than take the Test, having been appointed a Lord of Session in June, 1681. He was however restored in 1686, and died suddenly in 1706. Sir Walter Scott was very proud of his relationship to the Swinton family.

Page 43. 'Mr. Mabbot' and 'Mr. Stockdale' (pages 225, &c) Besides their letters from their representatives, the Corporation employed a London correspondent, styled "Town's Intelligencer" in London, and sometimes the "Town's Intelligencer and Solicitor," and Mr. Gilbert Mabbott for sometime held this office, but 1659 (March 5) his services

were dispensed with, an order was made for payment of his half year's salary, and that he be informed "The Town had no further occasion for his intelligence." The office appears soon to have been revived.

1662, Oct. 30. Mr. John Wiltshyre to be paid 11s. for letters since he kept intelligence with the Bench, which was about the beginning of July last, and it was

Ordered that Mr. Wiltshyre shall continue his intelligence with the Bench, for which he shall have ten pounds a year, paid half yearly, first half year to begin at Candlemas next.

1662, Dec. 4. £5 to be paid for half year's salary, due at Candlemas next, to Mrs. Wiltshyre, [*sic*] the Town's Solicitor (said to be dead) be paid by command unto the widow of the said Mr. Wiltshyre, with 11s. that was owing for letters.

1662, Jan. 22. £5 paid to Mr. Maister, to be sent to Mrs. Faith Wiltshyre, the Relict of John Wiltshyre, Esq., for his half year's salary, as Solicitor for the Town, according to former order.

1663, Nov. 24. Barrell of Ale sent to Mr. Robert Stockdale for his pains in the Town's business in 1661, about the Act for dividing Holy Trinity from Hessele.

1664, May 12. The Bench or Council ordered a Letter to be sent to Robert Stockdale, to know if he would be willing to be entertained as Solicitor and Intelligencer for this town.

1664, May 26. Robert Stockdale accepts their kindness of being their Solicitor and Intelligencer so long as the Board shall please.

1664, Nov. 10. Robert Stockdale paid £5 for half year's salary as Town's Intelligencer.

1668, Oct. 29. Letter ordered to be written to Mr. Robert Stockdale to desire him, at his best convenience, to mind His Grace the Lord General of the debts that are owing to the Town by the three companies.

1669, Nov. 4. £10 paid Robert Stockdale, Town's Intelligencer, one year's salary.

1671, Nov. 9. Alderman Foxley and Alderman Skinner are desired, when it shall please God to send them to London, to treat with Mr. Marvell about taking on Mr. Dethicke to be the Town's Intelligencer and Solicitor, in the place of Mr. Stockdale.

1671, Jan. 11. Mr. Barnard Lister, of London, appointed Town's Solicitor and Intelligencer in the room of Robert Stockdale, who has removed to Dover. Salary £10 per annum.

1673, Jan. 11. £10 to be paid to Mr. Robert Stockdale for

the last year's salary he served the town as Intelligencer.

1674, March 11. Robert Stockdale, the Town's late Intelligencer, thanked by the Bench for his presentation of a Seal with the Town's Arms engraved on stone. This Seal is now used as the Mayor's official seal, and is in excellent preservation.

Stockdale would appear to have returned to London, and been re-appointed Intelligencer, as the following entries appear:

1678, Oct. 25. Letter of thanks to Col. Gilby for his letters and to continue his Intelligence, and that he will please receive Mr. Robert Stockdale, as the Town's agent, in all matters concerning the Town. Letter to Robert Stockdale approving of what he had done concerning the procuring the writ for new election on death of Marvell, lately deceased, and that the Bench had writ to Col. Gilby that he (Stockdale) was the Town Intelligencer and agent. These names occur in the Correspondence of Marvell.

Page 51, 'Col. Gilby': See Essay in present vol., on 'payment' of members of parliament, in relation to Gilby and Marvell.

Page 57, 'Hezle and Trinity Church, Hull': The Church of the Holy Trinity, Hull, was annexed to the Vicarage of Hessle, and the Vicarage was styled the Vicarage of Hessle-cum-Hull, but by reason of the distance from Hessle, and the greatly increasing population of Hull, the Corporation were desirous of having the Church of Holy Trinity separated from Hessle, and constituted a distinct Vicarage. The Crown was patron of the Vicarage of Hessle-cum-Hull, and in 1661 Charles the II. was induced to consent to such severance of the Vicarage, and to give the patronage of Holy Trinity (subject to approval of the Crown) to the Corporation. An Act of Parliament was in the same year obtained for carrying the arrangement into effect, under which (notwithstanding the abolition of church-rates) the Corporation now annually levy a rate on the Inhabitants of the Parish of Holy Trinity, to raise £100 for the better maintenance of the Vicar. The right of Patronage of the Church has (pursuant to the provisions of the Municipal Corporation Act) been sold, and the patronage is now vested in Trustees.

William Styles was the Vicar of the Vicarage of Hessle-cum-Hull, and in 1651, he refused to subscribe the "Engagement," and was ultimately removed by the Council of State from his benefices, and went to reside at Leeds. Upon his removal, the Corporation petitioned the Council, and obtained permission to appoint Mr Hibbert as minister of Trinity Church. The

appointment was opposed by Mr. Shaw, who had previously been appointed Lecturer at the Church.

Joseph Wilson was appointed minister of Hessle. These changes led to much controversy between the Parsons, but on the Restoration in 1660, Styles (who had conformed to the Government) was reinstated in the Vicarage.

The following are facts gathered from the Records, and may in some measure elucidate the matter, and Marvell's correspondence.

1660. Joseph Wilson, Clerk at Hessle.

1660, Oct. 19. Mr. Styles business for his being restored to the Vicarage of Hessle and Hull, adjourned to 31st October, and again adjourned.

1660, Oct. 19. A Warrant and Summons to appear, directed to Mr. Joseph Wilson, minister at Hessle, and Mr. Henry Hibbert, minister at Hull, to appear before the Justices, and Mr. Styles to have notice.

1660, Nov. 1. The Bench ordered and decreed (pursuant to Act of Parliament for confirming and restoring ministers) after perusing the writings and evidence relating to matters in dispute, that William Styles, Clerk, should be restored to his Vicarage of Hessle, and that Mr. Joseph Wilson should yield up possession on the 25th December next.

1660, Nov. 8. The Bench directed a warrant for Joseph Wilson to appear before the Board, to ascertain the moiety of the tithes for the benefit of William Styles. Wilson did not appear, and the Bench ordered Wilson to pay £40 moiety of Tythes to Styles, free of any deduction.

1660, December 18. The Bench issued an attachment against Joseph Wilson, and to enter into Bond to pay the moiety of last year's tithes, to Mr. Styles, according to Statute.

Warrant issued to Sheriff to put Mr. Styles into possession of Hessle Vicarage.

1660, Jany. 23. Instrument signed empowering Alderman Foxley and others, to treat with Mr. Styles for relinquishing his interest in Holy Trinity Church, &c.

1660, Jany. 31. Instrument signed by Richard Raykes, promising if he gets the presentation, he will will not hinder the dividing of Trinity Church from Hessle, &c.

1661, Sept. 26. Doctor Nathaniel Eaton, late Minister of Bishops Castle, Shropshire, appeared before the Board, and agreed to become, and elected vicar of Holy Trinity.

1661, Feb. 6. Nomination of Dr Nathaniel Eaton to be Vicar of Trinity Church, sealed.

1662, Nov. 18. £16 disbursed to pay Dr. Eaton's wife, she removed from the Vicarage House.

1662, May 2. Nomination of Nicholas Anderson, Master of Arts. to be first Vicar of Holy Trinity, sealed.

1662, May 2. His Majesty's acceptance of Nicholas Anderson under his signet, produced.

It is already shown that Styles was on the 1st November, 1660, decreed by the Bench (i.e. the Mayor and Aldermen) to be restored to his Vicarage of Hessle, but whether Styles was removed by the Crown, or resigned, does not appear, but in 1661, Mr. Richard Raikes appears to be Vicar of Hessle, and the following facts are gathered from the Bench Books.

1661, June 19th. Mr. Richard Raikes written to about separation of Trinity Church from Hessle.

1661, June 17th, Mr. Richard Raikes maketh resignation of his Title to Trinity Chappell. The resignation, in Latin, is entered.

An agreement is made at the request of Mr. Raikes, the present Vicar of Hessle, as to payment of first-fruits, between Vicar of Hessle, and Vicar of Trinity Church, and as to tithes.

1661, July 4. Payment of £4 17s 0d. to Richard Raikes, for 1-3rd part of first-fruits in case division of Trinity Church, from Hessle, goe forward. Styles appears to have continued in favour with the Corporation, as in 1664, he was master of the Charterhouse, and Lecturer and Reader of Holy Trinity Church, preferments in the gift of the Corporation.

Page 85, 'Richard Wilson': was on 5th Feb., 1634, admitted a Freeman of Hull, by apprenticeship with Barnard Smyth, alderman and Beare [= Beer] Brewer: elected High Sheriff 1654: alderman 1661: Mayor 1662.

Page 183, 'Robert Bloom': described in the Corporation Book unintelligibly as 'Nauter,' was admitted a Freeman of Hull in 1650 on payment of a fine of £20: elected chamberlain 1654: appointed by the King's commission alderman 1662; and elected Mayor 1665. He appears to have held a commission as Captain in the Militia, but the Town Records shew that in May, 1660, he was complained against by his lieutenant, Mr. Hall, and the militia forces training at Hull, for violent conduct. The aid of the members of the Borough (John Ramsden and Marvell) was sought in the matter, and the Commissioners of the Militia for Hull recommended the President of the Council to cancel Bloom's commission and appoint another captain. Bloom seems to have been so insensible of the honour and responsibility of the office of Mayor to which

he was subsequently elected, that he was removed from his office by resolution of the Bench 27th Sept., 1666—the grounds stated for this proceeding being that he had been absent from town since 16th August last. During this absence he had been subpoenaed as a witness at Newcastle Assizes, and had not returned but gone into Scotland and remained there. De La Pryme adds a note in the margin of the Bench Book: “He was stabb’d a while after in Scotland by a Scotchman, with a short dagger, in gameing.” A letter from Ramsden and Marvell, recovered at Hull, since the Correspondence was arranged and printed off, relative to the above matter, finds fitting place here.

For our honourd friends the Commissioners of the Militia for the town and County of Kingston upon Hull.

GENTLEMEN,

WE have received yours of the 25, and would not misse answering you this same post though it be the day of the King’s arrivall. The Councell of State was broke up and acted no more before the receipt of yours, so that nothing at all could be done thereupon concerning Mr. Bloom and Mr. Hall. And truly, Gentlemen, if we may presume to advise you, seeing it falls out so, be pleased to interpose yet while it is time, your discretions for the composing of a business which it will be difficult for us to handle so dextrously, but that some reflexion may fall here upon your own judgments and upon the Town. But we shall decline nothing nor think any thing better than that which you shall resolve on, and if you please after some few days to write about it to his Majesty’s Privy Councell, and for the approbation of Mr. Maijor to be one of your number, we will serve you therein. Onely we must beg of you that in whatsoever you shall use us, you will acquaint us also with matter of fact distinctly and perfectly. For else your business can not be well done.

We remain,

Your most affectionate friends to serve you,

JOHN RAMSDEN,
ANDREW MARVELL.

Westminster, May 29, 1660.

Page 183, ‘Richard Frank, : admitted a Freeman of Hull by apprenticeship with John Peake, merchant, on 12th Sept., 1639. He was elected chamberlain 1649: alderman 1663, and Mayor 1666. Having later become impoverished, he desired to resign his office as alderman, and the Bench discharged

him not only without a fine, but voted him £10 as an immediate supply until better provision could be made for him.

Page 221, 'Anthony Lambert': was on 31st Aug., 1654, admitted a Freeman of Hull. He was elected chamberlain 1661: alderman 1666: Mayor 1667, and on the death of the Mayor in 1682, he was again elected to that office. He died 1688, and is described as having "lived 58 years piously towards God, faithfully towards his friends, and usefull in his station to all." His portrait in his robes as Mayor is in the Town Hall, at Hull.

Page 259, 'William Lister': was appointed Recorder of Hull in 1648, and in 1661 was re-appointed by charter of Charles II, and continued to hold that office until 1668, when he resigned. He represented the town as sole member in 1654, in Cromwell's Parliament, and again 1656.

Page 260, 'Humfry Duncalfe: Mayor, 1668. See Gent (*s.v.*)

Page 277, 'John Tripp': admitted a Freeman of Hull by apprenticeship on 6th May, 1636: elected chamberlain in 1651: Sheriff in 1659: alderman 1665, and Mayor 1669.

Page 354, 'William Ramsden': son of John Ramsden (as before): was admitted a Freeman of Hull 8th Dec., 1651, on payment of a fine of £3 for his long stay in taking up his Freedom. He was elected Sheriff 1656; alderman 1658, and Mayor 1659. He was twice elected Member for the Borough, 1676 and 1680. He was Deputy of the Company of Merchants' Adventurers of England. In 1678 he desired to resign the office of Alderman, and offered in consideration a donation to the poor of £100; but the Bench refused his resignation, and he retained his office. He died in 1680, in his 63rd year.

Page 332, 'George Acklam': admitted a Freeman of Hull in 1642 on payment of a fine of £3 6s. 8d.: elected chamberlain 1656: sheriff 1666: alderman 1669, and mayor 1670. He was appointed in 1672, by the crown, a commissioner under the statute 28th Henry 8th as to the fishing of the river Ouse. He was thrice Warden of the Trinity House at Hull: died 1676.

Page 421, 'Daniel Hoare': a Merchant: on 29th Dec., 1657, was admitted a Freeman of Hull on payment of £20. In 1666 he paid a fine of £50 in lieu of serving the office of chamberlain. He was elected alderman 8th Feb., 1671. In 1672 he was associated with Acklam in the Ouse Fishery. He was chosen mayor in 1674. In 1680 a commission against 'recusants' was issued by the Crown, and the Corporation reported that Hoare one of their present aldermen had not

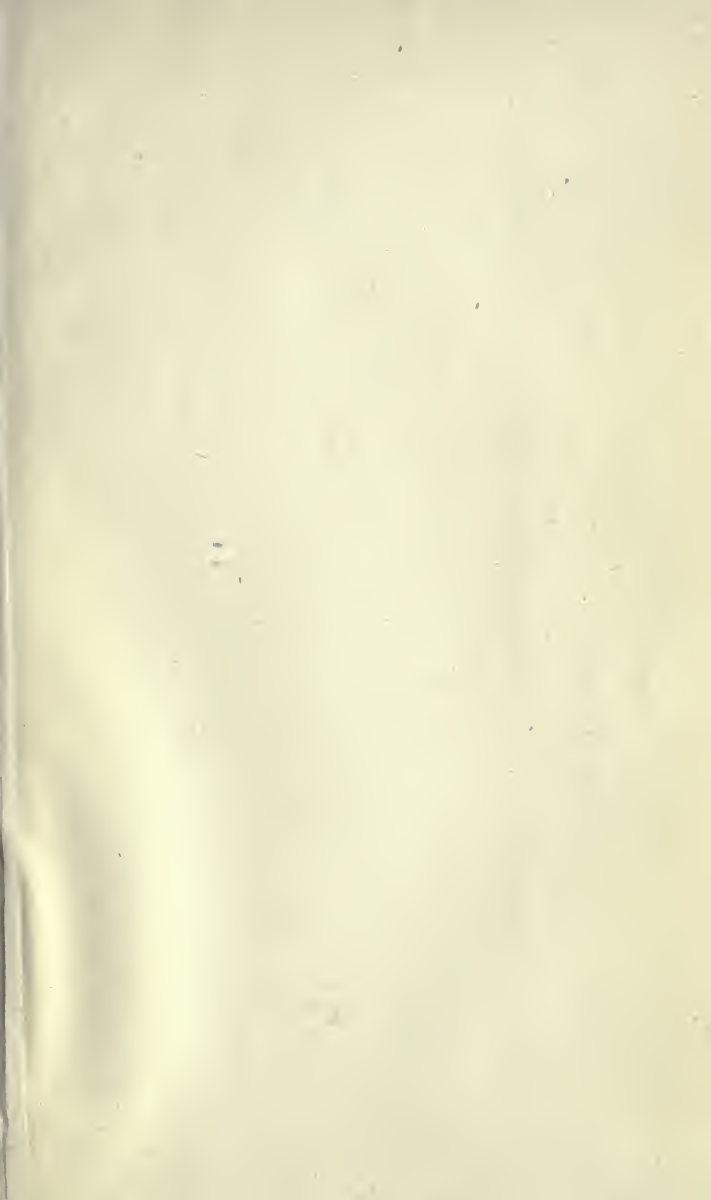
made it appear that he had taken the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites of the Church of England within one year next before his election into the said office, and that accordingly they had declared his office void. Hoare petitioned the King, alleging that he had in all things conformed to the law, and the Earl of Sunderland and Secretary of State sent an order, to the Corporation that they proceed no further in the matter nor choose any other in the said Mr. Hoare's room until His Majesty had caused the matter to be examined by the Privy Council. The matter was so examined, and His Majesty did order that Mr. Hoare should continue in his office. The Corporation, however, presented another petition, and such order was rescinded, and Mr. Hoare was removed from his office and another elected in his place. Mr. Hoare persisted in coming to the Hall as usual, upon which the Bench made an order commanding the officers of the Corporation "gently and civilly to remove and turn him out." In 1688 the Corporation surrendered their Charter to the King, and James II. granted a new Charter, and appointed Mr. Hoare again Mayor, but on the 30th September in that year the Corporation, according to custom, elected a new Mayor. In November a general resignation took place, and it is said the notorious Judge Jeffries took the sword and acted as Mayor. The King ordered Hoare to be reinstated as Mayor, and this was done, but afterwards, by Proclamation, it was ordered that all Corporations should return to their ancient form, and Hoare was again ejected by the Corporation from office. He died the same year.

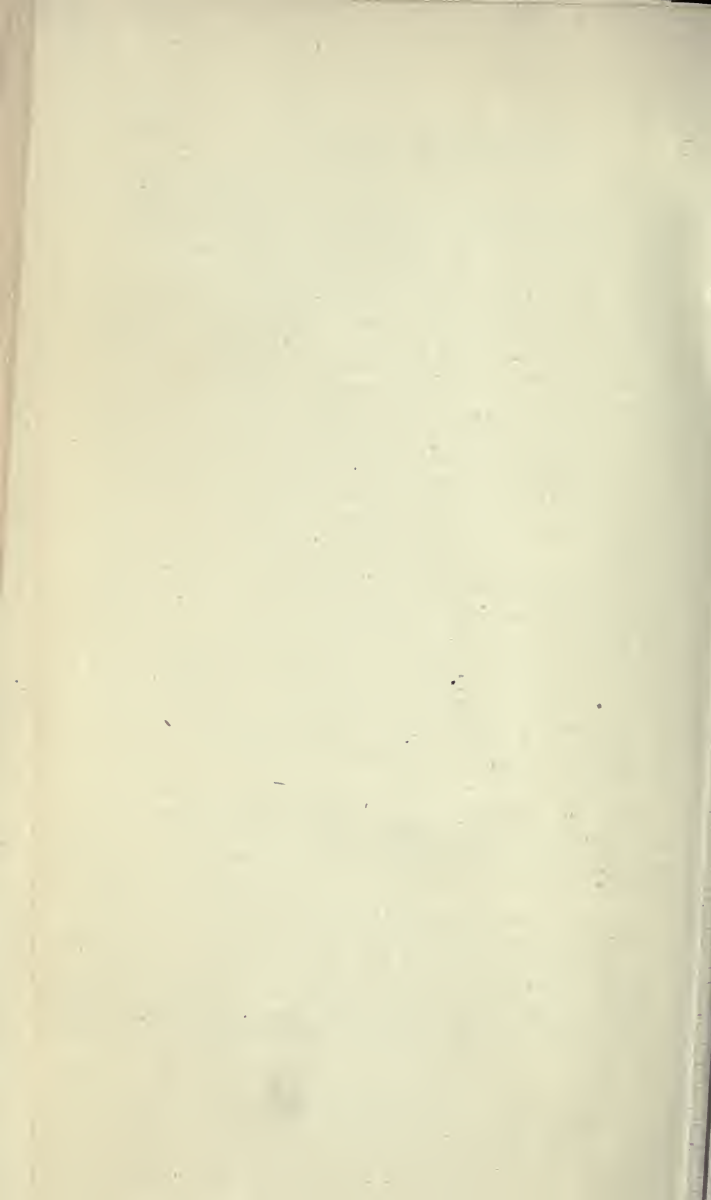
Page 469, 'William Shires': was admitted a Freeman of Hull by apprenticeship with Francis Dewicke, alderman and merchant, and fined 40s. for not taking up his freedom sooner. He was elected chamberlain 1658: sheriff 1664: alderman 1674: and Mayor 1675.

Page 502, 'William Foxley': was admitted on 16th June, 1642, a Freeman of Hull: chamberlain 1644: alderman 1656: Mayor 1657, and again 1676. He died in 1680, aged 71.

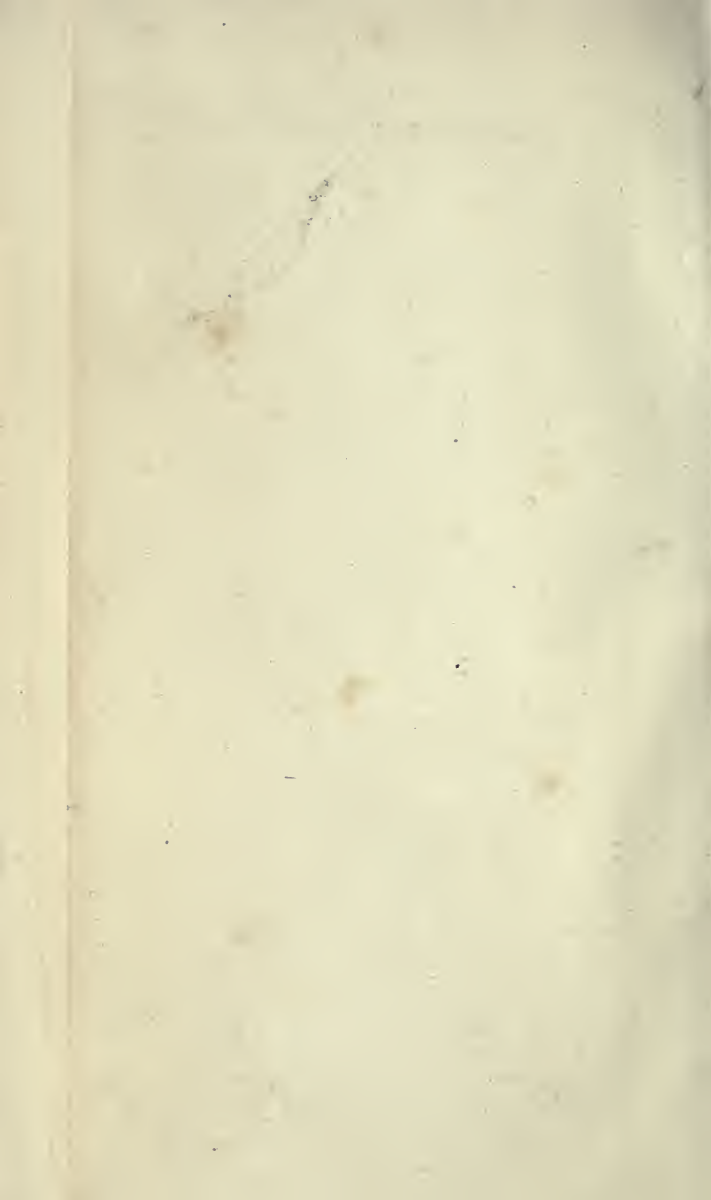
Page 641, 'Henry Maister': son of Alderman William Maister, Merchant, was on 2nd April, 1660, admitted a free burgess of Hull: elected chamberlain 1664: alderman 1676: Mayor 1677, and again 1694. He died 1699.

G.

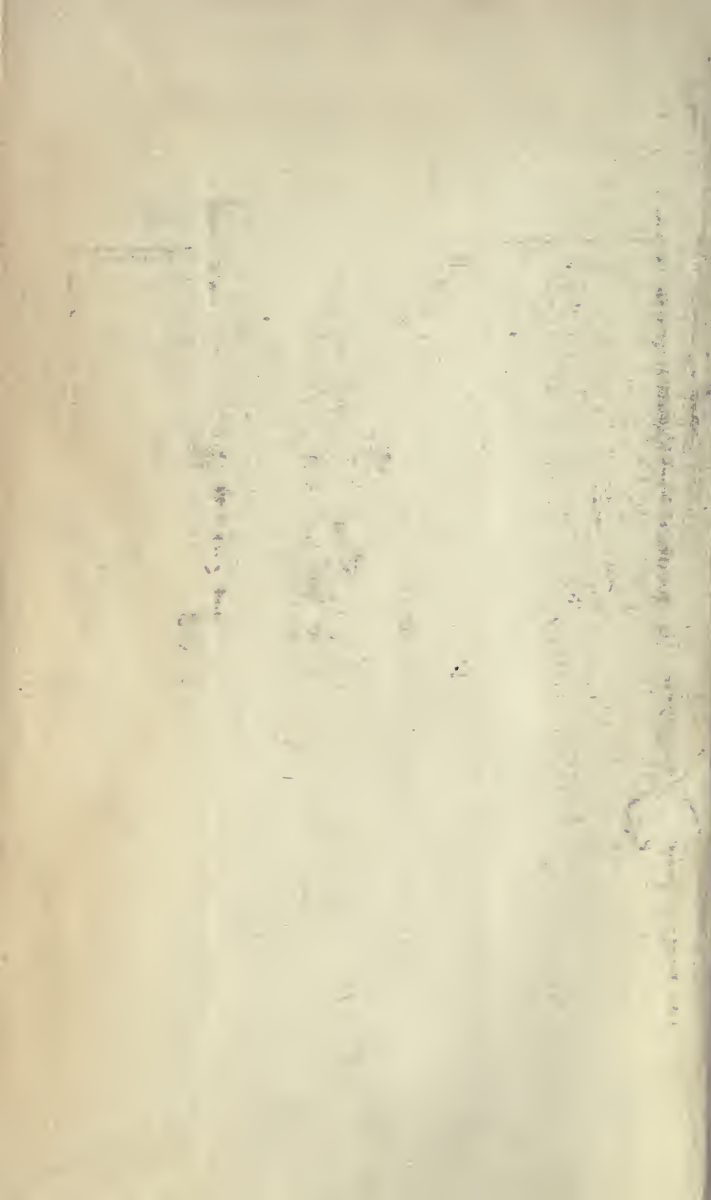












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